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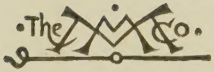

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SOVIET RULE IN RUSSIA

BY
WALTER RUSSELL BATSELL

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1929

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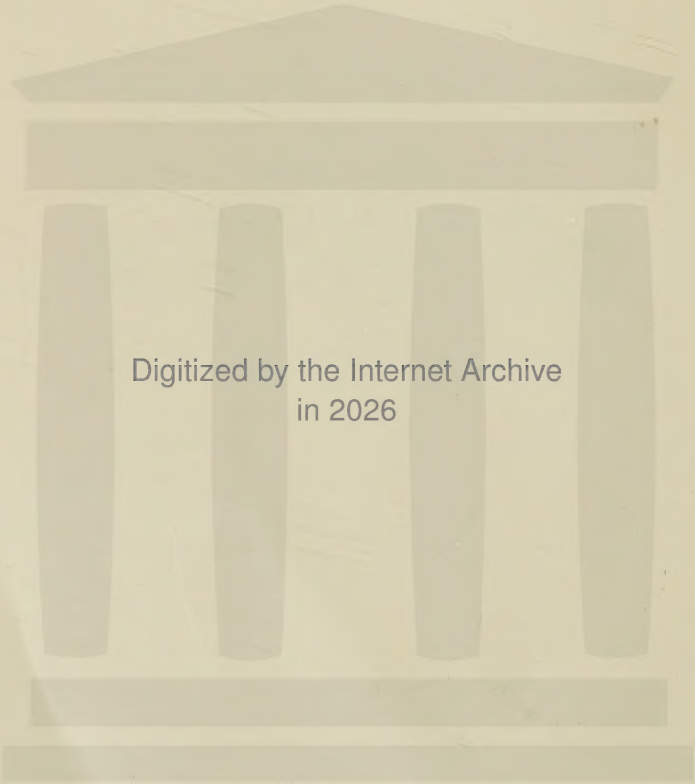

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PREFACE

The present book is meant to serve as a foundation for studies of how Soviet Russia is ruled. It covers a wide range of subjects, all of which call for detailed studies that have yet to be performed. An attempt has been made to delineate in broad outline the soviet system alike in theoretical development and in actual application. The origins and growth of soviet institutions are emphasized.

It is hardly necessary to mention the special difficulties of the task, since the accounts which have appeared on conditions in Russia are a sufficient indication. Soviet Russia refuses to be frank with herself, and it is correspondingly difficult for a foreigner to seek to look under the surface and at the same time to keep a proper perspective. To interpret accurately the various phases of life in Russia would require a long period of residence in the country, as was the case with Mackenzie Wallace when he wrote his still invaluable work entitled *Russia,* published in 1887. An intermediate period of observation between this and the accounts of writers who spend one week in a strange country in order to confirm previously maintained impressions serves often to confound and perplex. It may not be amiss here, however, to make two general observations, one of which will apply to the text of the book and the other to the appendixes.

First, there is in Russia, as in all countries to varying degrees, a wide margin between theory and practice. This factor has perhaps reached its acme in the communist system of administration. An act may define the jurisdiction of a given administrative body, while at the same time the framers of the legislation are perfectly aware that it corre-

sponds in no respect with the actual or intended jurisdiction. This fact explains the varying emphasis given here to the questions discussed, of which the scanty treatment of the system of courts is one example.

The second difficulty, which relates to the documents translated, has a twofold aspect. It is, to begin with, difficult to translate Russian legal language. Even more important, a great part of the soviet legislation, especially until very recent times, was not only prepared by persons unfamiliar with legal terminology but also was evidently drafted in some cases by persons to whom Russian was not a native language. The translations given in the appendixes follow the original closely, even in sentence structure, without interpretation of obscure phraseology which may mean one thing or another.

The book is based in great part on a very complete collection of official documents gathered on the spot. A partial description of this material is given in the bibliography, which, it is hoped, will be found readable as well as useful. Certain statements, particularly in regard to the present working of the soviet and party institutions and organs of authority, are the result of observations made in the course of residence and extensive travel in Russia in 1925 and again in 1927. Obviously, chief reliance has been placed upon documentary evidence and personal observations rather than upon the statements of soviet officials. To go for information to officials whose duty it is to give a "correct impression" appears at its best to be a naïve proceeding which could serve some purposes but not the cause of reliable facts or even intellectual honesty.

The names of the various soviet organs of authority are generally abbreviated in Russia. This is almost necessary because of their length. For example, instead of writing *Vserossiiskogo Tsentral'nogo Ispolnitel'nogo Komiteta* (all-Russian central executive committee) the Russian text uses simply VTsIK. This and other abbreviations

have been used in the documents but with the full form given either in the caption or the first time used in the document itself. In the text, however, very few abbreviations have been used, for it would be confusing, at least to the reader unfamiliar with the Russian, to remember the distinction, for example, between VTsIK (which is the all-Russian or central executive committee of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic [RSFSR]) and the TsIK (central executive committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]).

The preparation of the book and its publication in the present form were made possible by a grant from the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College. Originally undertaken under the guidance of Mr. Archibald Cary Coolidge, as a result of his death the work as it stands has been done without the benefit of his judgment and familiarity with the Slavonic world.

WALTER RUSSELL BATSELL.

New York City,
February 1929.

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SOVIET RULE IN RUSSIA

SOVIET RULE IN RUSSIA

CHAPTER I

FROM TSARISM TO BOLSHEVISM

"By the grace of Almighty God, We, The Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias, of Moscow, Kiev, Vladimir, Novgorod; the Tsar of Kazan, the Tsar of Astrakhan, the Tsar of Poland, the Tsar of Siberia, the Tsar of the Tauric Chersonese, the Tsar of Georgia; the Potentate of Pskov and the Grand Duke of Smolensk, Lithuania, Vohynia, Podòlia, and Finland; Prince of Estonia, Livonia, Courland and Semigallia, Samogitia, Belostok, Karelia, Tver, Iugor, Perm, Viatka, Bolgaria and others; the Potentate and the Grand Duke of Novgorod on the lower lands, of Chernigov, Riazan, Polotsk, Rostov, Iaroslav, Belosersk, Udor, Obdorsk, Kondiisk, Vitebsk, Mstislav, and of all northern land the Ruler; and the Potentate of all lands of Iveriia, Kartalinsk and Kabarda, and of the regions of Armenia; of the Princes of Cherkassiia and Gorsk, and others, the Heir-Potentate and the Possessor; the Potentate of Turkestan; the Heir of Norway, the Duke of Schlesvig-Holstein, Stornmarn, Ditmars and Oldenburg, etc., etc., etc." [1]

This concatenation of titles symbolical of the last of the great autocracies summarizes the history of the vastest land empire of the world.

It is true that in October 1905 a manifesto signed by the "Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias" established fundamental laws that rendered the Russian Empire legally into a constitutional monarchy. But in all countries there

[1] 1 *Svod zakonov* (edition of 1892), art. 37.

has been and, it is probable, there will always remain, a difference between the theory and spirit of laws on the one hand and their application on the other. Above all this fact has been present in countries where legal precepts are made to conform in practice to Asiatic concepts. In Russia not only had the Asiatic influences inherited from centuries of Mongol supremacy remained strong, but also the house of Romanov had behind it the memories, traditions, and habits of over three hundred years of autocratic power.

Indeed, so long as the empire of the Tsars existed, the fundamental law of the land continued to provide that "to the Emperor of All the Russias belongs the supreme sovereign power".[2] The official title of the Tsar remained unchanged. He was still, in legal terminology, the "Emperor and Autocrat".[3] And so it was with his prerogatives, which remained practically the same after 1905 as they had been under the Tsars of the seventeenth century.

Given the right to rule by the "grace of God", according to the constitution of 1906, the Tsar was exempted from all responsibility in ordinary civil and criminal charges. He suffered practically no form of control or responsibility; on the other hand, his prerogatives were numerous. Not to mention the incidentals so dear to autocracy, such as titles and coats of arms, certain special legislative, judicial, and executive prerogatives must be considered.

Prior to the constitution of 1906, the right to initiate legislation was determined by the fundamental law of 1857. That law provided that only the Tsar should have this authority. After 1906, however, the statute on the state duma decreed that the right to initiate legislation should appertain either to the ministers of the Tsar, to the commissions of the duma itself, or, finally, to the state soviet. Not only did the new constitution fail to mention any right of the Tsar to initiate legislation; it likewise failed to state

[2] Fundamental law, art. 4, revised edition.
[3] *Ibid.*, arts. 59-60.

that the Tsar must give his consent to the exercise of this right by his ministers. On the other hand, the ministers were themselves dependent on the Tsar and, therefore, in the last resort could exercise no control over him.

Though legislative initiative was not declared a prerogative of the Tsar under the constitution of 1906, still his right to approve all laws was stated very clearly in the provision that "the Emperor ratifies the laws, and without his ratification no law can enter into force." [4] This authority was exercised on several occasions, one outstanding example being the refusal of the Tsar in 1909 to consent to a bill on the staff list of the naval general staff, though the bill in question had been passed both by the state duma and by the state soviet.

In the judicial field, the Tsar was the supreme authority. To use the words of the constitution, "the judicial authority is exercised in the name of the Emperor by the courts established by law, the decisions of which are carried out in the name of His Imperial Majesty." [5] Among the special prerogatives of the Tsar were the appointment of judges and the personnel of the procurature, the initiation of judicial processes against higher officials in the empire, the revision of cases which had been decided by the department of cassation of the ruling senate, and the power of pardon.

The executive powers appertaining to the Tsar were covered in a brief but definite statement in the constitution: "the full right of administration belongs to the Emperor throughout the whole Russian Empire." [6] Thus he had the right of appointment, supervision, and control over all administrative officials and institutions.

The Tsar, therefore, stood at the head of the entire state structure, but there were naturally special organs of government just as in other countries. In accordance with the usual classification, these may be divided into the executive, legislative, and judicial branches.

[4] *Ibid.*, art. 9. [5] *Ibid.*, art. 22. [6] *Ibid.*, art. 10.

The executive department was headed by a soviet of ministers (*sovet ministrov*), composed of individual ministers placed in charge of the various ministries, of which there were thirteen.[7] The individual ministers were responsible only to the ruling senate and the Emperor, not to the state duma or the state soviet.

The rôle of the minister was twofold. On the one hand, he was an adviser to the Tsar, to whom he reported on the work of his ministry, just as is done in other countries. On the other hand, he was the head of an administrative department, the duty of which was to see to the exact execution of the laws by all subordinate institutions and persons.[8] It was specifically provided in the statute on the soviet of ministers, in fact, that "the essence of authority granted to the ministers is exclusively of an executive character" so that "no new law, nor a new institution, or repeal of the former can be established by the authority of a minister." In practice, however, in Russia, as in other countries of continental Europe, the regulations of the several ministries constituted an important body of administrative law.

In addition to the soviet of ministers and the related bureaus or offices such as the imperial chancery, the office of the institution of the Empress Maria, or of the oberprocuror of the holy synod, there were two other central administrative organs. These were the ruling senate (*pravitel'stvuiuschii senat*) and the holy synod (*sviateishii sinod*).

Established as early as the reign of Peter the Great, the ruling senate underwent many changes before the overthrow of the tsarist régime in 1917. It was composed of the Emperor and the members whom he appointed, though

[7] They were: (1) foreign affairs, (2) war, (3) marine, (4) interior, (5) finance, (6) education, (7) ways of communication, (8) justice, (9) Imperial Court, (10) trade and industry, (11) agriculture, (12) state control, (13) public health. See this chapter, footnote 30, on the use of the word 'soviet'.

[8] N. I. Lazarevskii, 2 *Lektsii po russkomu gosudartvennomu pravo*, 158. This is the standard work of reference for the government of Russia before the revolution in 1917.

the list of candidates was submitted by the minister of justice. The ministers and other officials of equivalent standing could participate in the sessions; this was true also in the case of assistants to the ministers and governors general in matters concerning their own jurisdiction. Special branches of the senate were the procurature, the duty of which was to supervise the order of judicial procedure and to examine the legality of court decisions, and the senate office, the general director of which was at the same time the minister of justice. The authority of the ruling senate was described in its statute as being "limited only by the authority of His Imperial Majesty, and there shall be no other supreme power over it." [9]

The real nature of the ruling senate is indicated by its functions. It was the supreme court of cassation. It was the high court of justice for all political offences. It had supreme jurisdiction in all disputes arising from administration and from differences between the representatives of the central authorities and the elected organs of local self-government. Finally, it was concerned with the promulgation of new laws.

The remaining central administrative organ was the holy synod. Formed in 1721 and presided over by an ober-procuror, this body was the supreme organ of government of the orthodox church in Russia. The church was all powerful, exerting an influence over its adherents such as no western church has had since the middle ages. The synod was composed of the three metropolitans of St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kiev, of the archbishop of Georgia, and of a number of bishops sitting in rotation. The work of these officials naturally consisted in preserving for the church the authority which it had long enjoyed in the Russian Empire: supervision over public worship and education, the propagation of orthodoxy, serving as the highest court for all ecclesiastical affairs, and the like. The holy synod,

[9] 2 Lazarevskii, as cited, 151.

preaching obedience to the state, *or rather to autocracy,* represented just that type of religious instrument upon which the doctrine of the divine right of kings had always depended. The relation between the church and state in Russia, the corruption which was made possible by their interlocking, would form a volume in mere outline. The matter is not taken up in this description of the framework of the government of Russia.

Such, in brief, was the official structure of the central executive and administrative organs of the Russian Empire. The government was highly centralized; the person and authority of the Emperor constituted the keystone of the edifice. The degree to which the system of authority was not an absolute autocracy depended upon the political events of a given period and the inevitable limits which bureaucracy puts upon autocracy in any frame of government beyond the simplest. The liberal tendencies cultivated by Alexander II at the beginning of his reign later swung back to principles of pure absolutism which reached their fullest expression under Alexander III. Not until the revolutionary outbreaks of 1905 and the consequent grant of a constitution in 1906 was there again a reversion to some limitation of the power of the ruling house. From that time there was, to use the words of the *Almanach de Gotha* for 1910, "a constitutional monarchy under an autocratic Tsar." The sentence is contradictory, but if the words "in theory" and "in practice" were inserted in the proper places, a very close definition would be obtained.

The legislative branch of the tsarist government dates from 1905-1906 when a bicameral body was constituted. An upper and lower house, called respectively the state soviet (*gosudarstvennoe sovet*) and the state duma (*gosudarstvennoe duma*), were then provided for.

The state soviet was composed of 196 members, 98 of whom were appointed by the Emperor. The remaining half were elected from the clergy of the Russian orthodox

church (6), the assemblies of provincial zemstvos (56), corporations of nobles (18), academy of science and the universities (6), and the soviet of trade and industry (12).[10]

The members of the state soviet were elected for a term of nine years, one-third retiring every three years. This provision did not, however, apply to the zemstvos; the representation from these locally elected bodies naturally depended on the outcome of the elections thereto.

In its legislative capacity the state soviet may be defined as "a state organ in which are examined legislative bills to be submitted to the Supreme Autocratic Authority in virtue of the fundamental laws and in an order as determined in this organ and in the state duma."[11] First discussed by the lower house, all bills had to pass the state soviet. There, naturally, the Emperor had complete control because of his appointees. If the duma were in conflict with his aims, the state soviet was an effective check. In brief, as evident by its composition and prerogatives, the upper house was intended merely to maintain the authority of the Emperor and his ministers in contrast to the state duma, a body which, elected on different principles, might get beyond control.[12]

Assembled for the first time on April 27, 1906, six months after the grant of a constitution, the state duma occupied an unenviable position. Its authority had been defined in a general way in its statute as applying to all matters necessitating the issuing, amending, supplementing, or repealing of laws. In particular its jurisdiction was supposed to extend to appropriations, the state budget and the budgets of the several ministries, the accounts of the department of control on the carrying out of the estimates, the assignment of part of the revenue or government property requir-

[10] 1 Lazarevskii, as cited, 340.
[11] *Ibid.*, 308.
[12] See V. M. Gessen, *Russkoe gosudarstvennoe pravo*, 275 and following.

ing the consent of the Emperor, and the authorization of loans.

The same statute which defined the powers of the duma also enumerated matters which were beyond its competence. Since they were specific in nature and related to the most important phases of state life, the limited character of the powers of the duma was evident from the very beginning. All institutions under the imperial court, matters pertaining to the imperial family, questions concerning the navy or war departments and the jurisdiction of the military and naval courts—such matters, which affected an appreciable part of the budget, over which the duma was supposed to exercise jurisdiction, were under the direct authority of the Emperor.

In its relation with the executive department the duma likewise had no well defined place. It was concerned with the construction of railways. It could interpellate the ministers of the Tsar. If those same ministers, however, were unwilling to appear, the duma had no means of compelling their presence. A member of the duma could introduce a bill, but every draft had to be submitted for examination by the minister concerned. If the duma decided by a two-thirds vote that a minister should be removed, the matter was submitted to the president of the state soviet, who in turn made a report to the Emperor. The latter, however, could and did keep in power ministers to whom the duma was opposed. The duma was in fact more dependent upon the ministers than the ministers were dependent upon it.

In budgetary matters, not only were large sums excluded from the control of the duma but also various means were found to make the approval of that body unnecessary. If the Emperor failed to consent to a budget voted by the duma, the budget of the preceding year remained in force. Further, the government had the right to impose extra taxes in order to cover the execution of new laws. Finally, as if

the legislature's control by finance were not already sufficiently weakened by provisions of this nature, the Emperor had the power, in the interim between sessions of the duma, to issue ordinances which had the force of law. The limitations were that such acts should not infringe the constitution, that they should be of temporary character, that they should not change the electoral system, and that they should be submitted to the duma immediately upon its reassembly. The importance of the last clause was lessened by the fact that the Emperor could again dissolve the duma if it began to discuss unfavorably the measures he had taken.

It was such provisions, clearly violating the principles and spirit of the constitution of 1906, which made the duma of little value except as an open forum where the affairs of the empire at least could be discussed. The history of this body, a democratic institution trying to survive and further its power in an Asiatic state, was such as to cause many elements in Russia concerned for the welfare of their country to despair of attaining any reform by peaceful means.

The first duma, which met on April 27, 1906, was a highly liberal and even visionary body. Its platform included such planks as universal suffrage, parliamentary government, abolition of capital punishment, expropriation of the landlords, political amnesty, and the limitation of the rights of the state soviet. There was, of course, no possibility of realizing a platform of this nature: the individual planks could have been regarded as little short of revolutionary. The government, headed by Goremykin, refused to approve discussions of such questions. The new legislative assembly then appealed to the Tsar. His reply, made four days later, was in the form of a decree dissolving the first duma on the ground that it was a dangerous and revolutionary body.

The second duma was convoked on March 6, 1907. Stolypin, then prime minister, presented to it his program of reforms, including the emancipation of the peasants from

the control of the communes and the handing over to them of all crown lands and imperial estates.[13] But the second duma was even more liberal than the first. When a bill for the expropriation of the landlords was carried in the duma by a two-thirds majority, a crisis was near. The last straw was the discovery of a plot to cause a mutiny in the army, a move in which certain members of the duma were involved. On June 16th the second duma was dissolved, and new elections were ordered for the following November.

When the third duma assembled on November 15, 1907, it proved to be a quite different body from its predecessors. The reason for this was the change which had been made in the interval in the electoral law [14] whereby the landowning class and the nobility had been made predominant. At this time were carried through the partial abolition of the communal and family ownership of land and the creation of a class of peasant proprietors. About 300 other bills were passed, but none of which aroused such opposition as had the early radical measures of the first duma, legislation which decidedly had anticipated history.

A detailed study of matters brought before the duma would cover the debates in favor of freedom of speech, an opposition to the policy of the government in discriminating severely against the non-Slavic elements of the population, and the curious spectacle of governmental opposition to the relief, by bodies other than the red cross and the zemstvos, of sufferers from the famine which prevailed in Russia in 1912. In all such matters the Russian bureaucracy showed the fullest extent of its ineptitude. If under these conditions some conservative members of the duma turned into so-called radicals, this change of point of view was merely a result of their conviction of the soundness of

[13] On November 9, 1906, in the absence of the duma, the Tsar issued a ukaz suppressing the *mir*, a communal form of land ownership.

[14] *Sobranie uzakonenii i raśporiazhenii pravitel'stva,* No. 94, June 3, 1907.

the legislation proposed by the duma and of the folly of the policy pursued by the Tsar and his ministers.

In the group of men who came into prominence in the duma and who began to look at Russian problems from the point of view of Russia instead of that of the monarchy, revolution, or the achievement of international aims, there was a hope for the future. More and more the duma came into conflict with the government; but in the later years, under the leadership of Rodzianko, it grew in popular esteem in proportion as mistrust of the government increased. Many believed that Russia was on her way to a solution of her constitutional problem in the form of moderate liberalism. True there were influences which it was necessary to eradicate, but there was also reason to hope that in its ordinary course time would ameliorate conditions and thus render unnecessary any acceleration of reform by force. The coming of the war in 1914, however, brought the entire issue into a new light, and the struggles for liberal legislation were forgotten in the midst of an external danger. Russia became a unified nation determined to remove the menace threatening her European border.

"On the day that the Emperor issued the manifesto announcing a state of war with Germany, huge crowds assembled in front of the winter palace. After a special service in the chapel, the Emperor spoke a few words to the assembly in the palace, concluding with the solemn promise not to lay down arms while a single span of Russian land remained in the enemy's hand. Thundering cheers resounded through the palace and were taken up by the crowds outside. The Emperor came out on the balcony, followed by the Empress. A vast crowd filled the whole square and all the adjacent streets. At the sight of the Emperor, an electric current seemed to pass through the mass of people; a mighty 'hurrah' filled the air. Banners and placards, on which were inscribed the words 'Long live

Russia and the Slavonic cause!' were lowered to the ground, and the whole crowd, as one man, fell on their knees before the Emperor. He tried to speak, raised his hand: the front rows endeavored to silence the rest, but nothing could be heard amid the deafening cheers and roaring of the crowd. The Emperor stood for a while with bowed head, overpowered by the solemnity of the moment, when Tsar and people became one."

In these words Rodzianko, president of the state duma, described [15] public feeling in Russia at the beginning of the world war. Russia had not engaged in an armed conflict since 1905, when she met an ignoble defeat at the hands of Japan. She emerged from that struggle a disillusioned nation, a country which saw how weak were the ties that held it together. In 1914, when a new struggle began with an enemy near at hand, the masses of the people appeared to forget their many grievances against their government. They pledged their allegiance to their Tsar and entered a test of arms with a fixed purpose.

The transition from this united Russia to a country with a people driven to despair for the future, to an unlimited hate for the governing powers, and to disintegration and revolution, is the political background to what followed. The story has never been more dramatically told than by Rodzianko in his memoirs. The disorganization, lack of equipment, and suffering on the battlefield were one phase. Bureaucratic inaction, corruption, and interference in the government by an Empress mentally enslaved to a member of a perverted secret sect were other aspects. Revolution thrives on such material.

Out of the chaos produced by the war and the corruption of the ruling powers, hopes for the future were placed more and more in organizations which were representative of the people. In a critical situation, contrary to a popular belief that in time of danger a monarchical government has

[15] *The reign of Rasputin,* 108-109.

greater mobility and unity than a representative one, in Russia a resort to democratic institutions was necessary to carry on the war. There were even ministers who were reported to favor a German triumph to the rise of liberal forces at home; the Russian people, however, appeared above all to be bent on winning the test of arms with the bordering Teutonic state.

The most important among the special organizations which devoted themselves to supplying the soldiers at the front and to organizing industry and agriculture at home were the union of zemstvos and the union of cities.

In tsarist Russia there were thirty-four provinces which had their zemstvos, or locally elective administrative bodies. First established in 1864 under Alexander II in an attempt to expand his liberal reforms of 1861, the zemstvo rapidly became perhaps the principal organ of local administration outside of the imperial officials. At the head of the zemstvo stood a representative soviet and an executive board which it nominated. This board was composed of members representing five classes: (1) large landowners (over 590 acres) sitting in person, (2) delegates of small landowners, including the clergy, (3) delegates of wealthier townsmen, (4) delegates of the peasants elected from the rural district (*volost'*), and (5) delegates sent by the wealthier urban classes.

In the beginning the zemstvos were given wide powers. Their competence extended to matters concerning education, public health and welfare, ways of communication, insurance, promotion of agriculture, trade, industry, and other matters which could be called 'assisting the population'. Another category of rights related to taxation and the maintenance of the general administration and courts.

The rôle of the zemstvos suffered many changes. In the period of reaction under Alexander III they were made entirely subordinate to the imperial government, a situation

which prevailed until the revolutionary outbreaks of 1905. In that year, when demands for a constitutional government were insistent, the zemstvos enjoyed a large degree of popular confidence. This arose in part from the activities of the *union of zemstvos* created when fourteen of these bodies combined their efforts during the Russo-Japanese War in order to aid the soldiers on the battlefield. The union was not disbanded at the close of the war but continued its work by giving aid to famine-stricken provinces and to emigrants to Siberia, and in other matters of a social character.

Unlike the union of zemstvos, the union of cities did not exist before the world war. Its formation, however, was a direct consequence of long experience with municipal problems and organization as based in particular on the statute of 1892 on the municipal dumas. This statute, which remained in force until the outbreak of the war in 1914, provided for the cities an organization and a jurisdiction very similar to that of the zemstvos in their field.[16]

The zemstvo of Moscow had taken the initiative in organizing the union of zemstvos of all-Russia when the war came. The city of Moscow, on July 31, 1914, declared that Moscow, the true representative of all Russia, should undertake to centralize the efforts made by all the cities of Russia in order to aid the soldiers.[17] The municipality then appealed to other cities to form a single organization designed to aid the government in providing for the troops. Those cities replied to the appeal by sending their representatives to a congress which met in Moscow

[16] The statutes on the zemstvos and the municipal dumas form bulky volumes entitled respectively: *Polozhenie o zemskikh' uchrezhdeniiakh' 12 iiunia 1890* (*izdanie piatoe* S. Peterburg' 1910); *Gorodovoe polozhene 11 iiunia 1892 goda* (izdanie vos'moe, Petrograd, 1915). An account of the work of the zemstvos during the war is entitled thus: *Vserossiiskii zemskii soiuz pomshchi bol'nym i ranennum voinom. . . . Russian union of zemstvos: a report of the union's activities during the war, with an introductory note by Prince G. E. L'vov. . . .* Moscow, January 1916 (London, P. S. King & Son, 1917).

[17] *Russkoe slovo,* June 26, 1916, quoted in the *Bulletin périodique de la presse russe,* No. 16, for the period July 14-22, 1916.

on August 8, 1914, and which founded the union of cities.

At first the union of zemstvos and the union of cities functioned separately but in coöperation with each other, with the government, and with a special committee of war-industry.[18] In July 1915 the two unions coöperated to form a central committee to supply the army. This was a coördination of activity which the ministers of the Tsar never effected.

At Moscow, from July 24 to July 26, 1915, a democratic conference composed of representatives of the union of cities, various labor organizations, and the learned professions, was held. Here was the germ for a permanent democratic body where public opinion could be expressed. The resolution adopted at the conference showed what the people were really thinking. In part that document stated:

"In this time of danger, an act to conciliate and to forget the old political fight would arouse the spirit of the population and would bring back to work and to public service many citizens who, for political reasons, have been kept away.

"With the view of uniting all the forces of the country, an end should be put to the legal differences that exist between different religions and nationalities in Russia. . . .

"Without taking into consideration the different forms of popular representation which are proposed by the various political groups and parties, the conference agrees that at the present time, for the successful carrying out of the war, the government should at least be made up of persons who have the confidence of the country. Only such men will make the government strong, vigorous, capable of carrying this great country to victory." [19]

This plea for a government that should have the confidence of the country was taken up in other quarters. Only

[18] F. A. Golder, *Documents of Russian history 1914-1917*, gives an excellent collection of documents relating to the various special commissions, including the union of cities and the union of zemstvos.

[19] *Ibid.*, 131-132.

two months later a group in the state soviet and state duma passed a resolution of a somewhat similar nature. Not only was a change in the Tsar's ministers favored. "A sensible and consistent policy directed towards the maintenance of internal peace and the removal of cause of dissension between nationalities and classes" [20] was likewise declared to be essential.

The reply of the Tsar to these suggestions was the adjournment of the duma. As to the unions of zemstvos and cities, the opinion was expressed that these institutions were "a colossal government blunder. Such organizations should not have been allowed . . . without definitely limiting the sphere of their activities. They started out as charitable organizations and have become tremendous institutions. . . ." [21]

Still the unions of zemstvos and of cities continued their humanitarian, useful, and necessary work at the front and grew more popular throughout the country. As a result of this very fact, they were in danger from the government, but the leader of the zemstvos, Prince G. E. L'vov, at a congress of representatives of the provincial zemstvos held in Moscow from September 20 to September 22, 1915, still dared speak of the "problems that were beyond the administrative capacities of Russia's governmental machinery". In contrast to the government the "men of the zemstvo went to work without any hesitation for the good of the state".[22] The resolutions of the congress deplored the suspension of the duma and pointed out the need for a speedy resumption of its work. A special delegation was appointed to report the views of the congress to the Emperor. Its report was destined never to be received; the next congress of the zemstvo was merely informed that the matter could not be further discussed.

[20] *Ibid.*, 134.
[21] Statement by Scherbatov in *ibid.*, 142.
[22] *Ibid.*, 146.

In later meetings the unions of zemstvos and cities continued to oppose the government, and, by the manner in which they did so, to show their truly patriotic character. At a congress held in March 1916 the zemstvo delegates remarked that, despite the frequent changes that occurred in important ministries, the governmental system still remained the same. So, in the opinion of this congress, only "in the duma lies our hope. To the duma we turn for the fate of our army and of the whole nation. Without end we shall work to help the army and the war victims. No obstacles, no difficulties can stop us and prevent us from fulfilling our duty toward our country".[23]

Following the assembly in March of the unions of zemstvos and cities, the government took definite measures against the two organizations. In April 1916 a special meeting of the governors of the central provinces was held in Petrograd in order to study the measures to be taken to prevent interference by social organizations in the internal policy of the country. Stürmer, then minister of interior, planned to organize a new duma favorable to the government. As for social organizations, it was decided to prohibit their meetings altogether. They were patriotic; the minister of interior, whose later appointment as minister of foreign affairs and president of the soviet of ministers was warmly welcomed in Germany, apparently could be relied upon to prohibit any efficient democratic movement having as its object the winning of the war. In May 1916 the president of the union of cities, Chelnokov, was officially informed that the government had decided not to authorize further congresses until the end of hostilities. Even a meeting of the congress of nobles, also a patriotic body which deplored existing corruption, was prohibited by Stürmer unless it should make a special request to hold

[23] *Bulletin périodique de la presse russe*, No. 5, for the period March 25-April 4, 1916.

each meeting, and then it must not discuss political questions.[24]

Events from this time moved rapidly. Miliukov's speech in the duma on November 14, 1916, showed the existence of conditions which could not but lead to the overthrow of the existing order. A resolution passed by the representatives of various social forces assembled in Moscow at the end of 1916 showed that hope for the future must lie in another governmental order. These organizations were then dissolved by the government, but before leaving Moscow they issued a final statement on existing conditions and on their hope for the future.[25] It was declared that an irresponsible government, influenced by occult forces, was leading the country to ruin. The state soviet and the congress of nobles had both condoned existing corruption and governmental ineptitude, but the ruling powers had remained uninfluenced by criticisms of this nature. In fact, the government had met opposition by prohibiting popular assemblies. The representatives of the social organizations now pleaded for a close union of all elements in the country, for a responsible government acting in agreement with the people and not under the guidance of "mysterious influences".

Russia, however, was far-famed for the mysticism of her people. Sectarianism had permeated to a far greater extent than was commonly believed possible. Rasputin, the mystic, was not an isolated phenomenon. His adherents were numerous, as were the followers of other sects such as the 'castrated' and the 'fire baptists'. At a later epoch,

[24] At a congress held in December 1916 a resolution of the congress of nobility favored "a strong government, Russian in thought and feeling," that is a government without Germans so long as Russia was at war with Germany. In another respect the resolution also mentioned the "irresponsible, dark powers, alien to the legitimate authority," which were gaining influence in the administration of the state. For text, see Golder, as cited, 177.

[25] *Bulletin périodique de la presse russe,* No. 35, for the period December 20, 1916 - January 1, 1917.

under new influences, there was to be a revival of these same mystic influences.[26]

From the end of 1916 the final breakdown in the organization of supply, both for the army and for the civilian population, was imminent. Food could not be obtained, even in Petrograd, largely because of governmental ineptitude. "It seemed as if the authorities were consciously working on behalf of Germany and against Russia."[27] But without food for the masses and with three years of disillusionment in the background, the future of all holders of positions of public trust was dark enough without any further agitation of troubled waters on their own part. Blindly the leaders of tsarist Russia refused to take heed of an impending storm; they remained equally blind when the elements broke with a pent-up fury. In March 1917 the old régime in Russia began to reap the fruits of its own sowing. It crumbled almost overnight: Russia of the Tsars became an historical memory with few regrets in any part of the world at its downfall.

As in the case of most revolutions in history, it is open to question as to whether Russia might not have overcome her troubles, have rid herself of a poisonous governmental and social system, have become, in brief, a civilized nation, without resort to extreme violence. Some progress had been made: it was slow, as are most things in Asiatic countries. Whatever the verdict of history on the revolution, however, it will be necessary to take into consideration the fact that the destruction of this mighty empire did not result entirely from internal forces. Its break-up was decreed years in advance by subversive elements of which the real procedure remains to be disclosed in full. Without entering here into a detailed discussion of the preliminary attempts to overthrow the tsarist régime, and without

[26] See René-Fülöp-Miller, *The mind and face of bolshevism. An examination of cultural life in Soviet Russia*, ch. IV.

[27] Rodzianko, as cited, 244.

tracing the developments which culminated with the murder of the imperial family at Sverdlovsk in 1918, it may be remarked that: first, history will be likely to give full prominence to plans for the destruction of Russia formulated at the Masonic congress held in Brussels a few years before the beginning of the world war; and, second, the final episode relating to the murder at Sverdlovsk will be recorded as an act of Sverdlov, the Jewish president of the bolshevik organ of governmental authority, under whose guidance the final act of vengeance was apparently engineered.[28]

On the day preceding the outbreak of the March revolution, the Tsar had ordered the duma dissolved. That body refused to obey the command. Instead of dissolution, the state duma appointed a provisional committee to "take into its own hands the restoration of state and public order".[29] This committee became the provisional government of Russia.

On the same day that the committee was formed, another and unrelated body came into prominence. An organization which had not troubled Russia since the revolutionary days of 1905 again asserted its authority, this time less secretly than in the past. Assembled at the headquarters of the state duma, representatives of the workers and soldiers organized a "soviet of workers deputies".[30] The

[28] See E. A. Walsh, *The fall of the Russian Empire* (Boston 1928), 110, for mention of the plan of the (Grand Orient) Free Masons to use Rasputin to destroy Russia, and chapters IX-XI of the same book for details of the murder of the Tsar and his family. The official report on the murder, published at Sverdlovsk in 1926, is entitled *Poslednie dni Romanovykh*, edited by A. Tanieva. At the time known as Ekaterinburg (Catherine's city), the name of the place where the murder occurred was quite appropriately changed to Sverdlovsk in honor of the above-mentioned president of the all-Russian central executive committee.

[29] Golder, as cited, 282.

[30] The Russian word 'совет' (soviet) is usually translated 'council'. Here, however, the word 'soviet' has been used throughout, even in denoting the governmental organs of the old régime. The system of transliteration has been changed only in the case of this word, which, if transliterated like the other Russian words used here, would be written 'sovet' instead of 'soviet'.

"provisional executive committee" of this body addressed a proclamation to the people worded in part thus: "All those troops that have joined the side of the people should immediately elect their representatives, one for each company. Factory workers should elect one deputy for each one thousand. Factories with less than one thousand should elect one deputy each." [31] Political representation was to be an incentive to adhere to the soviet cause.

An executive committee elected at the first meeting of the soviet on March 12, 1917, was directed at first by Georgian mensheviks.[32] Next to the Jews, these people from the Caucasus had long been prominent in revolutionary circles in Russia. Chkheidze, a Georgian, was president of the so-called executive committee of the Petrograd soviet. Of greater significance, he and Tsereteli, another Georgian, were included in a secret 'contact commission' which worked under the directions of the members of the presidium of the executive committee.[33]

The part played by the executive committee of the Petrograd soviet soon became a matter of serious concern to the provisional government, particularly when that committee began to issue proclamations to the soldiers and to the people. On March 14, 1917, the famous Order No. 1, which was an indirect means of providing that soldiers should no longer respect their officers, was approved. In another respect, this order decreed that "the orders of the

[31] Golder, as cited, 286.

[32] 'Menshevik', a Russian word, means 'minority'; 'bolshevik' signifies the 'majority'. The two words came into use to denote two different groups in the Russian social democratic labor party. The bolsheviks were the more radical of the two. See chapter XII.

[33] The words of Stalin in characterizing this period of Russian history are relevant and striking. "The characteristic feature of this period is the fact that side by side, concurrently and simultaneously, there exist both the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and that of the proletariat and the peasantry, the latter showing confidence in the former, believing in its efforts for peace, voluntarily conferring the power on the bourgeoisie and thus turning itself into its appendage. Serious conflicts between the two dictatorships had not yet arisen. Instead of this there was a 'contact commission'." Speech at the plenary meeting of the communist section of the central trade union soviet on November 19, 1924.

military commission of the state duma shall be executed only in such cases as do not conflict with the orders and resolutions of the soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies".[34] By this and similar pronouncements the soviet pretended itself to be the new government or system of authority in Russia.

Obviously two systems of authority could not continue in juxtaposition. Either the committee of the duma or the executive committee of the soviet must become supreme. Both groups, for the time being, appeared willing to wait until a constituent assembly could be called to decide the permanent form of government. In the meantime, Miliukov and others drew up a list of *members of the duma* to carry on the government pending the creation of a constitutional order. Only two socialists were included in the list, Chkheidze and Kerenskii. Chkheidze, the man who welcomed the arrival of Lenin from Germany with a speech as representative of the Petrograd soviet, first asked the consent of the executive committee to serve. Permission was refused. As a result Chkheidze did not participate in the government. Kerenskii, however, decided to take part on his own responsibility. The only relation of the executive committee of the Petrograd soviet to the government was through "a committee of representatives from the soviet of soldiers' and workers' deputies to watch over the acts of the provisional government".[35] It was maintained, however, that the government should be responsible to the soviet for its policies.

The provisional government was headed by Prince I'vov, formerly the popular and able president of the union of zemstvos. Miliukov, the leader of the constitutional-democratic (liberal bourgeoisie) party, was minister of foreign affairs; Tereschenko, a Georgian, minister of finance; Kerenskii, in his school days a friend of Lenin, minister of justice. The program of the new ministry was announced

[34] Golder, as cited, 387. [35] *Ibid.*, 307.

at once. The planks in the platform included a general amnesty, freedom of speech and press, the abolition of all social, religious, and national restrictions, and the immediate calling of a constituent assembly to be elected by universal and secret vote. The purpose of this assembly was to be to determine the form of government of the new Russia and to draw up a constitution for the country.

On March 15, 1917, the Petrograd socialist revolutionists announced their support of the government so far as it lived up to its published program. Further, "believing that control by the laboring mass of the actions of the provisional government is necessary, the conference [of the socialist-revolutionists] welcomes the entrance of A. F. Kerenskii into the provisional government as minister of justice. It looks upon him as the defender of the people's interests and freedom".[36] Kerenskii was in an excellent position to serve the purpose of the moderate socialists until others would be ready to take over the power. Whether he so willed or not, the part he took could not have been better adapted to the real interests of the bolsheviks who were later to overthrow the transitional provisional government.

At once the conflict arising from a dual government reappeared as it did before the formation of the L'vov ministry. The soviet insisted on its right to 'control' the provisional government. The first real clash between the two came over a matter of foreign policy. Among Russians of Slavic descent—and they predominated in the new ministry—the acquisition of Constantinople remained a legitimate aim of war. Among the members of the soviet, where the non-Slavic strain was seemingly predominant, the demand arose for peace at any price and for the renunciation of all "imperialistic ambitions". An open conflict between the two concepts resulted when Miliukov, the minister of foreign affairs, promised the allies that Russia would remain faith-

[36] *Ibid.*, 310. Kerenskii was a leading member of the socialist-revolutionist party.

ful to her undertaking not to conclude a separate peace. At the same time, however, he issued a statement, designed for home consumption, to the effect that "the purpose of free Russia is not domination over other nations, or seizure of their national possessions,[37] or forcible occupation of foreign territories, but the establishment of stable peace on the basis of self-determination of peoples".[38]

After informing the allies that the provisional government did not mean what it said for home consumption and *vice versa,* that government and the Petrograd soviet drew further apart. The latter appealed over the head of the former on March 27, 1917, to the "peoples of the world". "Conscious of its revolutionary power", ran the appeal, "the Russian democracy announces that it will, by every means, resist the policy of conquest of its ruling classes, and it calls upon the peoples of Europe for concerted, decisive action in favor of peace".[39] The soviet already looked upon itself not merely as a Russian institution but as the destined agent and protagonist of world revolution. The motto "proletarians of all countries, unite" was hereafter to be the order of the day.

At the beginning of May 1917, the system of dual authority reached the breaking point. The executive committee of the soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies, fearing a premature revolt, requested all citizens not to come out on the streets armed "unless called out by the executive committee. Only the executive committee has the right to give you orders."[40] To secure the cooperation of the bolsheviks and end the system of dual authority, Prince L'vov, the

[37] Reference is made to the Constantinople agreement of March 1915 whereby Russia was promised control over Constantinople at the end of the war. See in particular the works edited by E. A. Adamov entitled *Konstantinopol i Prolivy* and *Razdel Aziatskoi Turtsii.*

[38] Golder, as cited, 330.

[39] *Ibid.,* 324.

[40] *Ibid.,* 335. See also, for the relations between the provisional government and the Petrograd soviet, the publication of the Tsentrarkhiv, *Petrogradskii sovet rabochikh i soldatskikh deputatov, passim.*

head of the provisional government, asked the soviet to participate in the government directly. The executive committee of the soviet was divided on the question of the policy to pursue. The bolsheviks, however, were firmly in favor of the immediate assumption of power by the soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies. They were supported by the internationalists, a party which occupied a middle ground between the bolsheviks and mensheviks and which, through its party organ, the *Novaia Zhizn* (New Life) edited by Maxim Gorkii, exerted considerable influence at the time. The result was that a new government was formed on May 18, 1917, with the participation of the soviet. Miliukov no longer appeared in it. Kerenskii became minister of war and navy. The policy of this ministry remained opposed to a separate peace, though at the same time it favored a "peace without annexations, without indemnities, and on the basis of self-determination of peoples",[41] good Wilsonian principles of that period. To the forthcoming constituent assembly was delegated the duty of deciding the question of the transfer of the land to the 'toilers.'

The members of the Petrograd soviet who entered the new ministry were declared, in a resolution adopted on May 18, 1918, still to be responsible to the soviet until such time as the all-Russian soviet should be formed. The old division of authority between the soviet and the provisional government, as well as a split within the soviet itself, was manifested when the first all-Russian congress of soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies met at Petrograd in June 1917.

The group of socialist-revolutionists, to which Kerenskii belonged, stood for the policy as outlined by the new cabinet. This group was still ascendant over the bolsheviks both in the soviet and in the country at large. They were, however, not long to be so, for the extreme revolutionary

[41] *Ibid.*, 354.

element was to receive inspiration from new leaders and assistance and direction from still other forces.

From the beginning of the world war the influence of propaganda was not underestimated. The allies used this force against Germany; Germany adopted the same methods. But the German general staff was in a more strategic position than any other body, for it did not have to rely entirely upon the ordinary means of propaganda. In addition, it could call upon certain forces, so powerful throughout Europe, which had worked hand in hand with the German Empire even under Bismarck. Those forces were the various secret societies, some with well-known names, others more obscure but perhaps equally powerful.

Once it became imperative to render Russia impotent, the German general staff staked more on the use of subversive elements and risked exposure of a long-standing collusion in doing so. Old time revolutionaries were sought out to accomplish their long cherished aims, which happened to coincide with the requirements of Germany at the moment. Thus it was that "some man" in Germany "who had connections with the Russian revolutionaries exiled in Switzerland came upon the idea of employing some of them in order to hasten the undermining and poisoning of the morale of the Russian army. He applied to the deputy Erzberger and the deputy of the German foreign office. And thus it came about that Lenin was conveyed through Germany to Petersburg in the manner that afterward transpired." [42] This account by the chief of the German general staff on the German-Russian front of the conveyance of Lenin through Germany in a sealed car, the manner which "afterward transpired", embodies one of the most illuminating explanations of bolshevism and, incidentally, of forces with which European diplomacy is involved. In the case of Lenin exposure could be risked for, as General Ludendorff

[42] General von Hoffmann, *The war of lost opportunities* (New York 1925), 180-181.

of that same general staff has stated in his memoirs, "Russia had to be laid low".[43] Granted this necessity, the German general staff could not heed remarks such as those made later by the Austrian foreign minister, Count Czernin, to the effect that "this Russian bolshevism is a peril to Europe, and if we had the power, besides securing a tolerable peace for ourselves, to force other countries into a state of law and order, then it would be better to have nothing to do with such people as these, but to march on Petersburg and arrange matters there".[44]

As soon as he reached Russia, Lenin lost no time in laying Russia low, just as General Ludendorff had foreseen. He opposed from the start any compromise with bourgeois principles; he wanted to destroy at the roots every reminder of Russia's Slavic or 'hated past'. He feared that a "bourgeois government would make the soviets unnecessary".[45] Rather than have such a thing occur, the existing order should be overthrown, whatever the revolutionary consequences.

Lenin's opening tirade against the provisional government was delivered at the Petrograd conference of the Russian social democratic labor party (of bolsheviks) on May 10, 1917.[46] He deplored coöperation with the bourgeoisie. The soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies should be a purely class organ of the revolutionaries. "Its class significance is outright power. . . . 'Down with the war!' does not mean that we must throw away our bayonets. It

[43] 2 *My war memories* (London, n.d., second edition), 509-510.

[44] *In the world war* (London 1919), 216-217. The statement is taken from a letter written by Count Czernin to a friend on November 17, 1917. That letter further stated: "Their [the bolshevik] leaders are almost all of them Jews, with altogether fantastic ideas, and I do not envy the country that is governed by them. . . . The way they begin is this: everything in the least reminiscent of work, wealth, and culture must be destroyed and the bourgeoisie exterminated. Freedom and equality seem no longer to have any place on their programme: only a bestial suppression of all but the proletariat itself."

[45] Speech on June 17, 1917, in Golder, as cited, 364.

[46] See translation in 8 *Speeches of Lenin* (New York 1928), 19-26.

merely means the transfer of power to another class. . . . We are not anarchists who deny the organization of the state, *i.e.*, who renounce the use of force altogether, and particularly the state of all the organized and armed workers,—the organization of the nation through its 'soviets'."

Lenin and other agents of the revolution began work at the front among the soldiers in their attempt to transfer control over the armed force to their own hands. The only means by which this could be done was completely to demoralize the existing troops. Incidentally, the persons sent into Russia by the German general staff would simultaneously repay their benefactors. Rumors were spread among the troops that back home the land was being divided, and that if the soldiers delayed the return to their native hearth, they would be too late to share in the spoils. Propaganda of this nature, the abolition of corporal punishment, the grant of freedom of propaganda, and allied factors rapidly served to demoralize the army. Authority ceased to exist; automatically the aims of the bolsheviks were realized. Not only was Russia unable to wage war against Germany but also the army was not a menace to subversive activity in the rear.

Masters of the theory and practice of propaganda, as the demoralization of the army showed, the bolsheviks set out to obtain further support in order to attain their objectives. A city party appealing, like all radical movements, principally to the industrial workers, they sought to extend their influence to the rural regions. In the words of Lenin, "we must now combine the demand to seize the land with propaganda in favor of the creation of soviets of farm laborers' delegates. . . . We must bring in a new agricultural program. . . . We must be ready for a possible union of the peasantry with the bourgeoisie, as has already been the case with the soviet of workers' and soldiers' delegates." [47] Thus Lenin and his followers proposed an

[47] *Ibid.*, 21-22.

immediate division of land among the 'toiling' masses of the poorer peasantry. The land to the tillers of the soil. Such doctrines were listened to eagerly. The extent to which they had permeated was demonstrated, first, by the actual forcible division of land which had been taking place for some time, and, second, by the resolutions adopted at the meeting of the 'peasants' union' in Petrograd in April 1917. It was intended that through this meeting and the occupation of land then occurring the program of distribution of land should be carried out before the constituent assembly could meet. Faced by an accomplished fact, the constituent assembly, when assembled, could only acquiesce in the land distribution which would have occurred. This plan was identical with that proposed by the bolsheviks at the third congress of the Russian social democratic labor party in 1905 when it was foreseen that a provisional government would succeed the tsarist régime.

Only by favoring a redistribution of land could the bolsheviks hope to secure even a passive ally in the peasantry, who, rich and poor together, numbered one hundred millions out of the one hundred and twenty-five million inhabitants of European Russia. Existing conditions aided the bolshevik propaganda. Russia, despite her vast expanse, had a peasantry hungry for land. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the population had been increasing at the rate of two and one-half millions a year. On the other hand, from 1861 to 1914 the land available to the peasant had increased only twenty per cent. for the entire period. Because of the increase in population, the slowness of industrial development, and the exhaustion of the supply of available land, the Russian peasant eagerly awaited the moment when the state domain and the not very extensive holdings of the nobility could be divided.[48] And the

[48] See in connection with the land hunger in Russia Jean Lescure, *Les origines de la révolution russe* (Paris 1927). "The Russian revolution of 1917", in the view of M. Lescure, "illustrates the principles of

poorest peasants were just as eager to secure the land of the *kulaks* or better off peasants.

The cause of the peasants was linked to that of the soviet and thus automatically to the more radical wing of the bolsheviks when the executive committee elected by the peasants' deputies and the executive committee of the congress of soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies united A statement of this union, published on July 1, 1917, announced that "together they will decide all current political questions, act on an equal footing, and in the name of the central executive committee of soviets of peasants', workers', and soldiers' deputies".[49] The soviet was expanding; its power was increasing; authority was being centralized; it was soon to be ready to take over the reins of governmental authority.

In July 1917 the final phase of the provisional government began. Three members of the ministry resigned because of an agreement reached with the Ukraine under which Ukrainian autonomy was guaranteed. An attempted offensive in July led by certain ministers who had been sent to Kiev against the Germans failed miserably, the soldiers fleeing from the ranks and shooting their officers. In Petrograd the bolsheviks carried out an unsuccessful armed uprising which lasted three days. Feeling against them then ran high, but Lenin went to Finland for a few weeks, apparently with as much ease as later Kerenskii, when Lenin was in power, was able to flee.

After the uprising, and the concomitant events which weakened the power of the provisional government, Prince L'vov, on July 21, 1917, resigned. The socialists were now supreme. There remained, however, the schism between

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population of Malthus more than the *Capital* of Marx". This theory seems at the best only partially tenable. The revolutionary movements carried on since the time of the Nihilists under Alexander I can not be explained by agrarian problems. In addition, *subversive movements do not begin in rural regions.*

[49] Golder, as cited, 383.

the moderates and the bolsheviks. For the moment the former were still in the majority. They made up the new government formed on August 6, 1917. Kerenskii succeeded Prince L'vov as head of the ministry while at the same time he remained minister of war and navy.

Meanwhile, Russia was waiting for the long promised constituent assembly. Plans for convoking it were still indefinite at the end of July 1917 when the new ministry decided to call at Moscow a conference to secure for the provisional government "the consent and the backing of all honest and loyal elements in the country".[50] This conference, assembled at the end of August 1917, was composed principally of former members of the duma, the coöperatives, the soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies, representatives of the zemstvos and cities, of industry, finance, the peasants, and others in lesser numbers. This was to be one of the last public meetings of importance in Russia where the bourgeoisie and the representatives of the soviets met together.

The Moscow conference promised to bring the two groups together. This, however, was a forlorn hope. The differences between the egocentric and vain Kerenskii representing the Petrograd soviet and Kaledin (leader of the Kazak troops) or Kornilov, the soldier and leader who won at Moscow the confidence of all forces at heart opposed to the soviets, were too great not to lead to a rupture of relations.

General Kornilov, before his popularity mounted, had been placed in supreme command of the army by Kerenskii. He had accepted that position only on condition that he should be given a free hand to restore discipline in the army. But once his popularity had been demonstrated at the Moscow conference, once his determination to disperse the soviet and put down any bolshevist uprising was known, Kerenskii took measures to dispose of a rival who so injured

[50] *Ibid.*, 482.

his inflated personal vanity and who would have endangered the rising power of the coming successor to the provisional government, the bolsheviks. Open collusion is not necessary to bring about a common purpose. So now Kerenskii called upon General Kornilov to resign his commission. The latter refused and began the bloodless march on Petrograd which failed, in a manner still sufficiently obscure, in the face of what was known to be a united opposition of all the socialists, both the group led by Kerenskii and the bolsheviks.

With their adversary disposed of, the bolsheviks needed only a few weeks to take over the reins of authority. First, Kerenskii formed a directory of five. His next move was to call a "democratic conference" at Petrograd. The reason given for the summoning of that conference, which met from September 27 to October 5, 1917, was the necessity "to gather all the forces of the country to prepare the defence, to help with the internal organization, and to say the decisive word on the formation of a strong government".[51] Perhaps, also, Kerenskii wanted the opportunity to participate in another congress where, as at the Moscow conference, as he has observed, he would be seated in the middle and would thus be the "mathematical point of unity".[52] Two principal questions were to be decided at the conference:

1. Should the ministry that was to succeed the directory of five include both the bourgeoisie and socialists or be composed exclusively of socialists?

[51] Golder, as cited, 542.

[52] See Loukomsky, *Memoirs of the Russian revolution, passim.* Also G. F. Kerenskii, *The prelude to bolshevism, the Kornilov rebellion* (London 1919); and Boris Savinkoff, "L'affaire Korniloff. Replique à M. Kerensky", in 133 *Mercure de France* (Paris 1919), 434-443. The account of the relations between Kerenskii and Kornilov covers, to be sure, a highly debated point. The presentation of the case given here conforms to the final conclusion derived by the author after a perusal of published sources and rather detailed inquiries through personal channels of information. It is believed that the view held of Kerenskii will in time be regarded as a mild one.

2. Should, pending the convocation of the constituent assembly, a provisional parliament, to which the ministers would be responsible, be established?

The decision on the first point is to be found in the formation on October 8, 1917, of a coalition ministry again headed by Kerenskii. As a complement to the ministry, on October 4, 1917, the provisional government formed the "provisional soviet of the republic".[53] This body was to function until the meeting of the constituent assembly. "This soviet, composed of representatives of all classes of the population, including those delegates already chosen at the democratic conference, will have the right to interpellate the government and to receive answers within a certain time, to work out legislative measures, and to deliberate on all questions that may be laid before it by the provisional government, or that may arise from its own initiative." [54]

The provisional soviet of the republic never had any influence on the constitutional development of Russia. Opposed by the Petrograd soviet and the bolshevik leaders,[55] overwhelmed by the trend to bolshevism following the free expression of the doctrines "all power to the soviets", "all land to the people", and "immediate peace", the ministry and its accessory were impotent from the moment they were constituted. It is generally asserted that Kerenskii could have acted against the second authority, the bolsheviks: the fact remains that he did not choose to do so. In the

[53] On September 14, 1917, the day the directory of five was formed, the provisional government declared "that the political form under which the Russian state is governed is a republican form, and it proclaims the Russian Republic".

[54] From the declaration of the government on October 8, 1917, in Golder, as cited, 558-563.

[55] According to Stalin, who was in a position to know, Trotskii, in his capacity as chairman of the Petrograd soviet, had no special power. He "neither did nor could play any special part . . . he only carried out the will of the party authorities in question who supervised every one of his steps." Speech at the plenary meeting of the communist section of the central trade union soviet on November 19, 1924.

beginning a small band of leaders collected from the various corners of the world and with only a very limited following, between March and the first days of November of 1917, by extreme doctrines and ably directed propaganda the bolsheviks had become the best organized force in Petrograd and Moscow. By October 8, 1917, indeed, they were sufficiently strong to elect Trotskii—against whose detention in Halifax by British authorities when on his way from the east side of New York City to Russia the provisional government had protested a short while before—president of the Petrograd soviet. At the time of Kornilov's march on Petrograd, Kerenskii had welcomed the support of a red guard and war revolutionary committee; these servitors of the bolsheviks now refused to disband upon his order.

Affairs reached a crisis about the middle of October 1917. The German troops had entered Riga. They were expected at Petrograd. Conjectures as to why they did not go there would fill a substantial volume. Rumors spread that the provisional government intended to abandon the city; the soviet discussed means of defence. At the same time measures were taken finally to put into practice the slogan "all power to the soviets". November 7, 1917, the provisional government was disbanded by force. The Petrograd soviet announced at once that the provisional government was a thing of the past. Lenin had just returned from his strategic hiding place in Finland. He proclaimed that at last Russia was ready to build up a "proletarian socialist state".[56]

The overthrow of the provisional government by the Petrograd soviet and the revolutionary military committee occurred before the opening of the second all-Russian congress of soviets. The bolsheviks had hoped originally that Kerenskii would attempt to disband the congress by force, since "it would in consequence be necessary to oppose them [the provisional government] with the most ruthless resist-

[56] Speech before the Petrograd soviet on November 7, 1917, in *ibid.*, 618.

ance".[57] The congress of soviets was expected to be dominated by bolsheviks and would, therefore, serve as a substitute for the old all-Russian central executive committee with socialist-revolutionists and mensheviks at its head.[58] As a matter of fact, the congress of soviets took over the power from the hands of the Petrograd soviet, which had already overthrown the provisional government.

As soon as the vacillating provisional government was overthrown, the second all-Russian congress of soviets resolved "to form a provisional workers' and peasants' government, to be known as the soviet of people's commissars, to govern the country until the meeting of the constituent assembly. Control over the acts of the people's commissars and the right to amend them belongs to the all-Russian congress of soviets of workers', soldiers', and peasants' deputies and its central executive committee". The administrative mechanism was all ready. The time had come to put in practice the doctrines of the proletarian state proclaimed openly since March 1917 and circulated under cover for a much longer time.

The transition from tsarism to bolshevism came as a bitter climax to an armed conflict which had already exhausted Russia. In the days to follow, the destructiveness of that conflict was to increase, for revolution and civil war are more devastating than a struggle with a foreign enemy. Furthermore, this revolution was directed by a vengeful spirit, Lenin, who is reported to have remarked that it did not matter if three-fourths of the human race perished provided the remaining quarter was of his political faith. Under the circumstances it was to be expected that this period of domestic strife and chaos would uproot the vestiges of the old order. The movement which brought the new proletarian state into existence has been flippantly defined as "the sabotage of civilization by the disap-

[57] Leon Trotzky, *Lenin* (New York 1925), 91. [58] *Ibid.*, 94.

pointed".[59] A wiser social system and government, however, would have reduced the great number of 'disappointed' and thus not have made almost inevitable the momentous transitory step which has been delineated here in its broad outlines.

[59] H. G. Wells, *The world of William Clissold,* 194.

CHAPTER II

ORIGINS OF SOVIET CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE

When a government which is not a dictatorship comes into being as a result of a revolution, it usually formulates at once the terms of a constitution. With old institutions cast aside, a new order must be established. How fundamental the difference is between the old and the new depends upon the nature of the political change which has occurred, as well as upon the characteristics of a given people.

The political régime which came into being by virtue of armed force in Petrograd on November 7, 1917, appeared to grow up overnight. It provided for a system of authority, though no draft of a constitution had been considered. Without any basis except revolutionary legality, new organs asserted political power. But while a new authority was declared to exist, it was far from cohesive and was able to survive principally because of the lack of initiative and knowledge of conditions on the part of those opposed to the soviets and bolshevism.

Simultaneously with the proclamation of the new system of authority under the soviet of people's commissars, long-established socialist doctrines began to be applied. Decrees designed to create a new social and economic order in Russia and to carry out the theories of communism kept the printing presses busy. As a preliminary measure, all non-bolshevik publications were ordered suppressed, though they appeared sporadically for some time thereafter. Freedom of the press had long been a doctrine of the revolutionists, but, as now explained by actions, that principle applied only to the communist press.

The measures introduced by the bolsheviks in this early period form the basis of later developments.[1] One of the first political acts was to send an appeal to all belligerent countries proposing the immediate conclusion of peace on the basis of "no annexations or indemnities". At the same time, not only were the secret treaties concluded by the old régime with the allies denounced but also the new occupants of the Russian foreign office at once ordered the publication of all secret agreements. With regard to internal affairs, the "declaration of the rights of the people of Russia" dated November 22, 1917, confirmed again the principle of self-determination, the equality and sovereignty of all peoples in Russia, and the abolition of all privileges and national or religious restrictions.

More fundamental and significant for the future of Russia than these acts were the decrees of an economic and social character. On November 8, 1917, a decree for the nationalization of land was passed. On the same day, in an address delivered at the second congress of soviets, Lenin declared that the peasantry should be convinced that there were no more land-holders in the villages and that the peasants should proceed to build up their life according to local conditions. A supreme soviet of people's economy was created on December 18, 1917, to organize all the economic activity of the country and, in the course of its work, to abolish private industrial enterprises. All foreign loans were cancelled on January 21, 1918. Banks had been nationalized a month previously. Of equal importance, compulsory military service was soon to be introduced.

Such decrees formulated the practical side of bolshevism. They were the essence of the new system of authority. Similar decrees carrying out the details of this social order followed after the first few months. It may be said, in brief, that "the collection of soviet decrees forms, in a

[1] The early decrees are given in *Sbornik dekretov 1917-1918 gg*, the official source used here.

certain sense, a by no means unimportant part of the collected works of Lenin".[2]

When the soviet ceased to regard itself as provisional, steps were taken to interpret, in the form of a fundamental law, the existing order. Discussions had occurred at the third congress of soviets in January 1918. The dissolution of the constituent assembly at that time made it necessary to give an appearance of legality to existing institutions. Theories, stated in the early revolutionary days, had been tried out for several months. The account which follows traces their expression in the form of a constitution of Soviet Russia.

A. Political Theory, Philosophy, Ethics, and Law

With all materials available, it took years to place the declaration of the rights of man and citizen of 1789 in its proper perspective. In the beginning, this document was supposed to have been inspired by the work of Rousseau and other doctrinaires. Later, the tendency was to regard it as modelled after the declaration of independence and the bills of rights found in American state constitutions. Another school of thought is inclined at present to place the French revolution, as well as many earlier and later subversive movements, in the setting of the activities of secret societies that are declared to have been responsible for these movements.[3] No attempt is made here, however,

[2] Leon Trotzkii, *Lenin*, 151.

[3] See in particular the much maligned but generally unassailable books in point of specific fact by N. H. Webster: *The French revolution* (London, 4th ed., 1926); *World revolution: the plot against civilization* (London 1921); *Secret societies and subversive movements* (London-New York 1924). See also Herbert Vivian, *Secret societies, old and new* (London 1927). Not without interest or significance, biassed as it may be, is the book by N. E. Markov', *Voiny temnykh' sil'* (Paris 1928), in which the view is maintained that the influence of many important personages in Russia in their rôle as members of certain fraternal and secret organizations was as pernicious as the openly revolutionary work of the bolsheviks. It is to be remembered, furthermore, that in all countries there are likely to be 'bolsheviks' of the 'right' as well as of the 'left'. The extremes of political faith usually serve the same cause in point of fact.

to estimate the influence of occult forces either in bringing on revolution or in securing the adoption of political theories.

The constitution of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR) of July 1918 was preceded by the "declaration of the rights of the laboring and exploited people" which had been adopted in January 1918. The title of this declaration served at the time, as at present, to establish an immediate connection between the bolshevik revolution and the French revolution with its declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen, not to mention the earlier American declaration of independence, yet any similarity is one of words and not of ideas.[4]

In the first place, it was not in the French revolution of 1789, which did not destroy the existing state, that bolshevism sought its inspiration but rather in the Paris commune of March 18 to May 15, 1871. Both the commune and the bolshevik revolution were heralded by rivers of blood, the one springing from an Asiatic axe, the other from the Gallic guillotine. The commune demanded the "expropriation of the expropriator"; the bolsheviks expropriated all property. The commune demanded "the land for the peasants, the instruments of his labor for the workman"; the bolsheviks carried the principle out in practice. The commune called for the abolition of a standing army and its replacement by a nation in arms; the bolsheviks created the red army and navy on the basis of class domination.[5] The commune of

[4] Before reading before the constituent assembly in January 1918 the declaration of rights of the laboring and exploited people, Sverdlov, a bolshevik, made the following statement: "As in its time the French bourgeois revolution, during the great revolution of 1789, proclaimed the rights of man and of the citizen, a declaration of the rights of the bourgeoisie, the right to exploit freely the peoples, of the freedom and the means of production, so our Russian socialist revolution must proclaim its own declaration."

[5] See the comparison by Lancelot Lawton, *The Russian revolution (1917-1926)*, 29 and following.

1871 was the prototype of the soviet of 1917. Or, to use the words of Stalin, the commune of Paris was the "germ" of the "political form within whose framework the economic emancipation of the proletariat, the complete triumph of socialism, will ultimately be realized. The soviet power is its culmination." [6]

In 1917 the bolsheviks did not fail to profit from the experiences of 1871. They recognized that the autonomy of the arrondissements, cities, and the independence of the individual reacted against the interests of the commune. In the words of Trotskii, "the tendency to particularism, in whatever form it is clothed, is a heritage of the dead past. The sooner French communism frees itself of it . . . the better it will be for the proletarian revolution." [7] The lesson drawn from the commune, states Trotskii, is that "a strong party direction is necessary".[8] The lack of such direction constitutes the great difference between March 18, 1871, and November 7, 1917. In the one instance the proletariat had really won but lacked leadership; in the other instance the few party leaders proceeded firmly to take over the power. They had prepared openly for the insurrection. "The bourgeoisie, with Kerenskii at its head, did not understand what was going on before its eyes." [9]

The general characteristics of the bolshevik revolution resembled those of most revolutions. Just as in the French revolution, the so-called democratic principles of the revolutionary or subversive elements were catchwords to win over the mob. Lenin merely used a Russian version of the words of Robespierre, who, in his electioneering

[6] Joseph Stalin, *Lenin* (New York 1928), 121.

[7] From the preface by Trotskii to C. Talès, *La commune de 1871* (Paris, Librairie du Travail, 1924), xiii.

[8] *Ibid.*, xxi. See also Karl Marx, *Civil war in France,* for an analysis of the commune.

[9] *Ibid.*, xvi. Granted that Kerenskii desired to see what was occurring before his eyes, a better estimate of the man has perhaps never been given than in these words penned by Trotskii.

speeches, promised that if he were elected the burdens imposed by the state no longer would be required and that lands would be seized and distributed among the then non-propertied classes. In other words, 'equality' was to be realized by levelling down the top to the bottom, though the bottom might not be raised to the top. Such was the inevitable result, although, of course, the theoretical principles of communism foresaw neither a top nor a bottom.

Most people understand, in a general way, that religious persecution exists in soviet Russia. As to the grounds and character of this persecution, however, there is much misapprehension. The trend in Russia has been the same as it was in revolutionary France. Not that the bolsheviks in Russia or the subversive elements in France hated the established religion more than other creeds: it appears to have been religion itself which they wanted to destroy. In the one country, Robespierre was the new god; in the other, Lenin was the personification of communism, under which God was to be replaced by man as foreseen in Dostoevskii's *Possessed.* As in France, so in Russia, the aim of the revolutionists was the destruction of religion and the existing government. This underlying spirit in most subversive movements is apparent without the need for peering too far into the real origins of such doctrines.

The American declaration of independence generally is attacked by soviet writers as a mere charter of the privileged class originating in trade demands or personal economic interest.[10] The congress at Philadelphia made no mention of economic relations between citizens, but it affirmed as self-evident truths "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—that to secure these rights, gov-

[10] See G. C. Gurvich, *Osnovi sovetskoi konstitutsii, passim;* also *Istoriia sovetskoi konstitutsii* by the same author.

ernments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to form a new government . . ."

These principles were elaborated in greater detail, especially in the economic field, in the declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen of 1789. To the bolshevik mind, however, all these principles represented sheer economic materialism, explained by the new economic interests of the period and expressed in this form of legislation.[11] In the sphere of political ideas, as in other fields, though principles are immutable, no absolute standard of language prevails throughout the centuries. Here is a question of relativity. The democratic theories which set political writers like Burke aflame with indignation in the eighteenth century were repudiated as reactionary by the bolsheviks in the twentieth.

How complete was the gulf between the theories of the two periods of time is shown by a comparison of fundamental documents. The American declaration of independence, the French declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen, and the bolshevik declaration of the rights of the laboring and exploited people all represent a combination of philosophy, ethics, and law. The first two are somewhat similar in phraseology to the third, the bolshevik doctrine; yet in spirit they contradict it. It may almost be stated that they are sufficiently alike to represent the published platforms of two secret societies of divergent aims. None of the many guarantees of the "natural and imprescriptible rights of man" to "liberty, property,

[11] It is to be presumed that soviet political theorists recall that before the declaration of independence was adopted the people of certain states demanded that the nation should proclaim its ownership of all the land. This demand was opposed by what may be called the middle-class point of view and was rejected.

security, and resistance to oppression", to quote from the French declaration, is to be found in the soviet declaration.

Certain of the essential points of the French and bolshevist documents may be shown in parallel columns:

Rights of Man, 1789 [12]	*Rights of the Laboring and Exploited People, 1918* [13]
"Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions can be based only upon public utility."	"Power must appertain completely and exclusively to the laboring masses."
"The source of all sovereignty is essentially in the nation."	"All central and local authority is vested in the soviets."
"Property being a sacred and inviolable right, no one can be deprived of it unless a legally established public necessity evidently demands it, under the conditions of a just and prior indemnity."	"Private ownership of land is abolished; all land is declared national property, and is handed over to the laboring masses without compensation."

In the soviet declaration there is no mention of human liberties or rights, the fundamental considerations in most constitutions since the seventeenth century. This omission of guarantees of the natural rights of man, formulated in 1789 and as since symbolized by the words "liberty, equality, fraternity", is explained by later events in Russia. The disparity between the principles of the one and the acts of the other could have been no greater if, text in hand, the soviet authorities had set out with the avowed intention of violating the provisions of the declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen. The acts of the bolshevik leaders in Russia are sufficiently well known to warrant a comparison by general statements. A few illustrations are given herewith:

[12] Translation taken from F. M. Anderson, *The constitution and other select documents illustrative of the history of France, 1789-1901.*

[13] See document IV, this chapter.

Rights of Man (theory)	*Practice in Russia*
"Law is the expression of the general will."	Only the 'laboring masses' have legal rights.
"All citizens . . . are equally eligible to all public dignities, places, and employments."	Communists are shown preference over all others. No fairly important official is a non-communist.
"No man can be accused, arrested, or detained except in the cases determined by the law and according to the forms that it has prescribed."	Any person may be put to death on simple report of the political police (OGPU).[14]
"The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man; every citizen then can freely speak, write, and print, subject to responsibility for the abuse of this freedom in the cases determined by law."	The right of assembly is given only to the working class with consent of the communist party. The government controls all printing and thus precludes any non-communist criticisms of its actions.[15]
All the taxes shall be "equally apportioned among all the citizens according to their means."	The government levies high taxes on all private industry in order to drive it out of business.

The comparison could be carried much further. But the great difference between a document that gives a sweeping guarantee of private property and individual rights on the one hand and one that sets out deliberately to destroy those rights as a favor to the proletariat or 'exploited masses' on the other hand is evident.

Bolshevism in Russia took its principles not from any democratic charter but from the borrowed philosophy of Karl Marx. In the words of Bukharin in his "program of the communists", formulated in 1919, "the communist manifesto written by Marx and Engels is still to us to-day the gospel of the present revolution." [16] In the economic field *Das Kapital* was the soviet gospel. More strictly

[14] See page 594.
[15] See document IV, this chapter, arts. 14-16.
[16] See page 697.

political principles were derived chiefly from the "communist manifesto" of Marx and Engels, from Baboeuf,[17] and from the works of Léon Duguit and Maxime Leroy. With the methods of revolution—the reign of terror under the convention in France and bloodshed in Russia since 1918—mention need not be made here. Instead, an account is given in some detail of the political principles that led to the constitution of 1918 so far as the provisions of that document can be traced to the philosophy of Marx and Engels.

The "communist manifesto" of 1848 was issued originally as the platform of a secret society of workingmen. Its fundamental proposition as stated by Engels is: "that in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; that the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolution in which, nowadays, a stage has been reached where the exploited and the oppressed class —the proletariat—can not attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoisie —without, at the same time, and once for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, class distinctions and class struggles".[18]

[17] *La doctrine des égaux* (Paris 1906). In recent years the works of all revolutionists of any importance have been published in Russian and circulated widely throughout the country. This work is carried on in particular by the Marx and Engels institute attached to the central executive committee of the present Union.

A convenient English translation of the communist manifesto, together with an introduction by Engels, is that published by the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Ass'n (New York 1901).

[18] Translation as cited, 6-7.

This doctrine of class struggle is the essence of bolshevism; it is the basis of the soviet constitutional documents and legislation.

Marx and Engels attributed every imaginable evil to the bourgeoisie. That class, in their view, had left remaining no other nexus between man and man than "naked self-interest, callous 'cash payment' ". It had converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, into its "paid wage laborers". The needs of a market for its products had caused the bourgeoisie to "nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere". By improvements in production this class was destroying old methods of life and perpetrating the crime of drawing all, "even the most barbarian nations into civilization", compelling such nations as China to become bourgeois themselves. The bourgeoisie, it was declared, "has centralized means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralization." Independent but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments and systems of taxation, became lumped together in one nation, "with one government, one code of laws, one national class interest, and one customs tariff". Marx and Engels, in other words, hardly favored a centralized, unified state, *at least when it was a bourgeois state.*

In bringing about all these so-called evils, the bourgeoisie had created the modern working class, the proletarians who would wield the weapons to destroy their masters. Turned into mere machines without individuality by the machine age,[19] concentrated in greater masses by the development of industry, and without property, the proletariat, which alone "is a really revolutionary class", was preparing

[19] The modern communist theoretician likewise mentions this evil of capitalism. It appears, however, that a fundamental aim of bolshevism is to make of man a mere machine, to reduce all people to the same level, to further those conditions which replace personality with impersonality. The dream is of a mechanized age in which the 'collective man' is the rule.

to enter into a life and death struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie. In this struggle the communists, who "have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole", stood united with the proletariat. Their distinguishing feature was that "in the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality". Hence the principle of world revolution propounded by the present rulers in Russia.

Other fundamental aims of the communists as set forth in the manifesto included the "overthrow of bourgeois supremacy", the abolition of "bourgeois property" but not of property generally, "abolition of the family", the centralization of the means of production in the hands of the state, and the raising of the proletariat to the position of the ruling class. The doctrine that "the workingmen have no country" was formulated in this manifesto.

Such, in detail, is one important phase of the background of constitutional and other developments in Russia since the bolshevik revolution. Without the communist manifesto of 1848, out of date as it was, bolshevism would be perhaps as misunderstood as the American constitution without a knowledge of the declaration of independence.

Other phases of developments in Russia are to be found in the revolutionary philosophy expressed in the platforms of the Russian social democratic labor party after 1898 but more particularly in the ideas and political education of Lenin from the time of the abortive revolutionary uprisings of 1905.

The son of a school superintendent living in a monotonous, medium size city on the Volga river, Lenin, whose real name was Vladimir Ul'ianov, was reared in the orthodox church and studied at the universities of Kazan and St. Petersburg. His espousal of revolutionary doctrines was cemented perhaps by the hanging of his brother in 1887 for

taking part in a plot to murder Alexander III. In 1895 Lenin went on his first exile to Siberia. Once that was terminated, he went abroad to spend most of his time until the call to action in 1917. It was during this period of residence in London and on the continent that he took an active part in the discussions of the Russian socialist democratic labor party. Then he came into contact with another influential revolutionary, Trotskii. Born at Kherson in 1877, the son of a Jewish chemist, Trotskii was radical and irrepressible from youth. In later years he sought vengeance for the punishment meted out to him during years of exile. Together with Lenin, he fanned the revolutionary embers,[20] though the two were rarely in agreement on the policies to be pursued.

Both in the field of revolutionary thought and in the attainment of practical aims Lenin proved that he was one of the ablest of the bolshevik leaders. He seized every opportunity to weaken and discredit the authority of the tsarist régime. Recognizing that a revolutionary movement must have discontent as its basis, he secured a following through appeals to the disappointed or aggrieved elements. The non-Great Russians, for example, were treated as inferiors and were oppressed by the tsarist bureaucrats; Lenin pleaded for the equality of all peoples. Conditions of labor in Russia were worse than in most other countries; Lenin denounced the exploitation of labor by the capitalist system. Just grievances against the ruling authorities were legion, and revolutionary methods often appeared to be the only possible channel for reform. There are few people who could have realized the ruthlessness that was to accompany the struggle under way. A glance at Lenin should have been sufficient to suggest the ferocity and fixity of purpose of the Mongolian. The empire of the Tsars, however, was,

[20] In London Trotskii served on the staff of the revolutionary paper "Iskra" (the spark), published by a person named Blumenfeld. This paper was the principal organ of the Russian revolutionaries. See page 691.

on the surface, far removed from the twelfth century when the wild men from the region of Lake Baikal conquered Asia and subjugated Russia.

In order to realize the principles set forth in the communist manifesto, Lenin gave special attention to the creation of party machinery. He saw the need for a centralized organism to direct the revolutionary movement throughout Russia and, if need be, throughout the world. The most effective means was through a party press organ, circulated under cover with much difficulty, but which served to keep alive the embers of revolutionary ardor and thought.

Along with the party structure, when the revolution of 1905 broke out Lenin took an active part in organizing a system of governmental authority. At the time many revolutionary leaders confidently predicted that the tsarist régime would be overthrown. The alternatives were submission or the creation of a provisional revolutionary government. The latter might be a "general soviet of deputies" or an "all-people's soviet of deputies".[21]

The history of the soviet formed in 1905 and the use of this body in effecting a "union of the socialist proletariat with the revolutionary small bourgeoisie", are inseparably connected with the activity of Lenin. "The soviet of workers' deputies", he then stated, "is not a workers' parliament and not an organ of proletarian self-government . . . but a fighting organization for attaining fixed aims." [22] Twelve years later, under more auspicious circumstances, Lenin was speaking again of a soviet, this time of workers' and soldiers' deputies, as the only guarantee of the power and welfare of the toiling people of the world. Through this body the "fixed aims" he had pursued for so long a time could be attained. Lenin was confident that the bolsheviks would remain in power precisely because of the soviet structure. In his words, "the soviets are the new state

[21] See *Lenin o sovetskom stroitel'stve,* 5 and following.
[22] *Ibid.,* 6.

machinery. In the first place, they give expression to the armed force of the workers and peasants, in such a way, however, that this force is not divorced from the people, as was the force of the old standing army, but is bound up with them as closely as possible. . . . Second, the connection of this machinery with the masses . . . is so intimate, so indissoluble, so readily verified and renewable, that nothing like it is even approached in the former state. Third, this machinery, because it is elective and its constitution is revocable in accordance with the will of the people without any bureaucratic formalities, is far more democratic than that of the old governments. Fourth, it provides a firm connection with the most various industries and professions, thus facilitating all sorts of most radical reforms without any bureaucracy. Fifth, it gives form to the organization of the vanguard, that is to the most conscious, most energetic, most progressive section of the oppressed classes of workers and peasants. . . . Sixth, it makes it possible to unite the advantages of parliamentarism with the advantages of immediate and direct democracy—that is, to unite in the persons of elected representatives of the people both legislative and executive functions." [23]

B. The Drafting of a Constitution

Theories had been proclaimed in Russia in 1917 and even years before that. A doctrine postulated by Lenin was that "without a revolutionary theory, there can not be a revolutionary movement", that "only a party guided by an advanced theory can act as vanguard in the fight".[24] An attempt was now made to apply theories. During that experiment, in the intermediary period between the outbreak of the revolution and the concessions made to economic necessity in 1921, a constitution was drafted for

[23] *Will the bolsheviks maintain power?*, 41-43. See also Joseph Stalin, *Leninism*, 118-121.

[24] 5 *Sobr. soch.*, 135, 136.

the new Russia. Although this constitution was tempered by the experience of several months, it was, nevertheless, produced before the perspective of the revolution could have been apparent to the leaders.

The third all-Russian congress of soviets [25] which opened on January 18, 1918, is regarded by the communists as the constitutional convention of the proletariat of the world. Not only was its purpose to establish a form of legal authority for the new Russia, but also this convention was called upon to assume the leadership of the working classes of all countries and to draft a fundamental law which could receive universal application.

The third congress of soviets was convoked in accordance with a decision of the central executive committee of workers' and soldiers' deputies which, at its meeting on January 4, 1918, declared that it would support the bolsheviks against the bourgeois right wing with all the organized force of the soviet. Furthermore, the bolsheviks were determined to find an antidote to an unmistakable cry that had grown up in the country. That cry was: "All power to the constituent assembly". The bolshevik leaders decided that the constituent assembly should be dissolved. It was necessary, however, to find a substitute. For this reason the third congress of soviets was convoked simultaneously with the constituent assembly.

The constituent assembly convened on January 17, 1917. Its convocation had long been postponed. It appears, however, that many elements in Russia continued to hope that it would be able to formulate the legal and constitutional basis of the new Russia. The assembly was undoubtedly as representative a body as could have been convened under

[25] The stenographic report is entitled: *Tretii Vserossiiskii s'ezd sovetov rabochikh, soldatskikh i krest'ianskikh deputatov.* At the top of the title page are the words "Russian social democratic labor party", and then "proletarians of all countries, unite'." The minutes of the fourth congress of soviets, held in March 1918, have on the title page the words "Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic", the form used thereafter instead of Russian social democratic labor party.

the circumstances. Composed in great part of socialist-revolutionists and mensheviks, however, it inevitably came into conflict with a small but well-organized group, the bolshevik leaders and their organs of authority.

The assembly refused to recognize the authority of the central executive committee of the soviets. It was not in sympathy with the decrees issued by the bolsheviks immediately after the overthrow of the provisional government. It demanded that the state authority be transferred from the soviet organs to a duly convened body. A short lease on power, however, had caused the bolshevik leaders to forget that they had first declared their authority to be provisional. Their point of view at the time the constituent assembly made this demand for a transfer of authority is shown in a resolution proposed by Sverdlov, the president of the central executive committee of the soviets, at the meeting of the third congress of soviets on January 18, 1918. "May I propose the adoption", said Sverdlov, "of a new interpretation of the supreme revolutionary authority. As is known, this authority has been called the provisional workers' and peasants' government. Now, when not only in Russia but throughout the world the revolution of the working masses is gaining a victory, and when we have been called upon to consolidate the new state structure by means of new fundamental laws and organization on the basis of all social life, we are bound to eliminate the word 'provisional' and henceforth to call our supreme authority the workers' and peasants' government of the Russian Soviet Republic." [26]

This resolution not only shows the resolve of the bolsheviks to stay in power but also it shows how the third congress of soviets was concerning itself with the determination of the form of the new order at the very moment the constituent assembly was in session for that very purpose. Two separate and bitterly hostile bodies were dealing with

[26] Stenographic report, 85.

the same problem. Obviously, this anomaly had to be terminated.

The crisis was reached when the constituent assembly refused to ratify the declaration of rights of the laboring and exploited people ratified by the central executive committee on January 16, 1918. This rejection occurred on January 18th. The same day the bolsheviks dissolved the constituent assembly by force. "And by the will of the soviet power, the constituent assembly, which has failed to recognize the power of the people, is dispersed."[27]

The bolshevik leaders hastened to give an appearance of legality to their acts. They declared that the third congress of soviets was the logical constitutional organ which should formulate the legal basis of the permanent government. Their conception of the new soviet state was expressed in two documents which embodied the spirit and work of the third congress of soviets, namely, the "declaration of the rights of the laboring and exploited people" and a resolution by Stalin on the "federal institutions of the Russian Republic".[28] The first of these was to serve as a preface to the forthcoming constitution.[29]

The resolution on federal institutions was proposed by Stalin, then commissar for nationalities, who had a marked influence on the constitution through every subsequent stage of the labor of the drafting commission. This document was an amplification of certain parts of the declaration of rights, in particular as regards the type of a federation of republics to be stabilized and the principles of a federation. There was to be a "voluntary union of peoples of Russia". The supreme organ of authority would be a congress of soviets, to be convoked once every three months, and, in

[27] Speech by Lenin delivered at the all-Russian central executive committee on January 18, 1918. A translation is given in 8 *Speeches of V. I. Lenin,* 39-44.

[28] See document III, this chapter.

[29] The Russian text is given in the stenographic report of the third congress of soviets, as cited, 90-92. A translation of the declaration is given in document IV, this chapter.

the interim between congresses, an all-Russian central executive committee. One of these bodies would in turn elect the "government of the federation, a soviet of people's commissars". Upon the demand of the social revolutionary party, a chapter was added concerning the relation between local soviets and the functions of the central authorities. At this time a wide measure of local autonomy was expected. The various soviet republics were to determine for themselves the nature of their participation in the central government. On the other hand, the resolution proposed by Stalin declared that the central authorities should have exclusive jurisdiction in all matters of "national importance". This phraseology was later to prove capable of very wide interpretation.

Stalin's proposal as to the congress of soviets and the central executive committee carried out the resolution adopted by the first congress of soviets. That body, assembled seven months before the third congress, had recognized, as necessary "in the interest of the concentration of the activities of all revolutionary democracy, the immediate creation of a single center which would unite the soviets of workers', soldiers', and peasants' delegates." [30] The congress of representatives of the soviets of these delegates, to be convoked once every three months, was to be the "supreme organ of the soviets, directing and supervising all their political, social, and organization activity". Then a resolution of the first congress mentioned, possibly for the first time, an all-Russian central executive committee,[31] a body responsible to the all-Russian congress of soviets. It was to have the highly important function of carrying on revolutionary activity throughout the country. Or, in the words of the resolution of the congress itself, "the central

[30] E. Ignatov, *Vserosiiskie s'ezdy sovetov rabochikh i soldalskikh deputatov V 1917 g.*, 107.

[31] The resolution of the first congress of soviets quoted below uses both the term central executive committee and central committee, the same body apparently being referred to in each case.

executive committee, following the decisions of the congresses, shall direct the activities of all revolutionary democracy of Russia, shall safeguard all gains of the revolution, being at the same time a unifying organ for the work of all local soviets. At the same time the central committee [*sic*] is in constant and direct touch with the socialist ministers, controls their activities in the field of foreign and domestic policy, assists in their work by collecting materials, drafting bills, and lending actual help in carrying out all measures approved by the centers of revolutionary democracy. The socialist ministers, in the interim between the sessions of the congresses, are responsible to the central committee for the entire foreign and domestic policy of the government. The central committee represents the international democracy as a full-fledged member of the all-Russian revolutionary democracy. All decisions of the central committee are obligatory for all soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies, as well as for the unified soviets of workers', soldiers', and peasants' deputies and of the organized revolutionary democracy." [32]

This resolution of the first congress of soviets has been given in detail, for it contains the germ of later developments. The soviet pretended to govern at the time of the provisional government, and later, when its power was undisputed, it was to make use of the earlier framework. The scheme as outlined by the first congress of soviets represented a practical, centralized system designed in particular to secure control over the leaders of the Petrograd soviet who participated in the provisional government and thus maintained its connection with the soviet. With this and with Stalin's later plan may be contrasted the many other proposals—reasonable, fantastical, or curious—concerning the organization of soviet power. Such projects had flooded the country ever since November 1917. Among the practical attempts to work out a system of authority are

[32] Quoted in Ignatov, as cited, 107-108.

the early plans of the commissariats for interior and for justice. Two memoranda which appeared during this transition period may be mentioned, from among many others, on account of their eventual embodiment in the final draft of the constitution.[33] The first, entitled "all power to the soviets", contained an outline of the organization of the soviets, the executive committees, and the congresses of soviets, together with the method of election of these bodies, and of the departments of finance, justice, and national economy. Special attention was given to the electoral system, the party structure, and, above all, to the organization of local soviets.

The second memorandum, prepared by Latsis, or in his early revolutionary career called 'uncle', was proposed by the commissariat for interior. Called "The Conspectus", it dealt with the organization of local organs of government, a phase with which this commissariat in particular was concerned. In fact, the document represents one of the first series of instructions issued to local bodies by the central organs; it was, therefore, the outcome of practice, not of theory. In all it contained fifty-seven articles. These dealt in detail with electoral rights, suffrage being limited to persons earning their livelihood by their own work; with the various classes of soviets, village, town, rural district, city, country, provincial, regional, and all-Russian; with the distribution of authority, the orders of the soviet of people's commissars to be compulsory for all soviets; and with the rights of the working masses in general.

The commissariat for justice likewise submitted its own draft of a constitution. The work of this commissariat on different sections of the constitutional draft dates from the very beginning of soviet power.

Three main principles of state structure were discussed

[33] The principal reference here is to G. C. Gurvich, *Istoriia sovetskoi konstitutsii,* and by the same writer *Osnovi sovetskoi konstitutsii.* The former gives the texts of the various drafts of a constitution as mentioned in this account.

in this draft: (1) the source of the supreme authority, (2) methods of exercising this authority, and (3) forms under which the unification of various peoples of the republic could be effected in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

In the course of the work on the early drafts certain basic proposals took form. One outline of a constitution, consisting of only eight articles, dealt with the questions of a free union of nations, the rights of the proletariat, the self-governing autonomous nations which would exercise their rights through central and local soviets and congresses of soviets, the right of autonomy and the conditions for such a right, the right of all nations to join the union, and the right of Russia to join the European or even world union of states.

Another outline consisting of two chapters and twenty-five articles, and prepared in February 1918, uses for the first time the term "Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic" (RSFSR). The all-Russian congress of workers', peasants', soldiers', Kazaks',[34] and other laboring deputies was declared, as originally in the resolution by Stalin, to be the supreme power in the RSFSR. This body was to meet at least once in every three months. It determined for itself the place and date of the following meeting. The central executive committee of the RSFSR was to be elected by the congress of soviets by "direct, equal, and secret ballots of the delegates in accordance with the number of members of each political group", or, in other words, by a proportional political representation. Finally, the soviet of people's commissars was declared the executive authority.

So far as the actual structure of the government is concerned, these drafts, which were later incorporated in one way or another in the completed constitution, provided a workable system. In addition to these, mention is made of certain other proposals which were less practical.

[34] The more usual form of spelling is Cossack.

Quite unique was a project, drafted in January 1918, based on the syndicalist theories of Léon Duguit and of Maxime Leroy. The model of this draft was the constitution of the Swiss Confederation, characterized by the component cantons, popular veto, and the like. The 'member states' were to be organized in the form of five federations of trade unions: agricultural workers, industrial workers, employees in commercial firms, state employees, and domestic employees. In other words, the trade unions were to become states and to have the prerogatives thereof.[35]

One project, presented by Shchepanskii in May 1918, called 'sovdepy' (soviet of deputies), proposed the separation of the executive and the legislative branches.[36] Over local soviets was to be the 'centrosovdep' (central soviet of deputies) which would serve as the supreme authority throughout the republic. Furthermore, there would be created a hierarchy of commissariats, so that only central and regional commissars would be appointed by the 'centrosovdep' and regional 'sovdep' respectively. The commissars in the centers of lesser importance and size would be appointed by the soviets of commissars of larger administrative units. Thus, commissars in villages would be appointed by the district commissar, the latter by the correspondingly higher soviet, and so on.

A proposal presented by Schneider followed closely the regulations relating to the provincial and district zemstvos which were in force in pre-revolutionary days.[37] Such an heretical origin insured its disapproval. The same was true of a program of the socialist revolutionary-maximalists consisting of their party platform. This party was indeed revolutionary, but it was not an exponent of militant communism. Its day had passed.

After a speech by Sverdlov in April 1918 on "the neces-

[35] See Gurvich, *Istoriia sovetskoi konstitutsii,* 11-12.
[36] *Ibid.,* 19-20, and appendix VII thereof.
[37] See 2 *Svod zakonov,* part I.

sity of defining the functions of the different organs of power", the central executive committee resolved to establish a "commission to draft the constitution of the Soviet Republic". Among the fifteen members of this commission, which met for the first time on April 8, 1918, were Sverdlov (chairman), Stalin, Steklov, Gurvich, Bukharin, Latsis, Reisner, and Schneider. The leading figures at the meeting were Stalin and Sverdlov. A sharp difference of opinion occurred among the members of the committee concerning their plans of work. Sverdlov pointed out the importance of making distinct the respective competences and spheres of activity of the local, regional, and central authorities. One group demanded that the organization of local government should be attended to first; another part of the committee argued that the organization of the central government should first be determined. Stalin then, as on most occasions since, settled the question. He declared that the federal institutions should be organized first according to the "resolution on federal institutions" already mentioned and on the basis of the instructions of the third congress of soviets to the central executive committee for the exact formulation of the basic principles of the resolutions. In particular, Stalin concerned himself with the all important questions of federation.

At a later committee meeting of equal importance in the history of the drafting of the soviet constitution, Stalin's principles again triumphed. The question of the treatment of nationalities had been raised by a report submitted by Reisner on the "principles of the constitution of the RSFSR". Reisner was openly opposed to the formation of federal states in accordance with the principle of nationality. That principle, he declared, was likely to be interpreted and used by each social class according to its own economic interests. He advocated, as the alternative, the founding of federal republics based on economic and territorial interests. The opinions expressed by Reisner

did not find favor with the committee which noted that many units had been formed already on a territorial basis. The different ethnographical and national characteristics of these entities were striking and inevitable. Moreover, since the bolsheviks had preached self-determination from one end of Russia to the other, at this late date they could hardly disregard the national question altogether.

The proposal of Reisner was abandoned. In its place Stalin brought forward his plan for a federation of the Russian Soviet Republic. He advocated, in the first place, the adaptation of the constitution to the transitional period. He proposed that the fundamental law of the land should emphasize the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that it should follow the formula of the third congress of soviets concerning the national and ethnographical character of the federation of soviet republics and regions. Accordingly, federal autonomy or the right of self-determination should be granted to regions and republics set off by distinct national characteristics, but not to regions which were unified only on the economic side. This proposal the committee accepted.

Stalin later developed his theses in the form of "general provisions for the constitution of the federal Soviet Republic". The first provision set forth the socialistic, soviet character of the republic; the second provided for the formation of autonomous republics on the basis of ethnographical and national differences, for economic and cultural ends; the third contemplated the unification of these republics in the RSFSR, at the head of which would stand the all-Russian congress of soviets, the all-Russian central executive committee, and the soviet of people's commissars as the supreme executive organs. The fourth provision proclaimed the dictatorship of the proletariat, having as its ultimate purpose the introduction of socialism.

The committee approved the "general provisions" on May 19, 1918. These, together with a "plan for the soviet con-

stitution" submitted by Steklov, formed the basis upon which the committee continued its labor. One sub-committee, composed only of Steklov, was appointed to deal with the declaration of the rights and duties of workers; another body was concerned with the structure and limits of authority of the central organs of government, the organization of local government, and the election law.[38]

While the declaration of rights was little more than a final statement of the scattered principles enumerated by the bolshevik leaders, the sub-committee that formulated the principles to be applied in the holding of elections and in the organization of local soviets undertook a pioneering venture. Its members were not unfamiliar with the methods used by the old régime in manipulating elections: their problem was to apply the same methods on a class basis. The rôles were to be reversed. Those deprived of power in olden times were henceforth to be the source of all authority. The 'ins' were to become the 'outs'; the 'outs' were to become the 'ins' according to an arrangement worked out with the pent-up fury of vengeance.

In the words of a member of the sub-committee which concerned itself with this question, the class character of the soviets, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the ideology of revolutionary common sense were the main factors in establishing electoral rights.[39] In accordance with a principle proclaimed in the declaration of rights, suffrage was given only to those who lived by the fruits of their own labor. Members of the educated class such as

[38] A special sub-committee, composed of Magerovskii, Pokrovskii, and Reisner, had been set up to formulate a draft covering the organization of the central authority. The work accomplished by this group was not even considered; instead the duties of the sub-committee were taken over by the same men who drew up the principles of local government and the electoral system; Berdnikov, Gurvich, and Latsis. There appears to be a desire among soviet writers to pass unnoticed the work of a sub-committee which, for the moment at least, appears not to have been sufficiently schooled in communist doctrine to draw up the basic principles of the central organs.

[39] Gurvich, as cited, 43.

teachers, doctors, and engineers could be elected to the soviets provided they would recognize the principles of communism, a provision which would seem to exclude all but real communists. A property qualification for voting is not unusual in modern constitutions; the bolsheviks, however, made the ownership of property a reason for disenfranchisement. Persons using hired labor or living on interest, private business men or tradesmen, the priesthood, former members of the secret police that had sent so many of the bolsheviks then in Petrograd to Siberia and who were naturally still for the old order, or mentally deranged persons—all were deprived of the right of suffrage. In the view of a communist, a member of the bourgeoisie is no more fitted to wield political power than an idiot.

The electoral procedure for local areas corresponding roughly to the American township, town, county, district, and state is not discussed here.[40] Local government in Russia in 1918 was in an experimental state, as it remains even to-day. The only point of importance with regard to it is that the leaders of the communist party had supreme authority in local organization and in the settlement of local governmental problems, and they thus became in reality the dictators of the proletariat, whether the disorganized and in no small part illiterate proletariat approved or not. Only through centralized control over elections could the polls be closed to 'exploiters' and 'parasites', as the disenfranchised groups were neatly designated.

The same sub-committee that drew up the system of local authority and electoral procedure likewise planned the structure of the central organs of government. There had been no clear division of duties and competence between the all-Russian central executive committee and the soviet of people's commissars which had been set up almost before the bolsheviks assumed control in Petrograd.

The supreme authority, in theory, was the all-Russian

[40] See chapter XI.

congress of soviets, which met for the first time in June 1917. That body, in accordance with the resolution proposed by Stalin on January 18, 1918, and later adopted, was to be supreme only when in session. At other times, the all-Russian central executive committee was to be the supreme legislative authority. The soviet of people's commissars, on the other hand, was given the supervision of all routine matters of the legislative and executive branches. In November 1917 the soviet of people's commissars was all-powerful; one year later, however, the basis was laid for giving wide power to the all-Russian central executive committee and making it superior to the jurisdiction of all other bodies.[41]

Various proposals were submitted in order to define the duties of the central executive committee and of the soviet of people's commissars. One provided that all members of the former should be divided among eleven departments. These departments were to be little different from the existing people's commissariats. The central executive committee was to become a permanent institution composed of representatives from each department on the one hand, and the presidium of the committee on the other, the two representations to be equal.

Another proposal, published on June 22, 1918, provided that all legislative and executive acts sanctioned by the soviet of people's commissars should be forwarded to the central executive committee for its approval. If approved, a given act should then be returned to the soviet of people's commissars. Here, in other words, was a plan for an extreme centralization of power. The soviet of people's commissars would have become a body with closely controlled authority.

When the fifth congress of soviets, a congress intended to give an appearance of legality to all that had emanated from a group of leaders, met in July 1918, the drafting

[41] See chapters VIII and XII.

commission had completed its work. It remained for the congress to approve the final draft which was to be proclaimed as the constitution of the RSFSR. On July 10, 1918, a draft proposed by the sub-committee already mentioned was ratified and nine days later, upon publication, became the fundamental law.

The chief innovations of the constitution of the RSFSR, together with those of the numerous decrees issued after 1917, are derived from and thus carried out the principles of the communist manifesto. There were deviations from that document even in theory—the wide divergence in practice will be evident in nearly all that follows—but the basic principles remain the same. A summary of the two pieces of communist literature is now given.

Communist Manifesto: statement of measures to be carried out.	*Constitution of the RSFSR.*
1. "Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes."	1. "In order to establish the 'socialization' of land, private ownership of land is abolished; all land is declared national property, and is handed over to the laboring peoples, without compensation, on the basis of an equitable division giving the right of use only."
2. "A heavy progressive or graduated income tax."	2. Absolute communism was foreseen in 1918; therefore there is nothing to tax.
3. "Abolition of all rights of inheritance."	3. This is covered by general doctrines.
4. "Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels."	4. "In the general interest of the working class, the RSFSR deprives individuals and sections of the community of any privileges which may be used by them to the detriment of the socialist revolution."

5. "Centralization of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an executive monopoly."

6. "Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state."

7. "Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan."

8. "Equal liability of all to labor. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture."

9. "Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of the population over the country."

5. "The congress ratifies the transfer of all banks to the workers' and peasants' government, as one of the conditions insuring the emancipation of the toiling peoples from the capitalistic yoke."

6. "Within the competence of the all-Russian congress of soviets and the all-Russian central executive committee fall all questions of national importance."

7. "The establishment of a basis and general outlines for the economic life, both as a whole and in its separate branches, of the RSFSR."

8. "In order to exterminate all parasitic strata of society, and to organize the economic life of the country, general compulsory labor is introduced."

9. "The principal objects of the constitution of the RSFSR, which is adapted to the present transition period, consists in the establishment of the dictatorship of the urban and rural proletariat and the poorer peasantry, in the form of the strong all-Russian soviet power to secure the complete suppression of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, and the establishment of socialism, under which there is neither class division nor state coercion."

10. "Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labor in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc."	10. "In order to insure for the laboring masses effective access to education, the RSFSR undertakes to provide for the workers and poorer peasants complete, universal, and free education."

The soviet constitution, based on revolutionary philosophy, has no parallel in the constitutional history either of Russia or other countries. It can be analyzed only as a document *sui generis* after the element of philosophy and ethics formulated in the declaration of the rights of the laboring and exploited people has been recognized in passing.

The opening sentence in the statement of the general principles of the constitution declares that the document is designed "for the present period of transition". The principal object, and the immediate one, was to establish the dictatorship of the urban and rural workers, combined with the poor peasantry. "The first principle of the dictatorship", declared Lenin, "is the safeguarding of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, in order that the proletariat may continue to play the leading part and to wield state authority." [42] Furthermore, Lenin has defined a dictatorship as "an authority based directly on force, an authority which is absolutely unrestricted by any laws or regulations. . . . The dictatorship means . . . power, unlimited power, based on force and not on law." [43]

Basing himself on the works of Lenin, Stalin has listed the three fundamental aspects of a dictatorship of the proletariat.[44] These are:

"1. The use of the power of the proletariat in order to crush the exploiters, in order to defend the country, in order

[42] 18 *Sobr. soch.*, cited in Joseph Stalin, *Lenin*, 26.
[43] 17 *Sobr. soch.*, cited in *ibid.*, 26.
[44] As cited, 27-28.

to strengthen the ties with proletarians in other lands, and in order to favor the revolution everywhere.

"2. The use of the power of the proletariat in order to detach the laboring and exploited masses once for all from the bourgeoisie, in order to strengthen the alliance of the proletariat with these masses, in order to enlist these masses in the work of socialist construction, and in order to ensure that in the state the proletariat shall function as leader of these masses.

"3. The use of power of the proletariat in order to organize socialism, abolish classes, and found a society without classes and without a state."

With high-sounding phrases about the dictatorship of the proletariat, freedom of meeting, association, and education, the constitution adopted in 1918 enshrined the principles that had helped to make the revolutionary cause triumphant. Class power was established, or reëstablished in another form: oppression was to shift from one group to another.

The characterization of the dictatorship of the proletariat given by Stalin shows the close relation of principles of self-determination and freedom of nationalities to the bolshevik program. It was almost necessary to incorporate a statement about the question of nationalities in the soviet constitution. Thus it was provided that the soviets of regions distinct in national and territorial character could unite in "autonomous regional unions" which should have their own administrative organization, comparable to that of the RSFSR, but on a federal basis. Any repression of national minorities or limitation of their rights was declared contrary to the fundamental laws of the republic.

This doctrine of federation was by no means ideal from the point of view of proletarian philosophy. Marx and Engels both preferred, once they would be in authority at least, "democratic centralization" and the republic one and indivisible. Marx considered federalism a system of gov-

ernment that must soon give way before that of a strongly centralized republic and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In Russia in 1918, however, maintenance of the *status quo* was inevitable on account of the external difficulties with which the federal authorities had to contend and the admitted necessity of uniting all elements in the country. It was hoped that an announced policy of extreme decentralization, whatever the practice might be, or gratifying national sentiments would serve to draw the different nationalities together. In this the bolsheviks judged the situation correctly. The various nationalities did not hate the Great Russian power at Moscow less; but they did hate the "white" leaders who were seeking to overthrow that power and reëstablish the old régime more.

So much for general principles. The nature of the central and local authority established may now be considered. Comparable to the American congress or any parliament, the all-Russian congress of soviets of workers', peasants', Kazaks', and red army deputies was declared to be the supreme authority in Russia. It was composed of delegates sent from the entire country in a proportion fixed in the constitution.

A congress of soviets, in which there is over one thousand delegates, is obviously rather unwieldy. Like the American congress, it would function with difficulty were it not for the preparatory work of various committees or one strong, dictatorial committee. In the early revolutionary period, before the congress of soviets had been organized, authority was exercised by a small group of men organized as a central executive committee. This committee had been formed in June 1917, some time before the bolsheviks had secured control of Petrograd.

Now, in 1918, the constitution defined in detail the status of a new all-Russian central executive committee but signally omitted to define its authority in relation to the congress of soviets. True it is provided that this com-

mittee, consisting of not more than 200 members,[45] should be responsible to the congress of soviets. But if, "in the period between the congresses, the all-Russian central executive committee is the supreme authority of the republic", and if it is "the supreme legislative, administrative, and controlling body", the Congress of Soviets is evidently the "supreme authority" only when it is in session. And at that time it can do little more than discuss matters of general policy which are likely already to have been decided by legislative act of the central executive committee. In this connection it should not be inferred when the all-Russian congress of soviets issues a specific order to the all-Russian central executive committee providing for the exercise of its powers or increasing its powers that such an action has its initiative in the congress. Rather it has usually been prepared well in advance by the committee.

In another respect the constitution deals with the competence of the two bodies, but collectively, not individually. The all-Russian congress of soviets and central executive committee have jurisdiction together in all questions of national importance: constitutional amendments, foreign and domestic policy, the determination and alteration of relations with foreign powers,[46] including declaration of war and conclusion of peace, the levying of taxes, establishment of a system of weights and measures, and other provisions which are usually controlled by the central government where the federal system exists. It is expressly provided, however, that the congress of soviets "has as its special and exclusive prerogatives: (a) The drafting, supplementing, and amending the fundamental principles of the soviet constitution. (b) The ratification of peace treaties".

The centralized control of the central executive committee

[45] It was increased to 300 members at the eighth all-Russian congress of soviets in December 1920.

[46] In these two questions the central executive committee acts independently only when the congress of soviets can not be convoked. A similar case would exist in the United States, for example, if the President and his cabinet could declare war on the spur of the moment.

includes more than the powers enumerated above. It directs the work of "all government organs throughout the country"; it "assesses taxation, determines the sources of public revenue, and allocates its distribution between the state and local soviets"; it must ratify drafts or decrees issued by the soviet of people's commissars, a body which it appoints and which is mentioned later. It issues its own decrees, which are final; it convokes the all-Russian congress of soviets, to which it reports on the general policy which has been followed.

It would seem that after the establishment of this powerful body, combining legislative, executive, administrative, judicial, and all other kinds of duties, further central organization would be unnecessary. A government, however, functions through numerous departments or bureaus. In Russia a soviet of eighteen people's commissars, corresponding to a cabinet or ministry, was established. In the United States the cabinet is responsible to the president who selected it. In the RSFSR the soviet of people's commissars is responsible theoretically both to the all-Russian congress of soviets, which may be held to correspond roughly with the congress of the United States, and to the all-Russian central executive committee. In reality the supreme power, constitutionally speaking, is exercised only by the all-Russian central executive committee or its presidium.

The soviet of people's commissars has the general direction of current affairs;[47] it is the office force that carries out the policies of the executive, that is to say of the central executive committee. In the course of its administrative

[47] It had been planned that the all-Russian central executive committee should sit in permanent session. Whether it was awkward for the limited ruling clique to work with such a body or whether, as the bolsheviks say, the members were needed in the local areas, where they were usually at the head of the local executive committees,—beginning in 1921, the all-Russian central executive committee met only once every two months and then for a session of only a few days. The ninth all-Russian congress of soviets in December 1921 resolved that it should meet not less than three times a year. In the interval between its sessions a presidium, a

duties it may issue its own decrees and orders, but they must be reported to the executive at once. And these acts may be repealed by the central executive committee and, as was later provided, by the presidium of that body.

Illustrations of the actual methods of administration are given later, but one outstanding fact should be noted here. The constitution as adopted in July 1918 provided for a strong central authority, a body of two hundred men. From this body there naturally developed an increasingly select group, first in the form of a presidium created at the end of 1919. Taking into consideration the natural tendency in all governments toward centralization, the type of government evolved in Russia from the original body of two hundred is quite understandable.

For local administration, a hierarchy of territorial authorities was set up. Four classes of congresses of soviets, each corresponding to a territorial division, were created: regional (*oblast'*) congresses, provincial (*gubernia*) congresses, county (*uezd*) congresses, and rural district (*volost'*) congresses. These congresses, constituted, according to their category, of a certain number of deputies for the given area, are convoked by the local executive committees. Regional congresses must be held not less than twice a year, provincial and county congresses at least once a month, according to the constitution of 1918. This constitutional provision theoretically precluded the possibility that certain executive committees might never call a congress. In actual practice, however, it so happened that congresses rarely met.[48]

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standing body constituted in December 1919, takes over all the powers entrusted to the all-Russian central executive committee itself. This presidium prepares the agenda of sessions of the committee. In fact, it came to have about the same relation to the committee as that body has to the congress of soviets.

[48] See G. Mikhailova, "Detsentralizatsiia i tsentralism," in *Sovetskoe stroitel'stvo*, No. 2, September, 1926, 122-141; and No. 3-4, October-November 1926, 131-148.

There is little legal authority which the local officials can misuse. They are empowered to execute all instructions issued by the higher organs of soviet authority. They may adopt "appropriate measures for developing the cultural and economic life of their territory". They may, in brief, deal with all questions of purely local importance. It does not, however, lie within their province to decide whether a matter is of local or state significance. The system of responsibility of each executive committee to the one immediately higher, ending finally in the all-Russian central executive committee or its presidium,[49] insures a centralization of control, a uniformity of administration, and a subservience to one authority seldom equalled in the constitutional development of any country. Throughout this system the theory of Montesquieu that "power must check power" is applied until the highest body is reached. But while power is checked with power, there is at the same time no real or implied separation of power which, according to the French constitution of 1848, "is the first condition of a free government".

In addition to working out the problems of the organization of a government, the constitution of the RSFSR, as well as other constitutions later promulgated in different parts of the former Russian Empire, contained detailed provisions for the national budget. The financial policy has as its aims, first, the expropriation of the capitalists and, second, the equality of all laboring classes in the production and distribution of wealth. To these ends the soviet authority is granted "all the resources necessary to satisfy the local and national requirements of the soviet republic, encroaching without hesitation upon the rights of private property. Special detailed provisions cover federal subsidies for local areas, a system in some respects comparable to

[49] The eighth all-Russian congress of soviets provided that "dispositions of local congresses of soviets can be set aside only by higher congresses, their executive committees, the all-Russian central executive committee or its presidium."

grants made by the United States government to the various states, or of the states to the counties.

The last section of the constitution deals with the emblem and flag of the RSFSR. On the emblem are the watchwords of communism, a doctrine that recognizes no boundaries: "workers of all countries, unite". Hardly an official document is published in Russia without that appeal to class struggle and revolution.

The old order was terminated by a final legal act, the adoption of the constitution of the RSFSR. A completely new era with new concepts of state life began. Prior to the bolshevik revolution the state, being the judicial symbol of the nation, was conceived of as enduring as long as the nation, as surviving revolutions and changes of constitution. Though new governments arose, that the state remained the same was indicated by its unbroken relations with foreign powers. While the French and other revolutions had brought no change in the international status of the nations concerned, the bolshevik revolution proved itself unique in this respect as well so far as modern times are concerned, though it is true that its behavior is provided for in the political philosophy of Aristotle.[50]

First, as concerns foreign states, the bolsheviks denounced the agreements of the tsarist régime, and later even incorporated this act in their constitution. Foreign loans were repudiated; treaties were declared null and void; property of foreigners was confiscated. It was proclaimed that only an entirely new system of international agreements would be recognized.

Second, there was also a break with the past in internal matters. In the United States to-day the laws have their direct antecedents in the pre-revolutionary period. The transition from colonial status to a federal union brought little change in the daily life of the American people. In

[50] Arisotle, *Politics,* bk. iii, ch. 3.

Louisiana, to cite one example, the French legal system is still in force.

In Russia, however, the old order was completely overthrown. Soviet jurisprudence may be said to date from November 1917. Only one class was to have any rights from the day of the revolution. An entirely new system of civil, criminal, and other codes, based on this principle of the supremacy or dictatorship of the proletariat, came into being. These codes replaced the usual written guarantees of natural and imprescriptible rights characteristic of most constitutions. The consequences of the peculiar nature of the constitution of the soviet republic were soon apparent. It has been observed that the state behaves "like an honest man who does not, in maturity, repudiate the debts of his youth".[51] If this is true, then it may be said that the new system of authority in Soviet Russia did not behave like a state. The same criterion will permit the statement that where such measures as those adopted in Soviet Russia are taken a state does not exist.

[51] Quoted from Raymond Poincaré, *How France is governed,* 92, in a paragraph illustrating the general obligations of a state.

DOCUMENTS TO CHAPTER II

I. Resolution Adopted in April 1917 by the Russian social democratic labor party on the question of nationalities.
II. Project, dated November 15, 1917, on the organization of the central executive committee (TsIK) of soviets.
III. Resolution on the "federal institutions of the Russian Republic," adopted by the third all-Russian congress on January 18, 1918.
IV. Constitution of the RSFSR, ratified on July 10, 1918.

I

Resolution Adopted in April 1917 by the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party [1]

On the Question of Nationalities

The policy of national oppression, an inheritance from autocracy and monarchy, is still fostered by the landowners, capitalists, and petty bourgeoisie in order to protect their class privileges and to disunite the workers of different nationalities. The contemporary imperialism, by furthering the tendencies toward the subordination of weaker peoples, is a new factor leading to an increase of national oppression.

The removal of national oppression can be effected only under an evolutionary democratic and republican form of government and state which will secure a complete equality of all nations and languages.

All nations included in Russia must have the free right of separation therefrom and the right of a free and independent state. The denial of such right and the failure to take proper measures to guarantee its proper execution are equivalent to support of the policy of annexation and conquest. Only recognition of the right of the nations to separate will secure a complete solidarity of the workers of different nations and further the actual democratic union of the nations.

The conflict existing at present between Finland and the Russian provisional government illustrates very clearly that the

[1] *Vsesoiuznaia kommunisticheskaia partiia v resoliutsiiakh ee s'esdov i konferentsii* (1898-1926), 183.

refusal of such right will lead to a manifest continuation of the tsarist policy.

The question concerning the right of nations to their free separation cannot be confused with that of the expediency of such separation. This last question must be decided separately in each case by the proletariat itself on the basis of economic conditions, customs, national composition of the population, etc.

The proletariat firmly denounces the so-called "cultural-national autonomy", *i.e.*, taking the schools out of the state jurisdiction and transfering them to the national *scims*, or the like. The workers living in the same locality and even working with the same enterprises, when following this cultural-national autonomy, will be artificially divided and appropriated to one or another "national culture"; in other words, there will be promoted the relation of the working masses with the bourgeois culture of separate nations, while the aim of the social democrats is to further the international culture of the proletariat of the whole world.

The party demands the inclusion in the constitution of a provision abolishing all privileges of one nation over another, and all restriction of the rights belonging to the national minorities.

II

Project, Dated November 15, 1917, on the Organization of the Central Executive Committee (TsIK) of Soviets [1]

I. *The Sessions of the TsIK*

1. There shall be large and small sessions of the TsIK of soviets.

The small sessions are legal when not less than one-fourth of all members of the TsIK are present. In case a quorum is not present, the next session is convoked on the following day, and is held regardless of the number of members of the TsIK present.

The large sessions are legal when not less than one-half of all the members of the TsIK are present.

2. The large session of the TsIK is an organ which directs and supervises the whole work of the TsIK.

The regular sessions of the TsIK are convoked on the first and fifteenth day of every month.

[1] *Protokoly zasedanii Vserossiiskago tsentralnago ispoln. Komiteta sovetov R., S., Kr. i Kaz. Deputatov. II Sozyva,* 19-20.

3. The sessions of the TsIK of soviets are convoked by its presidium as necessity may arise. Upon the demand of the fractions composing it, as well as upon the demand of the members of the TsIK, the presidium must convoke the corresponding small session of the TsIK of soviets.

4. The fractions are charged with control over the regular attendance at the sessions of the TsIK. If a member of the TsIK is absent, without good reason, from two sessions of the TsIK or its presidium, the fraction must warn him in the matter; if the member is absent from the session for a third time, he is recalled and replaced by the corresponding alternate to the TsIK.

II. *The Presidium*

5. The presidium is an executive and representative organ.

The presidium prepares all necessary material for the sessions of the TsIK, supervises all work of individual departments of the TsIK, executes all orders thereof, and decides urgent cases when the convocation of the TsIK is impossible. The number of the members of the presidium is one-tenth of the total membership of the TsIK.

The meetings of the presidium are held daily, and are legal when not less than one-half of the members thereof are present.

The presidium submits daily reports on its activity to the small session of the TsIK.

III. *Departments of the TsIK*

6. For organizing and carrying out its work, the TsIK has its departments which are the actual working organs thereof. These departments, which are under the supervision of the presidium, carry out all work of the TsIK, prepare all materials for the presidium thereof and for the sessions of the TsIK, and give their opinions on all questions that may arise in the course of the work of the TsIK and its presidium.

7. At the head of each department, as its directing organ, is a commission which supervises and coördinates the work of all departments.

The members of these commissions are appointed by the presidium subject to approval by the TsIK. The commissions have the right of coöperation in the case of not more than one-third of all the members of the commission [*sic*]. The heads of the departments are elected by the commissions. The members of the commissions have the right of advisory vote in the

sessions of the presidium, when the matters concerning their respective departments are discussed.

8. Within the limits of their jurisdiction, the departments of the TsIK are independent. Once a week the departments must submit reports on their work to the presidium. The presidium has the right to veto all decisions of the departments. In case of conflict between the presidium of the TsIK and the departments, the matter is submitted to the small session of the TsIK for settlement.

9. First of all, in the TsIK the following departments shall be formed: (1) secretarial, (2) fight against counter-revolution, (3) preparation for the constituent assembly, (4) local self-determination, (5) literary-editorial, (6) agitation, (7) of other cities [sic], (8) automobile, (9) finance, (10) press, (11) printing, and (12) international.

10. The departments draft their budgets subject to approval by the small session of the TsIK.

III

Resolution on the "Federal Institutions of the Russian Republic," Adopted by the Third All-Russian Congress of Workers', Soldiers', Peasants', and Kazaks' Deputies on January 18, 1918 [1]

1. The Russian Socialist [2] Soviet Republic is created on the basis of a voluntary union of the peoples of Russia in the form of a federation of the soviet republics of these peoples.

2. The supreme organ of authority within the federation is the all-Russian congress of soviets of workers', soldiers', peasants', and kazaks' deputies convoked at least once every three months.

3. The all-Russian congress of soviets of workers', soldiers', peasants', and kazaks' deputies elects the all-Russian central executive committee (VTsIK). In the interim between the congresses the VTsIK is the supreme authority.

4. The government of the federation, the soviet of people's commissars (sovnarkom), is elected and reëlected, collectively as well as individually, by the all-Russian congress of soviets or by the VTsIK.

[1] *Tretii Vserossiiskii s'ezd sovetov rabochikh, soldatskikh i krest'ianskikh deputatov,* 93-94.

[2] The word 'federal' was not added until later.

5. The order of participation of the individual republics and separate regions in the federal government, of the regions characterized by their own peculiar customs and national composition, as well as the strict formulation of the sphere of activities of the federal and regional institutions of the Russian Republic, shall be determined immediately upon the formation of regional soviet republics by the VTsIK and the central executive committees of these republics.

6. All local matters are decided exclusively by the local soviets. In the superior soviets is vested the right of regulation of mutual relations between the subordinate soviets, and also the settlement of all disputes that may arise between them. The central soviet authorities must control the execution of the fundamental principles of the federation and represent the Russian Federation of Soviets. Within the jurisdiction of the central authorities falls also the execution of measures of national importance, although the rights of individual regions comprising the federation should remain unimpaired.

7. The central executive committees of the soviets shall be charged with drafting those fundamental principles of the constitution of the Russian Federal Republic, which draft is to be submitted for examination by the next congress of soviets.

IV

Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR), Ratified by the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets on July 10, 1918 [1]

The declaration of the rights of the laboring and exploited people, confirmed by the third all-Russian congress of soviets in January 1918, together with the constitution of the Soviet Republic, ratified by the fifth all-Russian congress of soviets, constitute the fundamental law of the RSFSR.

This fundamental law enters into force from the moment of its publication, in its final form, in the *"Izvestiia* [official gazette] *of the VTsIK"*. It must be reprinted by all the local organs of the soviets and displayed prominently in all public soviet institutions.

[1] The Russian text appeared in the *Izvestiia,* July 19, 1918. The translation made here has as its basis that given in *The soviet constitution,* edited by Andrew Rothstein, but follows more closely the original Russian text.

The fifth all-Russian congress of soviets charges the people's commissar for education with the introduction into all schools and educational institutions, without exception, of the study of the basic principles of the present constitution and their explanation and interpretation.

First Section

Chapter I—*Declaration of the Rights of the Laboring and Exploited Peoples* [1]

1. Russia is declared a republic of soviets of workers', soldiers', and peasants' deputies. All central and local authority is vested in these soviets.

2. The Russian Soviet Republic is established on the basis of a free union of free nations, as a federation of national soviet republics.

Chapter II.

3. With the fundamental aim of suppressing all exploitation of man by man, of abolishing for ever the division of society into classes, of ruthlessly suppressing all exploiters, of bringing about the socialist organization of society and the triumph of socialism in all countries, the third all-Russian congress of soviets of workers', soldiers', and peasants' deputies further decrees:

a. In order to establish the 'socialization' of land, private ownership of land is abolished; all land is declared national property, and is handed over to the laboring masses, without compensation, on the basis of an equitable division giving the right of use only.

b. All forests, underground mineral wealth, and waters of national importance, all live-stock and appurtenances, together with all model-farms and agricultural enterprises, are proclaimed public property.

c. As the first step towards the complete transfer of factories, works, shops, mines, railways, and other means of production and of transport to the ownership of the workers' and peasants' Soviet Republic, and in order to insure the supremacy of the laboring masses over the exploiters, the congress ratifies the soviet law on workers' control of industry and that on the supreme soviet of people's economy.

[1] The declaration as read before the third congress of soviets is given in: *Tretii Vserossiiskii s'ezd sovetov rabochikh, soldatskikh i krest'ianskikh deputatov,* 90-92.

d.[1] The third all-Russian congress of soviets considers the soviet law repudiating the loans contracted by the government of the Tsar, the landlords, and the bourgeoisie as a first blow at international financial capitalism; and it expresses its conviction that the Soviet government will continue firmly in this direction until the complete victory of the international revolt of the workers against the yoke of capitalism.

e. The congress ratifies the transfer of all banks to the ownership of the workers' and peasants' government as one of the conditions insuring the emancipation of the toiling masses from the capitalistic yoke.

f. In order to exterminate all parasitic strata of society and to organize the economic life of the country, general compulsory labor is introduced.

g. In order to secure the supremacy of the laboring masses and to guard against any possibility of the restoration of the power of the exploiters, the congress decrees the arming of the laboring population, the formation of a socialist red army of workers and peasants, and the complete disarmament of the propertied classes.

CHAPTER III.

4. The third all-Russian congress of soviets, expressing its firm determination to deliver humanity from the claws of financial capital and imperialism, which, during this, the most criminal of all wars, have drenched the world with blood, wholeheartedly associates itself with the policy of the present soviet administration in its repudiation of the secret treaties, in organization of the widest possible fraternization between the workers and peasants in the ranks of the opposing armies, and in efforts to attain, at all cost, by revolutionary means, a democratic peace of the laboring masses without annexations of contributions, on the basis of a free self-determination of nations.

5. With the same object, the third all-Russian congress of soviets insists on the complete repudiation of the barbarous policy of the bourgeois civilization, which built up the prosperity of the exploiters in a few privileged nations on the enslavement of hundreds of millions of the laboring masses in Asia, in the colonies in general, and in the small countries.

6. The third all-Russian congress of soviets cordially wel-

[1] This paragraph was not included in the text of the declaration as originally read to the constituent assembly.

comes the policy of the soviet of people's commissars (sovnarkom) in proclaiming the independence of Finland, in beginning the withdrawal of the armies from Persia, and in granting the right of self-determination to Armenia.

CHAPTER IV.[1]

7. The third all-Russian congress of soviets of workers', soldiers', and peasants' deputies considers that now, at the decisive moment in the struggle of the proletariat against its exploiters, the latter can have no place in any of the organs of power. Power must appertain completely and exclusively to the laboring masses and their plenipotentiary representatives, the soviets of workers', soldiers', and peasants' deputies.

At the same time, striving to bring about a really free and voluntary, and, therefore, a more complete and lasting union of the laboring classes of all the nationalities of Russia, the third all-Russian congress of soviets confines itself to formulating the fundamental principles of the federation of the soviet republics of Russia, and leaves to the workers and peasants of each nationality the right to make an independent decision, at their own plenipotentiary congress of soviets, whether they desire, and if so upon what basis, to participate in the federal government and in other federal soviet institutions.

SECOND SECTION

CHAPTER V—*Of General Principles of the Constitution of the RSFSR*

9. The principal object of the constitution of the RSFSR, which is adapted to the present transition period, consists in the

[1] The text as read before the constitution assembly in January 1918, included here the following two paragraphs:

"Considering that the constituent assembly has been elected on the basis of party lists made up before the revolution of November, before the people had been able to rise in mass against the exploiters, before they had realized all the power of the exploiters capable of being used in the interest of their class privileges, and before the people had undertaken practically to create a socialist society, the constituent assembly believes that it is absolutely wrong, even from the point of view of formality, to set itself in opposition to the power of the soviets.

"In supporting the powers of the soviet and in ratifying the decrees of the sovnarkom, the constituent assembly recognizes that its task consists solely in elaborating the fundamental principles of the socialist reorganization of society and the federation of the republic of soviets."

(Translated from the original stenogram.)

establishment of the dictatorship of the urban and rural proletariat and the poorest peasantry, in the form of the strong all-Russian soviet power, with the aim of securing the complete suppression of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, and the establishment of socialism, under which there shall be neither class division nor state authority.

10. The Russian Republic is a free socialist society of all the laboring people of Russia. All authority within the boundaries of the RSFSR is vested in the entire working population of the country, organized in the urban and rural soviets.

11. The soviets of regions which are distinguished by a particular national and territorial character may unite in autonomous regional unions, at the head of which, as well as at the head of all other regional federations which may be formed in general, stand the regional congresses of soviets and their executive organs. These autonomous regional unions enter into the RSFSR on a federal basis.

12. Supreme authority in the RSFSR is vested in the all-Russian congress of soviets, and, in the interim between the congresses—in the VTsIK.

13. In order to secure for the laboring masses genuine freedom of conscience, the church is separated from the state and the school from the church, and freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda is acknowledged to be the right of all citizens.

14. In order to secure for the laboring masses genuine freedom of expressing their opinion, the RSFSR annuls the dependency of the press upon capital and hands over to the working class and the poor peasants all the technical and material resources necessary for the publication of newspapers, pamphlets, books, and all other printed matter, and guarantees their free circulation throughout the country.

15. In order to guarantee to the laboring masses complete freedom of assembly, the RSFSR, recognizing the right of the citizens of the Soviet Republic freely to organize meetings, processions, etc., places at the disposal of the workers and of the poor peasantry all premises fit for public gatherings, together with their furniture, lighting, and heating.

16. In order to insure for the laboring masses full liberty of association, the RSFSR, after having destroyed the economic and political power of the propertied classes and having thus removed all obstacles which hitherto in bourgeois society prevented the workers and peasants from enjoying freedom of

organization and action, lends to the workers and poorer peasants all its material and moral assistance to help them to unite and to organize themselves.

17. In order to insure for the laboring masses effective access to education, the RSFSR undertakes to provide for the workers and poorest peasants complete, universal, and free education.

18. The RSFSR recognizes work to be the duty of all citizens of the republic and proclaims the watch-word: "He who does not work shall not eat."

19. In order to safeguard in every possible way the conquests of the great workers' and peasants' revolution, the RSFSR declares it the duty of all citizens of the republic to defend the socialist fatherland and establishes universal military service. The honor of bearing arms in defence of the revolution is granted only to the laboring masses; the non-laboring elements shall have other military duties to fulfill.

20. Recognizing the solidarity of the laboring masses of all nations, the RSFSR extends all political rights enjoyed by Russian citizens to foreigners working within the territory of the Russian Republic, provided that they belong to the working class or to the peasantry working without hired labor. It authorizes the local soviets to confer upon such foreigners the rights of Russian citizenship without any difficult formalities.

21. The RSFSR grants the right of asylum to all foreigners persecuted for political and religious offences.

22. The RSFSR, recognizing the equality of all citizens, irrespective of race or nationality, declares it contrary to the fundamental laws of the republic to institute or tolerate privileges, or any prerogative whatsoever, founded on such grounds, or to repress national minorities, or in any way to limit their rights.

23. Guided by the interests of the working class as a whole, the RSFSR deprives individuals or separate groups of any privileges which they may use to the detriment of the socialist revolution.

Third Section

THE STRUCTURE OF SOVIET AUTHORITY

A. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY

Chapter VI—*Of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants', Red Army, and Kazaks' Deputies*

24. The all-Russian congress of soviets is the supreme organ of authority of the RSFSR.

25. The all-Russian congress of soviets is composed of representatives of city soviets on the basis of one deputy for each 25,000 electors, and of representatives of provincial congresses of soviets on the basis of one deputy for each 125,000 of the population.

NOTE 1. If a provincial congress of soviets has not been held before the all-Russian congress of soviets, delegates to the latter are sent direct from the county congresses of soviets.

NOTE 2. If a regional congress of soviets immediately precedes the all-Russian congress of soviets, delegates to the latter may be sent by the regional congress of soviets.

26. The all-Russian congress of soviets is convoked by the VTsIK at least twice a year.

27. The extraordinary all-Russian congress of soviets may be convoked by the VTsIK on its own decision, or on the demand of the local soviets which represent at least one-third of the total population of the republic.

28. The all-Russian congress of soviets elects the VTsIK consisting of not more than 200 members.

29. The VTsIK is responsible in all matters to the all-Russian congress of soviets.

30. In the interim between the congresses, the VTsIK is the supreme authority of the republic.

CHAPTER VII—*Of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets (VTsIK)*

31. The VTsIK is the supreme legislative, administrative, and controlling organ of the RSFSR.

32. The VTsIK has general direction of the activity of the workers'-peasants' government and of all government organs throughout the country; unifies and co-ordinates legislative and administrative work; and supervises the application of the soviet constitution, the decrees of the all-Russian congresses of soviets, and the decisions of the central organs of government.

33. The VTsIK examines and ratifies drafts of decrees and other proposals submitted by the sovnarkom or by individual departments; it also issues its own decrees and regulations.

34. The VTsIK convokes the all-Russian congress of soviets, to which it submits an account of its activity, together with statements on general policy and on various detailed questions.

35. The VTsIK appoints the sovnarkom for the general direction of the affairs of the RSFSR, and likewise people's commis-

sariats for the direction of the various departments of administration.

36. The members of the VTsIK work in the departments (people's commissariats), or undertake special work for the VTsIK.

CHAPTER VIII—*Of the Soviet of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom)*

37. The sovnarkom has the general direction of the affairs of the RSFSR.

38. In realization of this duty the sovnarkom issues decrees, orders, and instructions, and takes all general measures necessary to secure prompt and orderly administration.

39. The sovnarkom immediately informs the VTsIK of all its orders and decisions.

40. The VTsIK has the right to annul or to suspend any decision or order of the sovnarkom.

41. All orders and decisions of the sovnarkom of general political significance must be submitted for examination and ratification by the VTsIK.

NOTE. Measures of extreme urgency may be put into force on the sole authority of the sovnarkom.

42. The members of the sovnarkom are in charge of the various people's commissariats.

43. There are established eighteen people's commissariats: (*a*) foreign affairs, (*b*) war, (*c*) navy, (*d*) interior, (*e*) justice, (*f*) labor, (*g*) social welfare, (*h*) education, (*i*) posts and telegraphs, (*j*) nationalities, (*k*) finance, (*l*) ways of communication, (*m*) agriculture, (*n*) trade and industry, (*o*) food, (*p*) state control, (*q*) supreme soviet of people's economy, (*r*) health.

44. Attached to each people's commissar and under his presidency is set up a collegium, the members of which are appointed by the sovnarkom.

45. The people's commissar has the right to make personal decisions on all questions within the competence of the corresponding commissariat. The collegium, or individual members thereof, without suspending the execution of the decision, may lodge a complaint against it with the sovnarkom or with the presidium of the VTsIK. The same right of lodging complaints appertains also to individual members of the collegium.

46. The sovnarkom is responsible in all matters to the all-Russian congress of soviets and to the VTsIK.

47. People's commissars and the collegia attached thereto are responsible in all matters to the sovnarkom and the VTsIK.

48. The title of people's commissar belongs exclusively to members of the sovnarkom who administer the general affairs of the RSFSR, and can not be adopted by any other representative of the central or local authorities.

CHAPTER IX—*Of the Competence of ahe All-Russian Congress of Soviets and the VTsIK*

49. Within the competence of the all-Russian congress of soviets and the VTsIK fall all questions of national importance, namely:

a. The ratification, alteration, and supplementing of the constitution of the RSFSR.

b. The general direction of the external and internal policy of the RSFSR.

c. The delimitation and alteration of frontiers, with power to detach any territories of the RSFSR, or to abandon the rights of the republic in respect thereof.

d. The establishment of the boundaries and competence of regional unions of soviets which are part of the RSFSR and arbitration in disputes which may arise amongst them.

e. The admission of new members into the composition of the RSFSR and the recognition of the severance of those parts which have left the Russian federation.

f. The determination of the administrative divisions of the RSFSR and the ratification of regional unions.

g. The establishment and modification of the system of weights and measures and coinage on the territory of the RSFSR.

h. Relations with foreign powers, declaration of war, and conclusion of peace.

i. The floating of loans, negotiation of tariff, commercial, and financial agreements.

j. The establishment of a basis and of general outlines for the economic life, both as a whole and in its separate branches, of the RSFSR.

k. The adoption of the budget of the RSFSR.

l. The levying of taxes and imposition of public duties.

m. The establishment of the basis of organization of the armed forces of the RSFSR.

n. Legislation, the organization of the judicature, of civil and criminal jurisdiction, etc.

o. The appointment and recall both of the individual members and of the entire sovnarkom and the confirmation of the appointment of the president of the sovnarkom.

p. The publication of general regulations concerning the acquisition or loss of civil rights by Russian citizens, and also the rights of foreigners within the territory of the republic.

q. The right of general or partial amnesty.

50. In addition to the above-enumerated questions, the all-Russian congress of soviets and the VTsIK may decide on any other matter which they deem within their jurisdiction.

51. Within the exclusive jurisdiction of the all-Russian congress of soviets fall:

a. The drafting, supplementing, and amending the fundamental principles of the soviet constitution.

b. The ratification of peace treaties.

52. The settlement of questions enumerated in paragraphs *"c"* and *"h"* of article 49 falls within the jurisdiction of the VTsIK only when it is impossible to convoke the all-Russian congress of soviets.

B. THE ORGANIZATION OF LOCAL SOVIET AUTHORITY

CHAPTER X—*Of the Congresses of Soviets*

53. The congresses of soviets are composed as follows:

a. Regional—of representatives of city soviets and of county congresses of soviets: in the case of the latter on the basis of one deputy for each 25,000 of the population, and in the case of the former one deputy for each 5,000 electors, with a maximum of 500 deputies for the entire region; or of deputies from the provincial congresses of soviets, elected on the same basis in case the latter congress is convoked immediately before the regional congress of soviets.

b. Provincial—of representatives of city soviets and rural district congresses of soviets: in the case of the latter on the basis of one deputy for each 10,000 of the population and in the case of the former of one deputy for each 2,000 electors, with a maximum of 300 deputies for the whole province. If the county congress of soviets is convoked immediately before the provincial congress, the election takes place on the same basis, not by the rural district congress, but by the county congress.

c. County—of representatives of the village soviets on the

basis of one deputy for each 1,000 of the population with a maximum of 300 deputies for the county.

d. Rural district—of representatives of all village soviets of the rural districts on the basis of one deputy for every ten members of the soviet.

NOTE 1. In the county congresses of soviets are represented the soviets of those cities whose population does not exceed 10,000 inhabitants. Soviets of villages of less than 1,000 inhabitants meet together to elect deputies to the county congress.

NOTE 2. Village soviets of less than ten members send one deputy to the rural district congress.

54. Congresses of soviets are convoked by territorially corresponding executive organs of soviet authority (executive committees) at the discretion of the latter, or upon the demand of the soviets of those localities which represent at least one-third of the entire population of the given district, but in every case not less than twice a year for the regions, once every three months for the provinces and counties, and once every month for rural districts.

55. The congress of soviets (regional, provincial, county, rural district) elects its executive organ—executive committees—with a membership not greater than (*a*) for the regions and provinces, 25; (*b*) for counties, 20; (*c*) for rural districts, 10. The executive committee is responsible in all matters to the congress of soviets which elected it.

56. The congress of soviets (regional, provincial, county, rural district) is, within its competence, the supreme authority throughout the given territory; in the interim between the congresses the supreme authority is vested in the executive committee.

CHAPTER X—*Of Soviets of Deputies*

57. Soviets of deputies are elected as follows:

a. In the cities, one deputy for each 1,000 of the population, with a minimum of 50 and a maximum of 1,000 members.

b. In the townships (farms, hamlets, villages, encampments, small towns with a population of less than 10,000, mountain valleys, etc.)—one deputy for each 100 of the population, with a minimum of 3 and a maximum of 50 deputies for each locality. Deputies are elected for a period of three months.

NOTE. In rural localities, wherever it may be possible, ques-

tions of administration will be settled directly by the general assembly of the electors of the village concerned.

58. For the transaction of current affairs the soviet of deputies elects from amongst its members an executive committee composed, in the villages, of not more than 5 members, and in the townships, of one deputy for each 50 persons, with a minimum of 3 and a maximum of 15. (In Petrograd and Moscow the maximum is 40.) The executive committee is responsible in all matters to the soviet which elected it.

59. The soviet of deputies is convoked by the executive committee on the initiative of the latter, or upon the demand of at least half of the members of the soviet, at least once a week in the towns and twice a week in the townships.

60. The soviet, within the limits of its administration or in the case described in the note to Article 57, the general assembly of electors constitutes the supreme authority for its locality.

CHAPTER XII—*Of the Competence of the Local Organs of Soviet Authority*

61. Regional, provincial, county, and rural district organs of soviet authority, as well as the village soviets, have the following functions within their jurisdiction:

a. Carrying out of all instructions issued by the corresponding supreme organs of soviet authority.

b. Adoption of all appropriate measures for developing the cultural and economic life of their territory.

c. Settlement of all questions of purely local interest for the given territory.

d. Unification of all soviet activities throughout the given territory.

62. The congresses of soviets and their executive committees have the right of control over the activities of the local soviets: *i.e.*, the regional congress exercises control over all the soviets in its region, the provincial—over all soviets of the given province, except over the city soviets which do not enter into the composition of the county congresses of soviets. The regional provincial congresses of soviets, together with their executive committees, have the further right to repeal the decisions of the district soviets. In the more important cases they must inform the central soviet authority of these measures.

63. In order to insure the execution of the duties incumbent upon the organs of soviet authority, there are created, in connec-

tion with every soviet (city and village) and every executive committee (regional, provincial, county, and rural district), the corresponding departments, under the charge of departmental managers.

Fourth Section

Chapter XIII—*Of Electoral Rights*

64. The right to vote and to be elected to the soviets belongs to all following citizens of the RSFSR irrespective of sex, religion, or nationality, and without any residential qualification: provided that on the day of the election they have reached the age of eighteen:

a. All citizens gaining their livelihood by productive work useful to society, as well as persons engaged in domestic pursuits which enable the former to follow their callings, namely: workers and employees of all kinds and categories engaged in industry, trade, agriculture, etc., peasants, and laboring kazaks, who do not use hired labor for private gain.

b. Soldiers of the soviet army and navy.

c. All citizens included in the categories indicated in paragraphs (*a*) and (*b*) of the present article who are incapacitated for work.

Note 1. The local soviet may, upon the approval of the central authority, reduce the legal age fixed by this paragraph.

Note 2. In addition to Russian citizens, persons mentioned in article 20 (second section, chapter V), also enjoy electoral rights.

65. The following persons have neither the right to vote nor the right to be elected, even if they are included within one of the above-mentioned categories:

a. Persons employing hired labor for the sake of profit.

b. Persons living on an income not derived from their own labor, such as: interest on capital, income from industrial enterprises, landed property, etc.

c. Private business men, trade and commercial agents.

d. Monks and clergymen of all religious denominations.

e. Employees and agents of the former police, of the special gendarme-corps and secret police, and members of the former ruling dynasty of Russia.

f. Persons legally recognized as mentally deranged or imbecile, as well as those under guardianship.

g. Persons convicted of infamous or mercenary crimes for a period fixed by law or by judicial sentence.

CHAPTER XIV—*Of the Electoral Procedure*

66. Elections are conducted according to established practice on dates fixed by the local soviets.

67. Elections take place in the presence of an electoral commission and a representative of the local soviet.

68. In cases where the presence of a representative of the soviet authority is technically impossible, his place is taken by the chairman of the electoral commission, and, in his absence, by the chairman of the electoral assembly.

69. A protocol on the proceedings and the result of elections is drawn up and signed by the members of the electoral commission and by the representative of the local soviet.

70. Details of electoral procedure, as well as the participation of trade union or other labor organizations therein are determined by the local soviets, in conformity with instructions issued by the VTsIK.

CHAPTER XV—*Of the Verification and Annulment of Elections and Recall of Deputies*

71. All material concerning the elections is handed over to the corresponding soviet.

72. The electoral results are examined by a credentials commission appointed by the soviet.

73. This commission reports to the soviet on the results of its examination.

74. The soviet decides as to the validity of a deputy's mandate in case of a dispute.

75. In case of the invalidation of any candidate, the soviet calls a new election.

76. In case of irregularity of the elections as a whole, the question of its annulment is decided by the immediately superior organ of soviet authority.

77. The VTsIK is the final court of appeal.

78. The electors have the right to recall at any time their delegates to the soviet, and to proceed with new elections according to the general statute.

FIFTH SECTION

CHAPTER XVI—*Of the Budget Law*

79. The financial policy of the RSFSR during the preparatory period of the dictatorship of the laboring masses promotes the

fundamental aim towards the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the creation of conditions for the universal equality of all citizens of the republic in the production and distribution of wealth. To this end it aims at placing at the disposal of the organs of soviet authority all the resources necessary to satisfy the local and national needs of the soviet republic, encroaching without hesitation upon the rights of private property.

80. The state revenue and expenditure of the RSFSR are embodied in the general state budget.

81. The all-Russian congress of soviets or the VTsIK assesses taxation, determines the sources of public revenue, and supervises its distribution between the state and local soviets.

82. The soviets shall levy taxes and duties exclusively for the needs of local economy. Needs of a general and national character are met by grants from the state treasury.

83. No expenditure shall be made from the funds of the state treasury without an authorized credit in the state budget or without a corresponding special order by the central authority.

84. The credits necessary to meet the needs of state importance are opened to local soviets at the state treasury by order of the corresponding people's commissariats.

85. All credits granted by the state treasury to the soviets, as well as credits allocated by local estimates for purely local requirements, must be applied in accordance with their direct assignment (paragraphs and clauses) laid down in the estimates; and they shall not be diverted to any other purpose without a special decision of the VTsIK and the sovnarkom.

86. The local soviets prepare half-yearly and yearly estimates of income and expenditure for local needs. The estimates of village, rural district, and city soviets participating in the county congresses of soviets, together with the estimates of the county organs of soviet authority, are ratified by the respective provincial and regional congresses or by their executive committees. The estimates of the city, provincial, and regional soviet authorities are ratified by the VTsIK and sovnarkom.

87. Supplementary credits for expenses not provided for in the estimates, as well as in case of insufficiency of the budgetary appropriations, are demanded by the soviets from the corresponding people's commissariats.

88. Should local resources prove insufficient for the local needs, subsidies or loans from the resources of the state treasury

necessary for converging urgent expenditure are granted to the local soviets by the VTsIK and the sovnarkom.

Sixth Section

Chapter XVII—*Of the Emblem and Flag of the RSFSR*

89. The emblem of the RSFSR consists of a golden sickle and hammer, placed upon a red background in the rays of the sun, the handles crossed and turned downwards: the whole surrounded by a wreath of ears of corn, with the inscription:

a. "Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic", and

b. "Proletarians of all countries, unite".

90. The commercial, naval, and military flag of the RSFSR consists of red (scarlet) cloth on the upper left corner of which, near the staff, are placed the golden letters: "RSFSR.", or the inscription: "Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic".

Signed: The president of the fifth all-Russian congress of soviets and of the VTsIK: Ia. Sverdlov.

Members of the presidium of the VTsIK:

T. I. Teodorovich, F. S. Rozin, A. P. Rosenholz, A. H. Mitrofanov, K. G. Maksimov.

The secretary of the VTsIK: V. A. Avanesov.

CHAPTER III

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONALITIES, 1918-1922

Among the vague catch-phrases which sprang into prominence during the world war was the doctrine of self-determination, of the freeing of oppressed peoples, the right to an independent existence of nationalities desiring it.

This doctrine, the exact implications of which were never very clearly defined, was reëchoed in many quarters where its full significance and potential dangers were not realized. In the early stages of its development the idea of self-determination was primarily a weapon of propaganda in the hands of the allied and associated powers, who hoped that its spread would facilitate the partition of the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish empires. The powers who proclaimed the doctrine were, however, to find it a two-edged sword, for they themselves had colonial and other problems where it could not fail to make them infinite trouble.

In particular one of the allies, Russia, from the earliest days of the war feared the danger of disunion occasioned by the principle of nationality. The manifesto issued by Grand Duke Nicholas to the Polish people in August 1914, offering them autonomy and self-government under the Tsar, was an attempt to preserve the allegiance of the Poles without really compromising the future.[1] To Russia the danger of internal disruption, ever at hand, was likely to become acute at any political crisis. The enormous area of the empire, peopled by a bewildering heterogeneity of races and tribes diverse in language, religion, customs, and ideas, made the new principle one of peculiar hazards. Where could a

[1] For text see F. A. Golder, as cited, 37-38.

doctrine of self-determination begin and end in the case of an empire of 180,000,000 people divided into some 577 tribes speaking 150 distinct tongues!

The heart of Russia proper, or Great Russia, the former Grand Principality of Moscow, is the city of that name. St. Petersburg, a European city built by Peter the Great to be the capital of the new Russia which he sought to open to western influences, symbolized to the typical Slavophil Russian a false Occidental idea on the outer fringe of a country at heart Oriental and Asiatic. It was Moscow under its grand princes that threw off the Mongol yoke and laid the foundation of Russian power. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries other countries were winning or losing empires overseas; the Tsars of Russia were building up the vastest land empire in the world.

Russia in 1505, under Ivan III, included an area of some 800,000 square miles, corresponding roughly to the Great Russia of the present day. By 1914 this domain had increased to 8,500,000 square miles, or nearly a sixth of the land surface of the globe. From 1500 to 1900 the expanse of territory under the Tsars increased at the average rate of over fifty square miles a day. Although many Russian colonists settled in Siberia, it remains true that these new acquisitions were inhabited largely by people of non-Russian, and in many cases of non-Slavic blood. Meantime the population increased from fourteen millions in 1722 to one hundred and eighty millions in 1914, of whom considerably less than half were Russians.

The diversity of the peoples forming the Russian Empire of 1914 is apparent from an enumeration of the major groups composing it. The heart of the empire remained the Great Russians, who numbered about forty-seven per cent. of the total population. Next in importance came the Ukrainians, or Little Russians, a people, at least in their own opinion, with a separate language, history, and culture,

who made up twenty per cent. of the population. Then, on a descending scale, came the Poles, White Russians, Jews, Tatars, Lithuanians, Germans, and Letts, not to mention the many other nationalities and tribes.

At the best a homogeneous empire could not readily be molded from such materials. Add to this the recollections of former independence, the determined attempt of the Russians to supplant the culture of the subject races by their own, and the harshness of what was felt as an alien rule, and it is easy to understand the acuteness of the problem of nationalities in Russia as soon as the central authority suffered even the slightest weakening.[2]

The first real test of the coherence of the empire followed the unsuccessful war with Japan. In 1905, when the government was weak and unpopular because of its military defeat, there were serious attempts at revolution. These were particularly widespread in the border regions where hatred of Russification had been smouldering, though, because of social and economic conditions, the peasants appear to have attacked their landlords irrespective of nationalities. In various districts ephemeral 'republics' were established and local autonomy was decreed. But the central government rallied and speedily put down the scattered revolts.

The question of nationalities became more acute when, to allay opposition, a form of representative government was introduced in 1905. The administrative methods of the bureaucracy were practically uniform throughout the great empire, making little or no allowance for the wide differences in the population and in local conditions. The subject peoples hoped that representative institutions could be made to bring about sympathetic treatment of their peculiar problems; but when it quickly appeared that such institutions were to be a means of promoting Russian

[2] See the suggestive work by Inorodetz, *La Russie et les peuples allogènes* (Berne 1917), *passim*.

nationalism, the non-Russian elements became more embittered than ever.[3]

The policy of Russia in regard to the subject nationalities was directed from the capital, where a determination was shown to suppress local languages and institutions. The only measure of relief came in areas ruled over by a lenient provincial governor. Even there the renewed program of Russification embarked upon after the revolt of 1905 placed the subject nationalities in a position of disadvantage as regards representation in the government and the maintenance of the special cultures. When the plan of elections to the duma was so modified as to assure a conservative majority, the imperial manifesto on June 3, 1907, accompanying the new legislation, unequivocally declared:

> The state duma, created in order to strengthen the Russian state, should be Russian also in spirit. Other peoples who are included in our empire should have representatives in the state duma to state their needs, but they can not and shall not be represented in such number as to enable them to decide purely Russian questions.[4]

Members of the duma, on a number of occasions, attempted to take up the question of nationalities. Autocracy, orthodoxy, and bureaucracy coöperated with the spirit of Russian nationalism to make the discussion futile.

Upon the beginning of the world war in 1914 the Russian government, save for its manifesto to the Poles, made no special concessions to win the support of the non-Slavic peoples. On the contrary, it appeared deliberately to antagonize them. Any hopes that may have existed for greater local freedom were dashed by legislation such as the Russification decree of the Tsar in November 1914 as applied to the Finns. This decree contained "appropriate measures for reënforcing the authority of the imperial government in

[3] See in this connection Harold William, "The Russian national problem," in 1 *The Russian Review,* January 1912, 32-40.

[4] *Sobranie uzakonenii,* No. 94, June 3, 1907, 1301.

Finland" and for assuring "the proper carrying out of the laws and the maintenance of order".

In the winter of 1916-1917 army units composed of separate nationalities were formed to enlist local patriotism in the task of national defence. Special mention may be made of the so-called Lettish regiments (*Latyschskiie strelki*) which loyally defended their own homeland, Livonia, during the German attack on Riga. Such concessions to local feeling were, however, prompted only by military necessity. There was no compromise of future policy.

Despite the wartime censorship, the dissatisfaction caused in Russia by decrees placing the various non-Russian elements under the control of the central bureaucracy became known abroad. Demands for the autonomy of Poland were heard increasingly in the allied countries, though the Russian government, after its early vague promise, revealed no intention of releasing its hold on Poland. Meanwhile France and Great Britain became solicitous as to the fate of the Jews in the Tsar's dominions.[5]

Russian public opinion regarded foreign discussion of these questions as unjustifiable interference in Russia's internal affairs. Russia, it was argued, did not concern herself with the treatment of Ireland by Great Britain or with the policy of France in giving full civic rights to the Jews while refusing the same privileges to her African or Asiatic subjects.[6] Indeed, the fact of foreign sympathy added, if

[5] In the case of non-Russian elements other than the Jews the Great Russian or Muscovite refused them liberty out of a feeling of superiority. As to the Jews, they were not only looked down upon but hated. The dislike of the Jews prejudiced the case of the other subject nationalities. Finally, as is shown by the literature of Russia before the war, the persons in power in Russia knew the important rôle played by the Jews in every subversive political organization in Europe. The natural result was oppression of this people, until the revolution in 1917 reversed the rôles and the oppressed became the oppressors. See, in connection with the various aspects of this question, Alexandre Ular, *Russia from within* (London 1905).

[6] See article in the *Zemshchina*, July 3, 1916, entitled "Misplaced Curiosity", as quoted in the *Bulletin périodique de la presse russe*, No. 16, for the period July 14-22, 1916.

possible, to the futility of the protests against the policy of the Tsar made by the progressive group in the duma on September 7, 1905. This group, which included Prince L'vov and Miliukov, at that time proposed a very conciliatory policy as respected the nationalities. Among other things, it was provided that restrictions upon the rights of the Poles throughout Russia should be abolished and that a bill should be drafted at once for the "autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland". A policy of conciliation toward Finland, cessation of active measures against recalcitrant Finnish officials, "entry upon the path of abolition of restrictions upon the rights of Jews", and the restoration of the Ukrainian press were among the other demands.

On April 3, 1917, less than a month after the overthrow of the old régime, the provisional government realized that it must make concessions to the non-Slavic elements. It then abolished all restrictions based on religion or race, a measure which applied particularly to the Jews. This step was taken "on the principle that in a free country, all citizens must be equal before the laws and that universal conscience reproves the restrictions to which certain citizens are subject on account of their creed or of their origin". The use of languages or dialects other than the Russian language in the administration of private companies, in the bookkeeping of commercial institutions, and in teaching in private educational institutions was to be permitted.[7]

[7] A French version of the decree is given in *Bulletin périodique de la presse russe,* No. 45, for the period April 1-10, 1917. These regulations applied principally, if not solely, to the Jews. The country at large showed an unmistakable opposition to the steps taken. Cases of espionage by the Jews were coming up in the asserted ratio of five Jews to one Russian; more than this, the heavy increase of prices was laid at the doors of Jewish speculators. The defenders of the Jews pointed out that this was natural since this race was allowed to penetrate only in certain provinces and was barred from the schools. But so long as soldiers arriving from the front openly accused the Jews of treason, so long as the masses of the Russian people, above all the peasants, saw no cause to lessen their animosity, a policy of new rights for the Jews was certain to cause opposition. The general spirit, even at this time, was that of the *Novoie Vremia,* June 3, 1916, which protested against the use of the Jew-

Concessions were made to the Jews, but still a manifesto on the objects of the war published by the Russian provisional government on March 27, 1917, foresaw in no respect the liberation of the different nationalities within the Russian Empire except Poland, and in that case in part because Poland was occupied by German and Austrian troops. The manifesto announced only that "free Russia does not aim at dominating other peoples, at depriving them of their national patrimony, or at occupying foreign territories by force, but that its object is to establish a durable peace on the basis of the right of nations to decide their own destiny. The Russian people do not lust after the strengthening of their power abroad at the expense of other nations, nor do they aim at subjecting or humbling any one. In the name of the higher principles of equity they have removed the chains which weighed upon the Polish nation. But the Russian nation will not allow its fatherland to emerge from the great struggle with its vital forces humbled and weakened." [8] Events moved more quickly than the program of this government of transition which was holding the reigns of power only until another group acquired sufficient strength to take them over.

As the mighty empire that had been ruled over by Nicholas II swiftly crumbled away, numerous subject peoples began to assert their power, to demand special attention and rights. The Jews, perhaps the most oppressed of all under the old régime, were already beginning to assert their power under the provisional government headed by Kerenskii. The non-Slavic elements in general looked forward to a

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ish language thus: "If it has been forbidden to speak German in all parts of Russia, why does this restriction not extend also to the Jewish jargon which is, after all, a German dialect? The Jews established in France adopted the French language long ago; the same applies to the Spanish and American Jews. All use the language of the country. Why is it only the Russian Jews who retain the language which they brought from Germany before they came to Russia?" Quoted in *Bulletin périodique de la presse russe*, No. 13, for the period June 14-24, 1916.

[8] *Miscellaneous No. 10 (1917). Cd. 8587.*

new era in which they would be at least the equals of their former rulers. The revolution had proclaimed the right of self-determination; the result was a development of particularism, separatism, and even a chauvinistic spirit among the component parts of the old empire. At the end of March 1917, when the provisional government recognized the independence of Poland "as a guarantee of a durable peace", it established a precedent. Finland announced that with the overthrow of the old régime the rights appertaining to the Emperor of Russia as Grand Duke of Finland had ceased to exist, and that Finland was thus freed from all ties with the neighboring and to the Finns allied Russian people. The Finns had always felt themselves to be more civilized than the Russians, with whom they had been united only since 1809. The Finnish constitution, guaranteed by Alexander I, was violated by Nicholas II in 1899 when he attempted to Russify the country. During the world war, such acts as the decree of Russification already mentioned, the exile of the president of the Finnish diet to Siberia, and the imperial manifesto of December 25, 1915, postponing until after the war the convocation of the Diet, all served to embitter the Finns against the Russian government.

The Ukrainians also argued that the restoration of constitutional privileges to the Grand Duchy of Finland served as a precedent for the return of their own former liberties. So it was with the Estonians, Lithuanians, Georgians, Tatars, and others. Were all these people to become independent, Russia would lose most of her conquests made since the days of Ivan the Great, and would cease to be a nation of first importance. Instead of an empire, Muscovy would become again the Muscovy of the sixteenth century. The independence of Finland would render Petrograd insecure; [9] the loss of the Ukraine would mean the sacrifice of the

[9] The removal of the capital from Petrograd to Moscow may be attributed both to this lack of security and to the hatred of the bolshevik leaders for the European city of the Tsars.

granary of Russia; an independent Transcaucasia would mean the loss of one of the greatest petroleum fields in the world.

The party in the Ukraine demanding complete independence at the beginning of the revolution in March represented only a very small minority. Then, as immediately after November 1917, the real force was the faction that desired autonomy in a federative Russian republic. Only later was complete separation demanded. The final phase to the controversy between the Ukraine and the bolshevik power that assumed authority in Petrograd in November 1917 was the military conquest of the Ukraine and the abolition of all but a fiction of independence. Both the real authority, the Russian communist party, and the constitutional authority, the all-Russian central executive committee, had recognized the independence of the Ukraine. To this recognition, however, was coupled a condition that made it valueless: "only the Ukrainian workers and peasants in their all-Russian congress of soviets may and shall decide the question as to whether the Ukraine shall be united with Russia, or whether she shall remain independent, and in the latter case what *federal* relation shall be established between this republic and Russia." [10] The Ukraine was officially recognized as independent of the Moscow authorities. Despite this theoretical recognition, she was not to be permitted to go her own way. This conflict of fact and theory, and the qualification of the principle of self-determination stated above, bring out in clear relief the real attitude of the bolsheviks toward the question of the independence of nationalities. It was as a weapon of propaganda, not as a principle that they would in any case willingly see applied against themselves, that the soviet leaders, on November 15, 1917, proclaimed the principle of the equality and sovereign rights of all nation-

[10] Statement by Lenin quoted in N. N. Popov, *Lenin o natsionalnoe vopros,* 110. Italics not in original.

alities in Russia, the right to self-determination to the extent of forming independent states, and the free development of ethnic groups. The answer must be sought in the actions and statements of the revolutionary leaders.

The present all-Union [11] communist party (of bolsheviks) in Russia is the successor of the Russian social democratic labor party. Several conferences or congresses of that party, an illegal body before the outbreak of the revolution, have been held since its organization at Minsk in 1898. The resolutions approved at all meetings are now available. It is on the basis of these documents that, as concerns various nationalities, the policy of the party that seized the reins of authority in Russia in November 1917 is given here.[12]

At the fugitive conference held in London in 1903 the representatives of the above-mentioned party had a very short and concise plank on the question of nationalities. A resolution introduced by Lenin was adopted to this effect: "The conference declares that it stands for the complete right of self-determination of all nations".

The question of nationalities was taken up in more detail by the second congress of the party in August 1903. The program of the party included this plank: "Right of self-determination of all nations included in any state."

At the conference of the central committee of the party held on September 25, 1913, in Galicia, the question of nationalities was taken up again. The resolution then adopted declared that national peace would be possible only under a republican form of government which would guarantee to all nations the right to use freely their native language in social life and in the schools, and by including in the constitution a provision which would nullify all class privileges on the one hand and would protect the rights of

[11] The term "all-Russian" was used prior to the formation of the USSR in 1923.

[12] *Vsesoiuznaia kommunisticheskaia partiia (b) v rezoliutsiiakh ee s'ezdov i konferentsii (1898-1926).* This source is used in all cases, no further citation being made.

national minorities on the other. Regional autonomy and complete democratic self-government "would be necessary when the boundaries of the autonomous and self-governing regions are determined by the local population itself on the basis of economics and customs, national composition of the population, etc."

The resolution called attention in particular to the oppression of the nationalities within Russia by the "black-hundred [13] Great Russian nationalism". On the other hand, the central committee of this revolutionary and secret party apparently realized that a certain brake would have to be applied to the doctrine of self-determination. In the words of the resolution, "the question of the right of nations to self-determination . . . can not be involved with the question of the practicability of such separation of a nation. The social democratic party must decide this last question in every case absolutely independently, from the point of view of the interests of the entire social development as well as from the point of view of the class struggle for socialism."

At the time of this meeting, as ever since, the revolutionary groups in Russia, while appealing to local nationalism, have simultaneously proposed a contrary doctrine of universality. They advocated "complete democratic self-government" for peoples with special characteristics. In the same resolution, however, the proposition was dedicated that "the interests of the working class require the unification of the workers of all nationalities in a given state in common proletarian, political, trade, coöperative-educational, and other organizations."

Thus, on the one hand, local independence was the watchword; on the other hand, centralization was proposed. Such straddling on a vital issue was apparently not intended to deceive, but in naïveté equalled modern party platforms in the United States. The same contradictions in applying the

[13] That is, the ultra-monarchist groups.

doctrine of self-determination have since appeared every time the problem of nationalities has been discussed.

In April 1917, when the war was in full swing, when the Russian government was worried about its problem of nationalities and was taking strong measures in order to keep the various parts of the empire under strict control, and after the tsarist régime had already been overthrown, the Russian social democratic labor party held a congress in Petrograd. The discussions and resolutions of the Congress reaffirmed the previously stated doctrine of national equality and self-determination. "All nations included in Russia", it resolved, "must have the right of free separation therefrom, and the right to form free and independent states. The denial of such right and the failure to take proper measures to guarantee its practical execution are equal to support of the policy of annexation and conquest."

Again there occurred a contradiction in the program of self-determination. Again it was stated that "only the recognition by the proletariat of the rights of nations to secede will secure a complete solidarity of workers of different nations and will promote the actual democratic unification of nations". 'Unification', 'separation': these were curious proposals to find on one policy and separated by only a paragraph division in the resolution.[14]

Special reference is necessary at this point to the working out of the question of nationalities in the Mohammedan parts of Russia. Under the old régime the Mohammedan party in the duma was usually in opposition to the government. Naturally when the Tsar was overthrown this group supported the new order.

At Moscow, from May 1 to May 8, 1917, a Mohammedan

[14] The bolshevist point of view was that the oppression of one nationality by another merely impedes the coöperation of the proletariat of the two nationalities in a common struggle against the bourgeoisie. The reasoning may be valid; it remains, however, that the bolshevist conception is not that of independence in any degree but a uniform grouping of peoples, no matter how different or what their national aspirations, under one banner.

congress met to decide on a future line of conduct towards the new government of Russia. Two distinct point of views were maintained. One group favored an indivisible democratic republic under which Mohammedans would enjoy a large measure of national autonomy, as well as religious and cultural rights. A more numerous group stood for a federal system under which the nationalities would stand apart and thus retain their identity.

The provisional government, as already noted, refused openly to recognize the right of nationalities to self-determination. It preferred to leave that question for solution by the constituent assembly whenever that body might meet. Local independence, however, asserted itself in spite of Petrograd. When the revolution of November brought the bolsheviks into power, the Mohammedan population was already demanding autonomy. There was nothing for the new administration to do but to recognize autonomy as an accomplished fact. This it did, and in such a manner as to make the principle a powerful means of support among the Mohammedan population.

The initial step by which the bolsheviks attempted to secure the backing of the Mohammedan parts of Russia was a declaration in April 1917 and again in June 1917 of the right of peoples to self-determination. As soon as the bolsheviks seized the reins of authority, on November 7, 1917, the soviet of people's commissars proclaimed the equality and sovereignty of all the peoples of Russia, including their right to self-determination and to form independent states.

Following the revolution of November the question of nationalities became hopelessly entangled in anti-bolshevik movements, attempts to realize national independence, and internecine conflicts. The Mohammedan masses were inert under these complicated conditions. As a clarion call to unification in order to drive out the oppressor and to enjoy full independence under the communist banner, Lenin and

Stalin launched a proclamation to all the Mohammedans of Russia and the Orient.[15]

"Mohammedans of Russia, Tatars of the Volga and Crimea, Kirgiz and Sartes of Siberia and Turkestan, Turks and Tatars of Transcaucasia . . .", appealed this proclamation, "your beliefs and customs, your national institutions and culture, are hereafter free and inviolable. You have the right to them. Know that your rights, as well as those of all the peoples of Russia, are under the powerful protection of the revolution and of the organs of the soviets of workers, soldiers, and peasants. Lend your support to this revolution and to its government."

The next move was the creation of a commissariat for Mohammedan affairs by a decree dated January 19, 1918. Two Tatars and one Bashkir were placed in charge of the new body.

After the bolsheviks had been in power for eight months they drew up their constitution. The declaration of rights of the laboring and exploited people, which had been rejected by the constituent assembly in January 1918, was incorporated in this document. By virtue of the constitution of the RSFSR, however, the status of the different nationalities conformed to the ideas of the minority group at the Mohammedan congress in May 1917 as already mentioned. Autonomy became a theory; administrative centralization was the order of the day; the communist conception of the interests of the 'proletariat' prevailed.

The basis of the administrative structure as formulated in theory, including the constitution of the RSFSR, is the right of the "laboring people" alone to self-determination and self-organization. Or, in the words of one of the framers of the soviet constitution, the right "to organize freely into communes signifies the formation of local centers of authority so that the legislation, discipline, administration,

[15] A French version is available in Castagné, "Le bolchevisme et l'Islam", in 51 *Revue du monde musulman* (Paris), 7-8.

and control will become automatically self-legislation, self-discipline, self-administration, and self-control." [16]

In practice these rights proved quite different from the theoretical formulation. That this is so logically follows from the very nature of revolutionary dictatorship. When attempting to prove or demonstrate the democratic nature of soviet authority, soviet writers usually give quite clearly the origins and nature of autonomous areas. A typical line of argument, that of Gurvich,[17] may be used to show the prevailing point of view.

There should be little wonder, Gurvich remarks, that after the revolution of November Soviet Russia represented rather a series of independent and disassociated soviets than a centralized organization. Instead of troubling about unification, the bolsheviks had made it their first business to destroy the old structure. Still it is not possible to agree with his explanation that "the main value of the revolution consisted precisely in the fact that it was not carried out under the direction of an administrative center", or that "this was the first characteristic of the development of local self-government".[18] The activities of the soviet at Smolny Institute when it asserted governmental authority along with the provisional government and when it carried on propaganda throughout Russia are too well known to justify a statement that the revolutionary leaders muddled along without an administrative center.

In the early stages of the revolution, when the craze for autonomy swept Russia as it had France after 1789, the motto had been "all power to the soviets". By a gesture the central soviet at Petrograd had favored nationalism and particularism, for there were many soviets. The motto in the provinces became "all power to the *local* soviets".

[16] Gurvich, "Principles of autonomy and federalism in the soviet system", in *Sovetskoe pravo,* No. 3 (9), 1924, 28.

[17] *Ibid.,* p. 28.

[18] *Ibid.,* 28.

As soon as the central power became stronger, energetic measures were taken to overcome this doctrine of decentralization. So efficacious were they that "already in June 1918 the first congress of the chairmen of the provincial executive committees [this position was always held by a communist under the orders of Moscow] announced that the harmful interpretation of 'all power to the local soviets' as an independent unit from the center is positively a matter of the past." [19] The action of these officials was characteristic of the procedure of the communists. Comparable to a later date when a formal unification of all soviet republics was to occur, it was made to appear at this time that centralization was desired by and that the demand for originated with the local area. If one finds it useful to overlook the primary fact that the centralized communist party at Moscow first decided what its local agents should do, it is quite possible to argue that an important feature of the formation of the soviets was "the *voluntary* centralization and *voluntary* unification of the communes into a nation".[20] Similarly, with this incomplete and untenable hypothesis, it is possible to assert that with this origin there was no danger of a conflict between the central and local authorities, that "the localities, influenced by their own healthy class interests, do not refuse the friendly suggestions [*sic*] of the center and adopt only as much self-government as they feel able to exercise." Such statements are made so often in soviet constitutional literature that the irony that should accompany them appears no longer to exist. It may be pointed out, however, that the 'friendly suggestions' recall somewhat American elections in certain campaigns where workingmen were forced to vote a certain ticket in 'their own interest', that is as viewed by their employers, who used the weapon known as the 'full dinner pail'. The difference in the issues compared is between the political conscience of a voter on the one hand and the

[19] *Ibid.*, 29.

[20] *Ibid.*, 29.

local or national feeling and aspirations of a given territory on the other.

In July the local soviets of Great Russia had come under the control of Moscow, the process of centralization was applied to the lesser nationalities. At the beginning of the revolution there had grown up various provincial 'republics' and 'regions,' all of which were quite unnecessary in the opinion of Moscow. On the other hand, when such areas could be brought under soviet influence by any other means it was reasoned that the best way to extend the system of soviets was through a recognition, temporarily at least, of the principles of local freedom. Especially did this policy seem advisable down to 1920, for until then the authority of Moscow did not extend very far. Once the various non-Slavic peoples had been made allies through the flattery of their national aspirations, it was reasoned that they would strive to overthrow the forces opposed to the bolsheviks. Finally, when the soviet system was established, the very nature of the new authority with its pyramids of inferior soviets responsible to the center would lead to centralization and unification.

The bolshevik theory and practice of autonomy are well manifested in the proclamation on March 22, 1918, of a "Tatar-Bashkir Soviet Republic of the Soviet Federation".[21] This was an easy and inexpensive move to make. The central authorities in no wise decreased their power: they merely proclaimed an autonomous republic in an area under the occupation of Czech troops and the army of Admiral Kolchak. Business desiderata of profit and loss are in many instances interwoven with the political actions of the bolsheviks. The standard of ethics in many cases even savors of the practices which cause so many bankruptcy cases in the courts of the large American cities. Even a year after this proclamation, a Tatar-Bashkir republic was still not feasible. Kolchak's army remained. For propaganda

[21] See document I, this chapter.

effect, however, an agreement was now signed by certain Bashkirs with the central authorities at Moscow whereby the "Autonomous Bashkir Soviet Republic was to form a federal part entering into the composition of the RSFSR".[22] Over a year was yet to elapse before soviet control extended over the Bashkir territory and before some form of an autonomous administration was set up.

Simultaneously with the proclamation of a Bashkir republic, the soviet leaders were appealing to less important areas to support them and, by doing so, to secure local autonomy. An illustration of the immediate historical background of an entity later called an autonomous region is given in the case of the Kalmyk peoples living along the Caspian Sea. Of the total population of their territory, some 200,000 people, 70 per cent. were Kalmyks and 27 per cent. Russian.

After the revolution of 1918 one of the first mentions of the Kalmyk people was contained in a proclamation addressed to them by Lenin.[23] That document illustrates the tactics of the soviet leaders in appealing to the discontented elements of the country, and in basing their hope of a new Russia not on the Great Russians who had built up the former empire but on the peoples who had been brought under the sway of Moscow and St. Petersburg.

The Kalmyks were told that their "entire past" was an "uninterrupted chain of sufferings"; they were not permitted to print books in their native language; they were purposely held in ignorance in order the more easily to be oppressed.

Now this state of affairs would end as soon as they drove out the "tyrants fighting for the restoration of the rights of capitalists and landlords". The conquest of this part of Russia by such groups was, of course, the reason the declaration of the rights of the people of Russia could not be

[22] See document III, this chapter.
[23] See document XIX, this chapter.

applied for the time being. As a first step, a general Kalmyk labor congress was to be convoked, among its duties being the restoration of the economic life of the region or the Kalmyks. So, "Kalmyk brothers, the fate of your people is in your hands. Everybody into the ranks of the red army! All against the white guard and the Kazak bands of Denikin. All for the defence of your soviet power!"

A few weeks later, on July 24, 1919, a decree on the utilization of the land was issued.[24] Old landlords were dispossessed. "The Kalmyk laboring people declare the lands of the Kalmyk steppes to be for ever free from the oppression [*sic*] of wealthy people and to be the property of the laboring Kalmyk people."

Like the constitution of the RSFSR, the decree forming the Kalmyk people into an autonomous region was preceded by a declaration of rights. July 5, 1920, the "first general Kalmyk congress of soviets" ratified the declaration of rights for the region and determined the form of government.[25] The document follows the plan of those for the autonomous republics; for this and other reasons it was in no sense a local creation but a Moscow product labelled for local use.

It was not until November 1920 that the all-Russian central executive committee and the soviet of people's commissars issued a decree to form an autonomous region of the Kalmyk people and to lay down the fundamental principles of the government. These measures were a sort of post-mortem to the action already taken by the Kalmyk congress of soviets.

Simultaneously with the proclamation of autonomous republics and regions, theories of autonomy were being severely criticised at Moscow. The views of the leaders at the congress of the communist party held in March 1919[26] showed striking differences from the original declarations

[24] See document XX, this chapter.
[25] See document XXI, this chapter.
[26] The stenographic report of the congress has been used here.

made on the question of nationalities before revolutionary ardor and theories had been dampened by practical tests.

At this congress the bolsheviks discussed the problem of nationalities purely from the point of view of self-interest. As Bukharin summed up the situation, in the case of colonies, hottentots, bushmen, negroes, and hindus, the formula should be the right of self-determination: "we lose nothing by it". On the contrary Russia would gain, for such propaganda would injure the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, where Soviet Russia was likewise affected, another formula would have to be found. The right to form a separate state should involve the will of every class in the nation. A right of this nature, however, could be given only to the proletariat, and the proletariat would, of course, want to be closely associated with soviet rule. Again there was expressed a certain philosophy of business: "we lose nothing by it"; again this philosophy formed the basis for a political argument.

This argument was offset in some cases by political expediency. As Lenin remarked at this congress in reply to Bukharin, Finland had been given her independence so that the bourgeoisie could not say that the Great Russians [27] were chauvinistic. Similarly, it would be necessary to recognize the autonomy of the divers nationalities in Russia, as had just been done in the case of the Bashkir republic. "One can not refuse to recognize what is; one is forced to recognize it", declared Lenin.[28] This fact underlay the apparent willingness of the bolsheviks to concede the independence of Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania Finland, Poland,[29]

[27] It would have been more correct to speak of the 'new leaders of Russia' instead of using the term 'Great Russians'.

[28] See A. E. Khodorov, "Lenin i natsional'nyi vopros", in *Novyi Vostok* (Moscow), No. 5, 1924, 14-43, being a general account of Lenin's policy. Also Joseph Stalin, *Lenin*, 135-144, in which the relationship of the question of nationalities to the colonial problem is developed.

[29] The policy as concerns the Baltic states and Poland was, in general, a repetition of the attitude towards the Ukraine, White Russia, and the Caucasus. There was, to begin with, what appeared to be a very hearty

White Russia, the Ukraine, and the Transcaucasian republics.

It remained to determine what policy should be followed when the bolshevik leaders really had the possibility of a choice. It had been easy to advocate the doctrine of national rights when the Tsar ruled; now, as Piatakov observed at the eighth party congress, that very doctrine was a loaded weapon pointed at Russia. The dictatorship of the proletariat depended upon a centralized control. Because of this very fact he argued that it could not be permitted that the proletariat determine its own fate.

After these arguments the communist party adopted this resolution:

> As one of the transitory stages on the road to complete unity, the party proposes a federal commonwealth of states organized on the soviet type.
>
> As to the question of who shall be the exponent of the national will concerning separation, the Russian communist party adopts the historical class point of view and takes into account the historical development of the given nation: whether it finds itself in the stage between medievalism and bourgeois democracy or the soviet and proletarian democracy.

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recognition of the right of these states to enjoy a separate existence. Then followed support from Moscow of the soviet governments proclaimed in these republics. Such governments, if enabled to maintain their authority, would have been, of course, as subservient to Moscow as was the case with the soviet governments of the Ukraine or White Russia. Supported by France and Great Britain, however, the new Baltic states and Poland were able to maintain their independence. In 1920 they signed treaties of peace with Russia. The treaty of peace concluded between the Moscow authorities and the government of Estonia on February 2, 1920, for example, ran thus: "Art. 2. On the basis of the right of all peoples freely to decide their own destinies, and even to separate completely from the state of which they form part, a right proclaimed by the RSFSR, Russia recognizes unreservedly the independence and autonomy of the state of Estonia and renounces voluntarily and for ever all rights of sovereignty formerly held by Russia over the Estonian people and territory by virtue of the former legal situation and by virtue of international treaties which, in respect of such rights, shall henceforth be invalid." 11 *League of nations treaty series*, No. 289. Moscow was forced to recognize an existing situation, though even then the hope may have lingered that a means to unification would be found later.

The constitution of the RSFSR had proclaimed the freedom of nationalities and their right to decide on what conditions they could enter into the RSFSR or secede from it. The foregoing resolution of the communist party, however, marks a backward step in this regard. Various autonomous entities could be set up as provided for in the constitution of 1918 of the RSFSR. But now, in March 1919, before any real autonomous unit had been established, the communist party proceeded to announce its own criterion of the conditions under which a given area might separate.[30] Thus again arose the contradiction between the right of self-determination and the principle of unification.

The highly benevolent attitude of the soviets towards the nationalities was summarized by Zinov'ev, then the head of the third (communist) international, after his return from the conference of eastern peoples held at Baku in September 1920. Russia had renounced the Tsarist policy of exploitation, he said, *"but we can not do without the petroleum of Azerbaijan or the cotton of Turkestan. We take these products which are necessary for us, not as the former exploiters but as older brothers bearing the torch of civilization"*. This statement was made before the Petrograd soviet on September 17th; the stenographic report does not mention laughter among those present. But this is not unique in the case of Russia. Other countries, admittedly capitalistic if not imperialistic, have been equally eloquent about the 'white man's burden', 'trusteeship', 'fruits of civilization', and other excellent but undefinable characterizations of empire building.

[30] Furthermore, it was considered that even though separation might occur, a means would be found to bring any territorial entity in close union with the Moscow administration. The following sentence, taken from an official publication issued in 1922, shows how the mere fact of separation would cause no great alarm: "The dictatorship of the proletariat . . . announced the right of nations to self-determination, including secession, knowing that the workers of each nation will find the most practical forms for a voluntary union with Soviet Russia." *Piat' let vlasti sovetov,* as cited, 223.

After 1919 the question of nationalities was dealt with according to the dictates of political expediency. Lenin had signed the decree on the autonomy of the Bashkir republic about the time of the party congress in March 1919. Similar decrees were necessary to win the support of still other nationalities. Altogether three such states were regularly established in 1920. The system of soviet rule was possible for the first time among the Bashkirs; similarly the Tatars and Kirgiz were declared each to constitute an autonomous republic. Less important were the autonomous regions of the Kalmyks, Chuvash, and Mariisk peoples set up in 1920 on the basis of political expediency.

As soon as their support of nationalistic feeling had enabled the bolsheviks to establish a soviet form of government, manifestations of local independence were immediately suppressed. Nationalism or particularism were no longer useful once the enemy had been repulsed. On the contrary, centralization of authority and unification under the aegis of Moscow came to the front.

The next step in the use of the nationalities in order to attain the real aims of the bolsheviks was the liquidation of the commissariat for Mohammedan affairs and the reorganization of the people's commissariat for nationalities. A decree on this question, dated May 19, 1920,[31] showed vaguely the new theories about the question of nationalities. At the head of the commissariat for nationalities there was instituted a soviet of nationalities, formed by the presidents of delegations from the various national areas. The decree provided that "at the head of the soviet of nationalities will be placed as president the people's commissar for nationalities assisted by a group of five members". The decree meant, in brief, that Stalin, the commissar for nationalities, would have almost complete control over all matters relating to the nationalities.

[31] *Sobranie uzakonenii,* May 27, 1920, No. 45.

Within the jurisdiction of the commissariat, according to the decree, were included:

a. The study and execution of all measures guaranteeing the fraternal collaboration of the nationalities and tribes of the Russian Soviet Republic;

b. The study and execution of all measures necessary to guarantee the interests of national minorities on the territory of other nationalities of the Russian Soviet Federation;

c. The settlement of all litigious questions arising from the mixture of nationalities.

The authority of this commissariat in national affairs was strengthened six months later by a new decree providing that the nationalities should not be represented on the all-Russian central executive committee by their own delegates. Instead of this procedure, the people's commissariat for nationalities would see that they were represented. The central executive committee, however, reserved the right to confirm the appointment of any delegate from the local area.

Finally, by a decree issued on December 16, 1920,[32] the people's commissariat for nationalities was authorized to send a representative to the capital of each national group or region. In particular this delegate was "to watch over the execution of decrees of federal central authority of the Russian Soviet Republic".

The tenor of this legislation, which, in its original text, seems purposely vague and elastic, was to strengthen the central control over outlying areas. Autonomy became a conception of geography, not of nationality.

When the tenth congress of the Russian communist party met in Moscow in March 1921, the question of nationalities was one of the leading matters on the agenda. Several autonomous republics and regions had been set up within the RSFSR. The doctrine of 'we lose nothing by it' had

[32] *Sobranie uzakonenii,* December 25, 1920, No. 99.

resulted in no harm to the central authorities, for the autonomy was more theoretical than real. On the other hand, in the territories outside of the RSFSR there did exist a considerable degree of independence. The Caucasus was none too closely related to Moscow; various elements in the Ukraine were still unwilling to permit interference by the RSFSR in their affairs. The fruit of revolutionary doctrines was being harvested as Piatakov had feared at the party congress in 1919.

The contradiction between the principles of autonomy and of centralization now occasioned a wide and ever-increasing gulf between theory and practice. Little was heard of self-determination; instead, the various peoples who had come to enjoy a fair degree of local independence were told that their exercise of this right was filled with danger and that the only safe road to follow was that which led to a closer union. The Tsars of Russia had built up a centralized empire under the pressure of historical necessity, and the bolsheviks had already begun to do the same. It was a natural as opposed to a theoretical development.

More than any person, Stalin, a Georgian long prominent in revolutionary circles in Russia, influenced the policy of nationalities. His ideas on this question had been formed before the war and were little modified by the teachings of experience.

The general theses of Stalin were set forth in an essay written in 1913.[33] He then stated two qualifications of autonomy:

1. "A nation has a right to determine its own fate as it wishes provided it does not infringe upon the right of other nations."

2. "A nation has a right to autonomy. It has the right even of secession. But this does not mean that it may take this step under any conditions or that autonomy or seces-

[33] Published in *Marksizm i natsional'naia problema* (Gosizdat Ukrainy 1924).

sion everywhere and always shall be a profit for the nation, that is for its majority, *i.e.*, its working masses." [34]

The essential question here is: who is to determine when a nation limits the right of other nations? At this time, in 1913, Stalin conceived of this duty as appertaining to "social democracy". When the soviet system was established in Russia in 1917, the executive organ of that democracy became an inner group in the communist party.

In his conception of the rôle of social democracy in the question of nationalities, Stalin used the example of a subject people of Russia. "The Transcaucasian Tatars as a nation", he wrote, "may gather together in their own parliament and, under the influence of their gods and mullahs, may restore the old order, or may decide to separate from the state. By the strict interpretation of self-determination they have the absolute right to do so. But will it be in the interests of the working masses of the Tatar nation? May the social democracy coolly look upon how the gods and mullahs are dragging behind them these masses in the matter of the solution of the national question? Should not the social democracy interfere and firmly influence the will of the nation?" [35] All of this is merely an indirect means of stating that revolutionary doctrines must triumph.

Under the guidance of Stalin, the congress of the Russian communist party of March 1921 stated the policy to be carried out in regard to all autonomous nationalities. It adopted a resolution worded as follows:

"The isolated existence of separate soviet republics is by no means stable because of the danger of destruction by the capitalistic states. Common interests of defence of the soviet republics on the one hand, the reconstruction of the productive forces destroyed during the war on the other, and the necessary assistance by supplies of food to the soviet republics on the part of those which are prosperous,—insistently dictate a union of separate soviet republics as the

[34] *Ibid.*, 214.

[35] *Ibid.*, 213-214.

only means to safety from imperialistic slavery and national oppression.

"The federation may be durable and its results effective only in case it is based on reciprocal trust and voluntary agreement among the countries entering it. . . . This voluntary form of federation must be necessarily retained also in the future, for only such a federation may become a transitory stage of that supreme unity of workers of all countries in a united world economy, which is becoming more and more essential."

Here was a plea for still further centralization of power, for unification, for a common direction. It was to be followed by another reorganization of the people's commissariat for nationalities and a consequent concentration of power in the hands of that organ.

The decree of the all-Russian central executive committee on July 27, 1922,[36] on the nature and competence of the people's commissariat for nationalities was intended "to consolidate all organs carrying out the fundamental directions of soviet national policy". This commissariat was entrusted in particular with the execution in the various republics of all decrees, orders, and general legislation of the central authorities. Its representatives were to sit on the central executive committee and soviet of people's commissaries of each of the autonomous republics and on the central executive committee of the autonomous regions.

Two divisions were instituted within the commissariat, namely, the large collegium and the small collegium. The former, presided over by the people's commissar for nationalities, and including representatives of autonomous republics and regions, "discusses and decides all general problems of major importance concerning the nationalities, including budgets and taxation". The small collegium, being permanent, was the source of real authority. Composed of the people's commissar for nationalities and five members

[36] See document XXXV, this chapter.

elected by the large collegium, this body is the permanent presidium and executive organ.

Federal committees were created "in order to coördinate the work of the central people's commissariats with their activities in the autonomous republics and regions from the point of view of the national policy of the soviet authorities". Approved by the presidium of the all-Russian central executive committee, the personnel of these committees was to be so selected as to assure faithful attention to the plans and orders of the central authorities.

All autonomous areas were given a representative on the people's commissariat for national affairs. Similarly representatives of this commissariat were accredited to the republics. These officials were sent out from Moscow "in order to unify the experiment of carrying out the soviet policy in the autonomous regions and republics, as well as in the treaty republics, and to supervise the execution of the decrees issued by the central federal authority of the RSFSR for the protection of the rights and interests of minorities".

Having considered the general background of the revolutionary philosophy of self-determination and of its application in administration, the numerous autonomous territories which have been created in Soviet Russia may be enumerated. The old divisions of Russia gave way to new ones in which it would appear that the bolsheviks had intended to dig up history and revive a number of tribes and peoples of centuries past so that a present chart of Russia has a kind of nightmare resemblance to the historical-ethnographical map of primitive Russia. In some of these areas there is a Russian majority, but, omitting the element of political expediency, the reason for the administrative unit may have been not so much principles of nationality as customs and habits. A list is given here of the territorial divisions which have arisen. About half of the new formations are inhabited by Mohammedans. Of the auton-

omous republics, all are included as a part of the RSFSR with the following exceptions: Moldavia is included in the Ukraine, the Tadzhik republic in Uzbekistan, the Nakhichevan republic in Azerbaijan, and Adzharia and Abkhazia form a part of Georgia. The list is given below.[37]

Autonomous Republic	*When Formed*	*Area in Sq. Kl.*	*Population (add 000)*
1. Bashkir	March 23, 1919	145,380	2,691
2. Tatar	May 27, 1920	67,241	2,622
3. Kirgiz [38]	August 26, 1920	2,909,393	6,491
4. Dagestan	Jan. 20, 1921	55,272	788
5. Gorsk [39]	Jan. 20, 1921	.....	....
6. Abkhazia [40]	March 4, 1921	8,172	199
7. Turkestan [41]	April 11, 1921	.....	....
8. Adzharsk	June 16, 1921	1,328	129
9. Crimea	Oct. 18, 1921	25,775	700
10. Iakutsk	April 27, 1922	4,023,407	279
11. Karelia	July 25, 1923	146,313	267
12. Buriat-Mongol	Sept. 12, 1923	419,000	522
13. Nakhichevan	.., 1923	6,524	104
14. German Volga	Feb. 20, 1924	27,423	571
15. Moldavia	Oct. 12, 1924	8,288	567
16. Tadzhik	Feb. 4, 1925	154,095	827
17. Chuvash	June 15, 1925	18,413	894
18. Kirgiz	April 30, 1927	195,171	997

[37] The data on area and population vary widely. The source used here is *Territorial'noe i administrationoe delenie SSSR*. The dates given for the decree creating the republics vary in many cases. This usually arises from a difference between a decree providing that a republic shall be formed and a decree later issuing providing for the nature of the system of authority.

[38] The Kirgiz ASSR was renamed Kazak ASSR by virtue of a decree dated October 14, 1924. At the same time a Kara-Kirgiz autonomous region was formed out of the former republic. A decree dated May 27, 1925, changed the name to Kirgiz autonomous region, and finally, on April 30, 1927, the transformation into the Kirgiz ASSR was effected.

[39] By a decree dated November 30, 1922, the Gorsk ASSR was transformed into two autonomous regions on the basis of national characteristics: the Severno-Osetiia and Ingushetiia. Part of the Gorsk ASSR was transferred to the Kabarda-Balkarsk region and to the Karachevo-Cherkess region.

[40] Abkhazia is called a "treaty socialist soviet republic". For a description of this republic see V. A. Gurko-Kriazhin, *Abkhaziia* (Izdanie Nauchnoi Assotsiatsii Vostoko-Vedeniia pri TsIK SSSR, Moscow 1926).

[41] Turkestan disappeared as such after the territorial redistribution of Central Asia in 1925 and the consequent formation of the Uzbek and Turkmen Socialist Soviet Republics.

A similar list of all autonomous regions is given. It is to be noted that certain ones have since been judged sufficiently important to be transformed into autonomous republics. Outside of the RSFSR there are three autonomous regions: Nagornyi-Karabakh and Iugo-Osetiia, forming parts of Azerbaijan and Georgia respectively, and Gorno-Badakhshanskaia which forms a part of the Uzbek republic. The enumeration follows.

Autonomous Region	*When Formed*	*Area in Sq. Kl.*	*Population (add 000)*
1. German Volga Labor Commune [42]	Oct. 19, 1918	.....	...
2. Chuvash [42]	June 24, 1920	.....	...
3. Karelian Labor Commune [42]	Aug. 4, 1920	.....	...
4. Votiak	Nov. 4, 1920	36,355	756
5. Kalmyk	Nov. 4, 1920	69,625	153
6. Mariisk	Nov. 4, 1920	23,525	483
7. Komi (Zyriansk)	May 5, 1921	428,498	204
8. Buriat-Mongol [42]	Jan. 9, 1922	.....	...
9. Karachaevo-Cherkess [43]	Jan. 12, 1922	8,133	65
10. Kabarda-Balkarsk	Jan. 16, 1922	9,719	204
11. Iugo-Osetiia	April 20, 1922	3,337	87
12. Oiratsk	June 1, 1922	91,200	89
13. Cherkessk-Adigeevsk	July 27, 1922	3,058	114
14. Chechensk	Nov. 20, 1922	10,015	311
15. Nagornyi Karabakh	June 7, 1923	4,589	125
16. Ingushetiia	July 7, 1924	3,109	75
17. Severno-Osetiia	July 7, 1924	6,027	152
18. Kara-Kalpak	Oct. 14, 1924	119,474	303

It is not necessary to examine in detail the history of each of these areas under the old régime or its status under the soviets. It will suffice as a practical illustration of the working of autonomy under the soviets to consider the typical province of Kazan, corresponding roughly with the present Autonomous Tatar Socialist Soviet Republic.

[42] Since transformed into an autonomous socialist soviet republic.

[43] By a decree dated June 26, 1926, this region was abolished and divided, on the basis of nationality, into three parts: the Karachaevo autonomous region, the Cherkess national circuit subordinate to the North-Caucasian executive committee, and the independent Batalpashinskii economic district (*raion*). The population and area as given are for the present autonomous region of Karachaevo.

Before the revolution the province of Kazan presented a fair example of the tsarist system of administration. Russians, not Tatars, were frankly in control.[44] The provincial governor was Boiarskii, chamberlain of the imperial court. The chairman of the provincial soviet of the nobles was Count Mastu Tolstoi-Miloslavskii. The vice-governor was Prince Golitsyn.

The administrative organization consisted of a series of departments, for construction, sanitation, prisons, and the like. A provincial assembly, a consultative body presided over by the provincial governor, and composed of local governing officials, discussed current matters for the local area. Other bodies such as the provincial assembly for the zemstvo and city affairs, the assembly for provincial recruiting, the assembly for institutions, the provincial statistical committee, the zemstvo and its direction and departments—agriculture, insurance, veterinary, social welfare, pensions, technical, small industry, professional education, loans statistics—all these bodies concerned themselves with the administration of local affairs. The governor was the supreme administrative authority, but the very nature of the departmental divisions made possible fairly wide interest in local affairs.

The revolution in 1917 at once resulted in an effort to achieve Tatar unity and the establishment of a republic along national lines. Assembled at Ufa, later the capital of a separate Bashkir republic, in October 1917, the Turco-Tatar delegates demanded that Russia become a federated republic, that the provinces between the Volga and the Urals where Tatars were in a majority should form an autonomous state entering of its own will into that federation, and that all Turco-Tatars in other parts of European

[44] The list of governing officials and other information are to be found in the yearbook covering the period 1914-1915, for the province, entitled: *Adres-Kalendar i spravochnaia knizhka Kazanskoi gubernii na 1916 god (Izdanie Kazanskago gubernskago statisticheskago komiteta).*

Russia should be given national autonomy in such matters as their religion, schools, and national possessions.[45]

When the revolution began, the bolsheviks appealed to the Tatars to overthrow the Russian overlords. No encouragement was needed. Kazan, in the summer of 1917, witnessed the strange sight of a procession of Tatars, waving red and green flags, on their way to replace by the crescent the imperial Russian Eagle which had crowned the tower of Sumbaka since the victories of Ivan the Terrible. In the words of a piece of poetry published in the Tatar papers: "It is four hundred years, Kazan, that you have been dishonored. But to-day, from the tower of Sumbaka comes the call to prayer. Rejoice, O tower, we have torn you from the hands of your enemies." [46]

The national assembly continued in session at Ufa for fifty-five days and disbanded only on January 15, 1918. It was opposed to bolshevism, but the red army was too strong for the local Tatar and Bashkir forces which attempted to oppose it. In April 1918 the local governmental institutions in these areas were abolished, and the leaders of the national movement were thrown into prison. After these successes the authorities were quite safe in proclaiming the erection of a Tatar republic.[47]

The Autonomous Tatar Socialist Soviet Republic, created on May 27, 1920, was an insignificant state in comparison with that which had been contemplated by the national assembly at Ufa. In order to prevent the establishment of a strong and unified Mohammedan state, the Autonomous Bashkir Soviet Republic was set up by a document signed at Moscow on March 23, 1919. Thus Bashkirs and Tatars

[45] See Castagné, *Le bolchevisme et l'Islam, as cited,* 127.

[46] *Bulletin périodique de la presse russe,* No. 58, for the period October 12-25, 1917.

[47] For an official account of the events preceding the formation of the Tatar republic see *Za 5 let K V Godovshchine provozglasheniia Tatarskoi SSR* (Kazan 1925), 207-208.

were separated. Other Turco-Tatar areas were attached directly to Moscow on the same basis as regions with a purely Slavic population.

The establishment of the soviet power in the Tatar republic brought with it the same system of authority as in all other parts of Russia. At the head of the new authority, which was controlled by persons not of Tatar descent, was the presidium of nine members chosen from the regional committee of the communist party. The members of this body, who were directly responsible to the corresponding party organ at Moscow, exercised all real authority in the name, first, of a revolutionary committee and, second, of its successor, the local congress of soviets, central executive committee, and soviet of people's commissars. A few examples may be given of the position held by certain members of the presidium in the communist party in the republic.

One member, Dogadov, was likewise a member of the presidium of the local central executive committee and also people's commissar for labor. He was a member of the presidium of the people's commissariat for economy. He was president of the Tatar trade unions. Finally, this leading light in the local communist party was included on the Kazan city soviet.

Another member of the presidium of the communist party, G. Ivanov, was president of the Tatar cheka, or political police. A person with the name Izmailov was people's commissar for interior. Another, known as Kasimov, was one of the leaders of the Tatar cheka and likewise people's commissar for workmen's and peasants' inspection. The president of the soviet of people's commissars, as well as the president of the revolutionary committee of the Tatar republic, was named Said-Galiev, a Tatar. Finally, a person named Kanatchikov was deputy-president of the soviet of people's commissars, as well as president of the presidium of the Kazan central executive committee.

The remaining three members of the regional committee

of the communist party do not appear in available records.[48] Still, after the enumeration given, there were few positions of any importance left to fill. The province of Kazan had rid itself of a Russian provincial governor and minor officials; in their place the Autonomous Tatar Socialist Soviet Republic saw a dictatorship of nine men, *at least eight of whom were not Tatars and possibly four of whom were neither Tatar nor Slavic.*

The ultimate form of control in an autonomous republic was through the system of soviets as provided in the case of the constitution of the RSFSR. Thus the supreme organ of authority is the congress of soviets, in the intervals between congresses the central executive committee, "the prerogatives of which are determined by the constitution of each autonomous socialist soviet republic", and in the interims between sessions of the central executive committee a presidium elected from amongst its members. The central executive committee in turn elects the executive organ, the soviet of people's commissars.

Under a federal system such as that of the United States the system of administration in the component parts of the union is determined by definite legislative acts. Each of the forty-eight states has its own constitution, on the basis of which the affairs of the state are conducted. Each state enjoys full freedom in drawing up and ratifying its fundamental law, divided into three branches, a legislative, executive, and judicial, which are subject to no higher authority so long as they do not infringe on the province of the federal government. No state government, however, would pretend to issue its own coinage, carry on relations with foreign powers, or in any respect usurp those constitutionally guaranteed exclusive prerogatives of the federal government.

[48] These names, as well as the official post occupied, are taken from a local official publication issued in Kazan in 1921, the title in Russian being *Sovetskoe stroitel'stvo v Tatrespublike za god 1920-1921.*

The autonomous socialist soviet republics in the RSFSR, as originally conceived, were comparable to the American states established after the adoption of the constitution. They were created by the central authorities who set forth in a very general decree the type of administration that should be established. But the constitution of the RSFSR and the decree setting up an autonomous republic were no more complete than would be the constitution of the United States and the act of congress admitting to statehood for the administration of the affairs of a state.

Over a year after the Bashkir republic was created a decree of the central executive committee and soviet of people's commissars of the RSFSR was issued on the "state organization" of the Bashkir republic. This decree provided for a local congress of soviets, a central executive committee, and a soviet of people's commissars consisting of ten commissariats. Foreign trade, foreign affairs, and the extraordinary commission for the fight against counter revolution remained "entirely within the jurisdiction of the central organs of the RSFSR". The people's commissariats divided into two classes. Directly subordinate to the corresponding commissariats of the RSFSR were the sections for food, finance, soviet of people's economy with the branches of labor and ways of communication, workmen's and peasants' inspection, and posts and telegraphs. On the other hand, the local commissariats for interior, justice, education, health, social welfare, and agriculture, the non-unified commissariats, "are independent in their activities but shall be responsible directly to the all-Russian central executive committee." Stated baldly, in the one case the Bashkir authorities were given no jurisdiction whatsoever; in the other case they could act so far as what they did was approved by the central authorities. Autonomy, therefore, became hardly more than a name. The Bashkirs were given the name republic and the use of their local language, but as to governing themselves there are native Bashkirs who con-

sider that they have made little if any advance over the period of provincial governors sent from Moscow in the days of the Isar.

As the Bashkir republic was created, so were the later autonomous republics. Only a few changes were made to extend the jurisdiction of the Moscow authorities. New commissariats were created, but they were placed in the first category as mentioned above, that is they were commissariats of the RSFSR functioning in the local government. In all cases the RSFSR kept very strict control over the cheka. By the police system or cheka, more than by any other means, the will of Moscow was made predominant.[49]

The republics formed throughout this period had no legal basis for a system of administration except the very general decrees that brought them into existence. This lack could not fail to be immediately evident. As a result, soon after their formation three autonomous republics—Dagestan, Turkestan, and Crimea—drew up separate constitutions.

These documents conformed very closely to the fundamental law of the RSFSR.[50] The Crimean constitution [51] opens with a preamble tracing purely local events in a

[49] Certain decrees on the autonomous republics vary from the regular scheme. The decree on the Dagestan and Gorsk republics provided in the case of the unified people's commissariats that the orders and instructions of the corresponding organs of the RSFSR should be executed by the local commissariats through their soviet of people's commissars, while the autonomous or non-unified commissariats are responsible to the local central executive committee. The decree on the Turkestan republic provided differences noted in the text. Finally in the case of the Iatusk republic these differences from the regular procedure are to be noted: the unified commissariats include trade and manufacture, and among the non-unified are education, health, and social welfare. All fundamental projects coming under the unified commissariats are effected through the local soviet of people's commissars, though these commissariats are reponsible to the RSFSR.

[50] Articles 3-25 of the Turkestan constitution reproduced articles 1-23 of the constitution of the RSFSR; in the Dagestan constitution articles 4-17 corresponded to articles 9-23 of the same document.

[51] See document XXXVI, this chapter.

manner comparable to the declaration of rights in the fundamental law of the RSFSR. Crimea states her determination to remain a part of "the general federation of the great Russian republic on the basis of a close and complete political and economic union for the common triumph of the communist revolution". As a part of this principle, the Crimean republic "accepts and renders legal throughout Crimea all valid legislative acts of the RSFSR, those which have been published already, as well as those which may be issued later, with reservation of the right to modify them according to the local conditions and characteristics of Crimea".

Starting with general principles, the constitution then provides in some detail for the forms of central and local authority. The determination of the central authorities remains the same as in the decree of the RSFSR creating Crimea. On the other hand, the constitution gives in detail the method of election to the central organs and the relation between different departments of administration. Electoral rights are the same as for the RSFSR. A special flag is provided for, and finally it is provided that the Crimean constitution, like that of the RSFSR, must be studied in the schools.

It would appear that the central authorities could find little to object to in this document. Allegiance to the federation is proclaimed; the fundamental law of the whole is merely adapted to local conditions.[52] The same is true of the constitution of Turkestan except for one provision:

[52] It is difficult to reconcile such statements as "the All-Crimean congress of soviets is the supreme authority on the territory of the Crimean SSR" with the original decree setting up the republic. Still it need only be borne in mind that the local congress of soviets is supreme in relation to other local organs, and that the question of powers belonging to the RSFSR in practice does not enter. The legislature of the state of Missouri is the supreme law-making body in that state; it has no pretension, however, of power to enact a law regulating the coinage of money, making of treaties, or the like. And even the word 'state' sounds perhaps as supreme as 'autonomous republic'.

the local central executive committee in Dagestan and Crimea is charged with the execution of all decisions of the all-Russian congress of soviets, the all-Russian central executive committee, and the soviet of people's commissars, but the supreme organs of Turkestan, the congress of soviets, central executive committee, and soviet of people's commissaries, are declared exempt from such decisions.

The opening article of the constitution of Turkestan of September 24, 1920, professes to show that the RSFSR was in no way responsible for setting up the republic. Instead, "the laboring and exploited masses of Turkestan, having declared on May 1, 1918, at the fifth Turkestan congress of soviets, the territory occupied by them . . . to be an Autonomous Turkestan Socialist Soviet Republic of the Russian Socialist Soviet Federation, now confirm, at their ninth congress of soviets, this membership in the above-mentioned federation." Under the provisions of the constitution, from which this article is quoted, the local authorities of Turkestan set up a regular system of administration similar to that of the other autonomous republics. It was not until a decree dated April 11, 1921, however, that the all-Russian central executive committee declared a Turkestan Republic created.[53] In that decree no mention is made of the steps already taken in Turkestan itself. But it was now specified that the special decision of the all-Russian central executive committee should determine the basis of mutual relations between the RSFSR and the Turkestan republic.

[53] Most of the autonomous republics were created by a decree of the all-Russian central executive committee, at times in conjunction with the soviet of people's commissars, in which the words 'to form' a republic were used. In the case of the Bashkir republic the word 'agreed' was used; and in the instance of Turkestan, as noted, the word 'declared' is to be found. The term 'to form' implies a grant of rights by the central authorities. The word 'agreement' implied a sort of equality of contracting parties, but this was gotten around when only the RSFSR authorities ratified the 'agreement' without any corresponding action by the Bashkir authorities. In virtue of the agreement, however, the revolutionary committee of the Bashkir republic recognized their authority as emanating from the central authorities of the RSFSR.

The decree of the all-Russian central executive committee, like the constitution of Turkestan, provided that questions concerning foreign affairs, foreign trade, and military affairs should come exclusively under the federal jurisdiction, and that all decrees and orders of the RSFSR concerning ways of communication and posts and telegraphs should enter into force automatically in Turkestan. Further, the supreme soviet of people's economy and the people's commissariat for food in Turkestan were to act according to plans formulated by the corresponding organs of the RSFSR.

Beyond these points the decree has only a general provision to the effect that "all remaining departments of administration lie within the competence of the Turkestan central executive committee and soviet of people's commissars." The constitution of Turkestan, on the other hand, gives an enumeration of local rights. This chapter is quoted in full.

"The laboring and exploited people of Turkestan, taking into consideration the long distance of the autonomous Turkestan Socialist Soviet Republic (ATSSR) from the center, its vast territory, its ethnographic character and customs, establish the following independent rights on the basis of article 8 of the constitution of the RSFSR.

"1. The right of administration and disposal of land, mineral rights, and rights on waters lying within the boundaries of the Turkestan republic.

"2. The right of legislation and administration within the framework of the present constitution.

"3. The right to establish offices and to fix the standard of payment of labor, the right of election and appointment of officials in all branches of administration, with the exception of those which are in the jurisdiction of the federal power.

"4. The right to levy taxes and duties independently of those established by the federal power.

"5. The right to establish juridical standards and principles of the system of courts of justice and the form of court

conformable with the consciousness of right of the laboring masses of the republic.

"6. The right to delimit and to modify the boundaries of the territories and the competence of the regional and national associations entering as a component part into the ATSSR, and to settle controversies which may arise among them.

"7. The establishment of the administrative division of the territory of the ATSSR.

"8. The pardoning power and the right of general or partial amnesty throughout the ATSSR.

"9. The right to draw up the budget of the ATSSR with its later submission for approval by the all-Russian central executive committee."

In still other respects the constitution of Turkestan asserts local independence. The local organs of administration are declared entirely independent in all matters outside of the three questions which, as mentioned, are reserved to federal jurisdiction. The central executive committee of Turkestan was entrusted with carrying out the statutes of the federal organs. Right to amend the constitution was declared within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Turkestan congress of soviets and central executive committee, though corresponding organs of the RSFSR would be 'informed' of such amendments, as well as of all statutes and decisions affecting the RSFSR.

Under a constitution of this nature, autonomy would be a real factor in the constitutional structure of Soviet Russia. When an autonomous region is freed of control to the extent provided in this constitution, a real federal system becomes possible. But the enthusiasm of the republics which drew up their own constitutions and preserved therein a measure of local independence was not reëchoed at Moscow. For reasons not difficult to conjecture, pressure was brought on the other republics not to formulate constitutions. The constitutions of Dagestan, Crimea, and Turkestan, though approved by their local

congresses of soviets, failed to receive the recognition of the RSFSR.

The all-Russian congresses of soviets after 1922 strictly eschewed discussions of the autonomous republics, except as concerns the use of the native language. The same was true of the all-Russian central executive committee. New autonomous republics and regions were created but always on practically the same basis as in 1920.

By the end of 1922 the RSFSR had the divers nationalities throughout the old empire well under control. The power of Moscow was no longer menaced by civil war or foreign intervention, and a process of internal consolidation and unification had accordingly become possible. The peoples with national aims viewed with bewilderment the manner in which theories of self-determination could be applied under the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat. Many nationalities acquired a name of their own, but this acquisition represented by no means the beginning of a period of self-determination or local freedom. This fact was to stand out in the new phase of Russian history that began during the last days of 1922. A union of all soviet republics was then to be formed. This step, however, was to lead to "broader and more difficult tasks than the establishment of national independence"; it necessitated, in the opinion of the bolshevik leaders, a still stronger central power which alone could convert the union "into a communist family with equal rights, in order thereby to destroy once and for all the possibility of the restoration of an order of society in which the stronger nations rule over the weaker ones".[54] The history of bolshevik Russia to 1922 shows, indeed, the existence of 'broader tasks' than national independence. The fate of the nationalities in later years, which is depicted in the following pages, will show that historical trends and policies change very little.

[54] M. Kalinin, in 8 *International Press Correspondence* (Vienna), July 12, 1928.

DOCUMENTS TO CHAPTER III

A. Autonomous Republics

I. Act organizing the Tatar-Bashkir Soviet Republic.
II. Agreement on the soviet autonomy of Bashkiriia.
III. Decree on the state organization of the Autonomous Bashkir Soviet Republic.
IV. Decree on the Autonomous Tatar Socialist Soviet Republic.
V. Decree on the Autonomous Kirgiz Socialist Soviet Republic.
VI. Decree on the Autonomous Daghestan Socialist Soviet Republic.
VII. Decree on the formation of the Turkestan Socialist Soviet Republic.
VIII. Decree on the Autonomous Crimean Socialist Soviet Republic.
IX. Decree on the Autonomous Iakutsk Socialist Soviet Republic.
X. Decree on the Autonomous Karelian Socialist Soviet Republic.
XI. Decree on the formation of the Autonomous Buriat-Mongol Republic.
XII. Decree on the unification of the Buriat-Mongol regions of the RSFSR and of the former Far Eastern Republic.
XIII. Decree on the state structure of the Autonomous Buriat-Mongol Socialist Soviet Republic.
XIV. Decree on the methods of application of the decrees and resolutions of the central authority in the Far Eastern Region.
XV. Decree on the state organization of the Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of the Volga Germans.
XVI. Decree on the state organization of the Autonomous Chuvash Socialist Soviet Republic.
XVII. Decree transforming the Kirgiz autonomous region into the Autonomous Kirgiz Socialist Soviet Republic.

B. Autonomous Regions

XVIII. Decree on the German colonies of the Volga Region.
XIX. Proclamation addressed to the Kalmyk laboring people.

XX. Decree on the organization of land usages of the Kalmyk people.

XXI. Declaration of rights approved by the first general Kalmyk congress of soviets.

XXII. Decree on the formation of the autonomous region of the Kalmyk people.

XXIII. Decree on the autonomous Chuvash region.

XXIV. Decrees on the formation of the autonomous regions of the Mariisk people, the Kalmyk people, and the Votiak people.

XXV. Decree on the autonomous region of the Mariisk people.

XXVI. Decree on the autonomous region of the Kalmyk people.

XXVII. Decree on the autonomous region of the Votiak people.

XXVIII. Decree on the autonomous Buriat-Mongol region.

XXIX. Decree on the formation of the united autonomous Karachaevov-Cherkess region.

XXX. Decree on the formation of the united Kabardino-Balkarskaia autonomous region.

XXXI. Decree on the formation of the autonomous region of the Oirat people.

XXXII. Decree on the formation of the Cherkess (Adygeisk) autonomous region.

XXXIII. Decree on the reconstruction of the Autonomous Gorsk Socialist Soviet Republic and the formation therefrom of the autonomous regions of Severnaiia Osetiia and Ingushetiia and of an autonomous Sunzhensk region, and on the delimitation of the city of Vladikavkaz into a separate administrative unit.

XXXIV. Act ratifying decree on the administrative organs of the Oirat autonomous region.

C. Miscellaneous

XXXV. Decree on the status of the people's commissariat for national affairs.

XXXVI. Constitution of the Autonomous Crimean Socialist Soviet Republic.

I

Decree, Dated March 22, 1918, of the People's Commissar for Nationalities. Act Organizing the Tatar-Bashkir Soviet Republic of the Russian Soviet Federation [1]

Recognizing the principles of national self-determination of the laboring masses, ratified by the third all-Russian congress of soviets, the people's commissariat for nationalities, in agreement with the people's commissariat for affairs of the Mohammedans of Central Russia, has elaborated the following act organizing the Tatar-Bashkir Soviet Republic:

1. The territory of the Southern Ural and the central Volga is declared to form the Tatar-Bashkir Soviet Republic of the Russian Soviet Federation.

2. The basis of delimitation arises from a project elaborated by the Tatar and Bashkir revolutionary organizations: the entire province of Ufa, the Bashkir part of the province of Orenburg, the province of Kazan, with the exception of the Chuvash-Cheremissk part and the adjacent Mussulman parts of the province of Perm, Viatka, Simbirsk, and Samara. The definitive delimitation of the boundaries of the republic is left to the constituent congress of soviets of this republic.

3. The political and economic relationship of the western parts of the republic and Bashkurdistan shall be determined by the constituent congress of soviets of the Tatar-Bashkir Soviet Republic.

4. The organization of a commission for the convocation of the constituent congress of soviets is entrusted to the commissariat for affairs of Mohammedans of Central Russia.

People's commissar for nationalities:
I. Dzhugashvili-Stalin.
Commissar for affairs of the Mohammedans of Central Russia:
Mulla-Nur-Vakhumov.
Members of the commissariat: Manatov, Ibragimov.
Secretary of the people's commissariat for nationalities:
Dimanshtein.

[1] *Za 5 let k V godovshchine provozglasheniia Tatarskoi Sotsialisticheskoi Sovetskoi Respubliki,* 207-208.

II

AGREEMENT, DATED MARCH 23, 1919, BETWEEN THE CENTRAL SOVIET AUTHORITIES AND THE BASHKIR AUTHORITIES ON THE SOVIET AUTONOMY OF BASHKIRIIA [1]

1. The Autonomous Bashkir Soviet Republic (ABSR) is formed within the boundaries of Malaia [Little] Bashkiriia and forms a federal part entering into the composition of the RSFSR.

[Here follows a description of the boundaries.]

5. The railways, factories, and mines situated on Bashkir territory remain within the direct jurisdiction of the central soviet authority. At the same time, in alloting the products of local industry, the demands and necessities of the ABSR are first satisfied.

6. The territory of Malaia Bashkiriia is divided into several administrative units called cantons, *vid:*

[Here follows a further description of boundaries.]

7. The rural districts of the counties of Zlatoust, Troitsk, and Ufimsk form a separate administrative unit, even in case of their attachment to Bashkiriia.

8. Authority in the ABSR is constituted in conformity with the soviet constitution ratified by the fifth all-Russian congress of soviets on July 10, 1918.

9. In order to strengthen the soviet power in the ABSR and to support the struggle against the Russian, as well as against the international counter revolution, a separate Bashkir army is organized, consisted of one cavalry division of four regiments, and one rifle-brigade of three regiments. These regiments are subordinate to a common command and are administered in conformity with the statute on the red army.

10. All armament and the maintenance of the Bashkir army shall be supplied from the all-Russian military stock on the same basis as for the red army.

11. Internal protection and order shall be maintained in the ABSR by the armed proletariat of the republic.

12. In order to organize soviet power and to promote cultural-educational measures in the country, the RSFSR shall grant all possible financial assistance to the ABSR.

13. Pending the convocation of the congress of soviets, all power throughout the ABSR shall be vested in the provisional revolutionary Bashkir committee. A mixed commission of five persons shall be formed for the convocation of the congress.

[1] *Sbornik dekretov 1919*, 295-298.

Two members shall be delegated by the Bashkir revolutionary committee, two by the central soviet authority; the fifth shall be appointed in agreement with the parties and the commission.

14. The Bashkir provisional revolutionary committee (or the central executive committee of the ABSR) and the all-Russian central executive committee mutually delegate their representatives (two from each) with the right of plenipotentiary members of the above-mentioned organs.

15. The capital of the ABSR remains temporarily the locality Temiasovo; the definitive settlement of this question is left to the Bashkir congress of soviets.

16. The members of the Bashkir government, of the administrative institutions, and social organizations are not subject to persecution on account of their former activity.

Signed:

People's commissar for nationalities: I. Stalin.
President of the Bashkir government: Mstislav Kulaev.
Member of the Bashkir regional republic:
Mulladzhan Khalikov.
Adjutant of the commander of the Bashkir army:
Ardashit Bikbarov.

Agreement approved:

President of the all-Russian central executive committee:
M. Vladimirskii.
President of the soviet of people's commissars:
V. Ul'ianov (Lenin).

Secretary: A. Enukidze.

III

Decree, Dated May 19, 1920, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) and the Soviet of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) on the State Organization of the Autonomous Bashkir Soviet Republic (ABSR)[1]

1. The organization of state authority in the ABSR, in conformity with the constitution of the RSFSR, is composed of local soviets of deputies, the central executive committee of the Bashkir republic, and the soviet of people's commissars of the Bashkir republic.

2. For the administration of the affairs of the ABSR, the following people's commissariats are established: (1) interior,

[1] *Deistvuiushchee zakonodatel'stvo po sovetskomu upravleniiu*, 189.

including posts and telegraphs, (2) justice, (3) education, (4) health, (5) social welfare, (6) agriculture, (7) food, (8) finance, (9) the soviet of people's economy with the divisions of labor and ways of communication, and (10) workmen's and peasants' inspection.

NOTE: Foreign affairs and foreign trade shall remain entirely within the jurisdiction of the central organs of the RSFSR. Military affairs are administered by the Bashkir commissariat for war, which is directly subordinate to the nearest (Trans-Volga) regional military commissariat of the RSFSR. The conduct of the struggle against counter-revolution remains within the jurisdiction of the organs of the all-Rusian extraordinary commission [cheka], which are formed by the latter in agreement with the Bashkir soviet of people's commissars.

3. In order to maintain the unity of the financial and economic policy of the RSFSR throughout the republic, the people's commissariats of the Bashkir Republic for: food, finance, the soviet of people's economy with the divisions of labor and ways of communication, workmen's and peasants' inspection, and the division of posts and telegraphs in conjunction with the people's commissariat for interior, remain directly subordinate to the corresponding people's commissariats of the RSFSR and are bound to execute the instructions and orders thereof.

4. The people's commissariats for: interior (excluding the division of posts and telegraphs), justice, education, health, social welfare, and agriculture, are independent in their activities but shall be responsible directly to the VTsIK.

5. The ABSR received all necessary financial and technical means from the general resources of the RSFSR.

Signed: President of the VTsIK: M. KALININ.
President of the sovnarkom: V. UL'IANOV (LENIN).
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. ENUKIDZE.

IV

DECREE, DATED MAY 27, 1920, OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (VTSIK) AND OF THE SOVIET OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS (SOVNARKOM) ON THE AUTONOMOUS TATAR SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC (ATSSR)[1]

The VTsIK and the sovnarkom decree:

1. To form an ATSSR as a part of the RSFSR, and to include within it:

[1] *Deistvuiushchee zakonodatel'stvo po sovetskomu upravleniiu,* 189-191.

[Here follows a description of the boundaries.]

NOTE: The question of including within the ATSSR the districts of Belebeevsk and Birsk of the province of Ufa is to be left open until the expression of the will of the laboring population of these districts.

2-5. [These articles correspond to Articles 1-4 of the decree of May 19, 1920, on the ABSR.]

6. The president of the Kazan soviet is a member of the sovnarkom of the ATSSR with the right of a deciding vote.

7. [Corresponds to Article 5 of the above-mentioned decree.]

8. All authority in the ATSSR belongs to the provisional revolutionary committee of the ATSSR, which is formed by the VTsIK [prior to the convocation of the first congress of soviets of the ATSSR and within the limits indicated in the present statute.] The immediate task of this committee is the convocation of the first congress of soviets of the ATSSR and the organization of divisions of the provisional committee corresponding to the people's commissariats of the ATSSR indicated in paragraph 3 of the present statute.

9. The people's commissariat for interior and the people's commissariat for nationalities are charged with the constitution of a mixed commission in order to settle questions which may arise from the detailed delimitation of the ATSSR.

Signed: President of the VTsIK: M. KALININ.
President of the sovnarkom: V. UL'IANOV (LENIN).
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. ENUKIDZE.

V

DECREE, DATED AUGUST 26, 1920, OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (VTSIK) AND OF THE SOVIET OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS (SOVNARKOM) ON THE FORMATION OF THE AUTONOMOUS KIRGIZ SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC (AKSSR)[1]

The VTsIK and the sovnarkom, in extension of the decree of the sovnarkom dated July 10, 1919, decree:

1. To form the AKSSR as a part of the RSFSR and to include therein, within the former administrative limits, the following regions:

[Here follows a description of the boundaries.]

[1] *Deistvuiushchee zakonodatel'stvo po sovetskomu upravleniiu,* 191-192.

NOTE: The exact delimitation of the Kirgiz and Siberian parts of the county of Omsk shall be made in agreement with the Kirgiz revolutionary committee and the Siberian revolutionary committee.

[Here follows a further description of the boundaries.]

There is attached to the Astrakhan executive committee a commission consisting of representatives of that committee and the Kirgiz revolutionary committee for the purpose of a detailed regulation of the relationship of the regions with a mixed population.

[Here follows a further description of the boundaries.]

2. The enclosure in the composition of the Kirgiz republic of that Kirgiz territory now included in the Turkestan republic shall take place only after the expression of the will of the population of these regions.

3. The organs of administration of the AKSSR are the local soviet of deputies, the central executive committee and the sovnarkom of the AKSSR.

4. [Corresponds to article 2 of the decree of May 19, 1920, on the ABSR, except that separate commissariats are established for labor and ways of communication.]

5. For the administration of the military organization is created the Kirgiz military committee, which is subordinate to the Zavolshskii (Trans-Volga) military district.

6. In order to maintain the unity of the financial and economic policy of the RSFSR throughout the republic, the people's commissariats of the AKSSR for: food, finance, workmen's and peasants' inspection, as well as the soviet of people's economy and the division of posts and telegraphs and the Kirgiz bureau of statistics, the Kirgiz cheka, the people's commissariat for labor, and the people's commissariat for ways of communication remain directly subordinate to the corresponding people's commissariats of the RSFSR.

NOTE: The people's commissars of the commissariats named in paragraph 6 and the Kirgiz regional commissar for war are appointed in agreement with the sovnarkom of the Kirgiz republic and the corresponding people's commissariats of the RSFSR.

NOTE: The collegia attached to the people's commissariats are appointed by the sovnarkom of the Kirgiz republic.

7-8. [Corresponds to articles 4-5 of the decree of May 19, 1920, on the ABSR.]

9. Foreign affairs and foreign trade remain entirely within the jurisdiction of the central organs of the RSFSR.

10. Until the convocation of the congress of soviets of the AKSSR, all power therein belongs, within the limits indicated in the present statute, to the revolutionary committee of the AKSSR.

11. Until the definitive organization of the central organs of the AKSSR which may undertake the direction of the provinces of Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk, the latter shall remain temporarily under the jurisdiction of the Siberian revolutionary committee. To realize a common policy in the Kirgiz regions which remain temporarily within the composition of Siberia and Turkestan, are incorporated in the Siberian revolutionary committee and in the Presidium of the Turkestan central executive committee plenipotentiary members of the Kirgiz revolutionary committee. These members report on their work to the committee and carry out its commands.

Note: In case of disagreements which may arise between the Kirgiz revolutionary committee on the one hand and the Turkestan central executive committee and the Siberian revolutionary committee on the other regarding measures in the territories of the regions which have later to be attached to the Kirgiz republic, the settlement of the question shall be transferred to the judgment of the central institutions of the RSFSR.

Signed: President of the VTsIK: M. Kalinin.
President of the sovnarkom: V. Ul'ianov (Lenin).
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. Enukidze.

VI

Decree, Dated January 20, 1921, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) on the Autonomous Daghestan Socialist Soviet Republic (ADSSR)[1]

The VTsIK decrees:

1. The formation of the ADSSR as a part of the RSFSR, including the territory of all the region of Daghestan in its former boundaries composed of the circuits: Avarsk, Gulib, Darginsk, Kazikumuk, Kaitakho-Tabasaransk, Kiufinsk, Samursk, Temir-Khan-Shura, and Khasav-Iurt.

Note 1: The territory of Daghestan along the Caspian coast,

[1] *Deistvuiushchee zakonodatel'stvo po sovetskomu upravleniiu,* 193-194.

including the region of the fisheries, shall be included likewise within the ADSSR.

Note 2: The exact determination of the boundary between the ADSSR and the independent Azerbaijan Socialist Soviet Republic, the Autonomous Gorsk Socialist Soviet Republic, and the regions of the RSFSR, in contested localities, shall be decided by a special commission composed of the representatives from these republics and regions of the RSFSR appointed by the presidium of the VTsIK.

2. The central executive committee, the sovnarkom of the ADSSR, and the local soviets elected in conformity with the constitution of the RSFSR, shall be the administrative organs of the ADSSR.

3. For the administration of affairs in the ADSSR the following people's commissariats shall be established: (1) interior, (2) justice, (3) education, (4) health, (5) social welfare, (6) agriculture, (7) food, (8) finance, (9) soviet of people's economy, with the division of ways of communication and of posts and telegraphs, (10) workmen's and peasants' inspection, and (11) labor.

Note: Foreign affairs and foreign trade shall remain within the jurisdiction of the central organs of the RSFSR; military affairs are administered by the Daghestan commissariat for war, which is subordinate directly to the North-Caucasian commissariat for war. The conduct of the struggle against counter-revolution shall remain within the jurisdiction of the organs of the all-Russian cheka, composed in agreement with the central executive committee and the sovnarkom of the ADSSR, bodies which have double responsibility—to the center and to the sovnarkom of the ADSSR.

4. In order to maintain the unity of the financial and economic policy of the RSFSR throughout the republic, the people's commissariats of the ADSSR for food, finance, labor, workmen's and peasants' inspection, the soviet of people's economy, the divisions of ways of communication and of posts and telegraphs, shall remain subordinate to the respective people's commissariats of the RSFSR. All orders and directions of the latter throughout the ADSSR are carried out, as a general rule, by the sovnarkom thereof, to which the said commissaries are responsible.

Note 1: The people's commissars of the commissariats enu-

merated in article 4, the president of the Daghestan cheka, and the regional Daghestan commissar for war are appointed upon agreement between the sovnarkom of the ADSSR and the respective people's commissars of the RSFSR, being subject to approval by the Daghestan central executive committee.

Note 2: The collegia attached to the people's commissariats and to the cheka in the ADSSR are appointed by the sovnarkom thereof.

5. The people's commissariats of the ADSSR for interior, justice, education, health, social welfare, and agriculture are independent in their activities, though the central executive committee of the ADSSR shall be responsible to the VTsIK.

6. The ADSSR shall receive all necessary financial and technical means from the RSFSR.

Note: In distributing the products of local industry, the needs and demands of the ADSSR shall be satisfied first.

7. Until the convocation of the constituent congress of soviets of the ADSSR, all power is vested in the revolutionary committee, the first duty of which is to convoke the constituent congress of soviets of the ADSSR.

President of the VTsIK: M. Kalinin.
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. Enukidze.

VII

Decree, Dated April 11, 1921, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) on the Formation of the Turkestan Socialist Soviet Republic (TSSR)

1. To declare the TSSR composed of the regions Syr-Dar'inskaia, Semirechenskaia, Ferganskaia, Samarkandskaia, Kakaspiskaia, and the Amu-Dar'inskii section, as an autonomous part of the RSFSR to be known as the TSSR.

2. The state authority of the TSSR shall be organized in conformity with the constitution of the RSFSR. The supreme legislative organ is the congress of soviets of workers', dekkans', peasants', red army, and kazaks' deputies of the TSSR. In the interim between the congresses its place is taken by the Turkestan central executive committee. The sovnarkom, being at the head of the commissariats of the TSSR, is the legislative and executive organ of the TSSR; this body acts in conformity with the constitution of the TSSR.

3. Within the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal authorities belong:

a. the division of foreign affairs;
b. foreign trade;
c. military affairs.

The commissars for ways of communication, posts and telegraph, and finance are appointed by an agreement between the Turkestan central executive committee and the corresponding people's commissariats, to which they are subordinate. All decrees of the federal authorities concerning the commissars are valid for the Turkestan republic.

The central soviet of people's economy and the people's commissariat for food of the TSSR act according to plans formulated by the supreme soviet of people's economy and the people's commissariat for food of the RSFSR. The president of the central soviet of people's economy and of the Turkestan commissariat for food are appointed by the Turkestan central executive committee in agreement with the corresponding people's commissars of the RSFSR.

All remaining departments of administration lie within the competence of the Turkestan central executive committee and of the sovnarkom of the TSSR.

Signed: President of the VTsIK: M. Kalinin.
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. Enukidze.

VIII

Decree, Dated October 18, 1921, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) and the Soviet of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) on the Autonomous Crimean Socialist Soviet Republic (ACSSR)[1]

The VTsIK and the sovnarkom decree:

1. To form an ACSSR as a part of the RSFSR, within the limits of the Crimean peninsula, out of the existing circuits of Dzhankoi, Evpatoria, Kerch, Sevastopol, Simferopol, Feodosia, and Ialta.

Note: In order to settle questions concerning the northern boundaries of Crimea, a commission is formed, consisting of representatives of the people's commissariats for interior of the

[1] *Deistvuiushchee zakonodatel'stvo po sovetskomu upravleniiu,* 185-186.

RSFSR, of the UkSSR, of the ACSSR, and the people's commissariat for nationalities. The decision of the commission is confirmed by the VTsIK.

2. [Corresponds to article 1 of the decree of May 19, 1920, on the ABSR.]

3. For the administration of affairs of the ACSSR the following people's commissariats are established: (1) interior, (2) justice, (3) education, (4) health, (5) social welfare, (6) agriculture, 7) food, (8) finance, (9) labor, (10) soviet of people's economy, (11) workmen's and peasants' inspection, (12) communications, and the division of communal economy and statistics.

4. *a*. For the administration of military affairs of the ACSSR is attached to the sovnarkom of the ACSSR a Crimean military commissariat; this commissariat is subordinate to the nearest military district.

b. For the fight against counter-revolution is created and attached to the sovnarkom of the ACSSR a Crimean cheka directly subordinate to the all-Russian cheka; its collegium is formed by the Crimean sovnarkom and approved by the all-Russian cheka.

c. Foreign affairs and foreign trade remain entirely within the jurisdiction of the people's commissariats of the RSFSR; the latter creates corresponding representations attached to the sovnarkom of the ACSSR.

d. The administration of ways of communication within the ACSSR remains entirely in the jurisdiction of the people's commissariat for ways of communication of the RSFSR. For the administration of the ways of communication on the territory of Crimea is appointed a plenipotentiary of the people's commissariat for ways of communication attached to the sovnarkom of the ACSSR. This plenipotentiary acts under the guidance of the southern district of ways of communication, in conformity with the interests of the ACSSR, and within the limits of the general plan and rules of using the ways of communication of the RSFSR.

e. The central administration of the Crimean health resorts remains directly subordinate to the people's commissariat for public health of the RSFSR; the collegium of the former is formed by mutual agreement of the people's commissariat for health of the RSFSR and the sovnarkom of the ACSSR.

NOTE: The chief of the marine, the president of the collegium of the TsUK [central administration of the Crimean health resorts], representatives of the people's commissariats for foreign affairs and for foreign trade, the plenipotentiary of the people's commissariat for ways of communication of the RSFSR, the director of communal economy, and the president of the division of statistics enter into the Crimean sovnarkom with advisory voices.

5. All institutions and individual representatives of the unified people's commissariats of the RSFSR situated on the territory of Crimea, which are not provided for by the present statute of the ACSSR, must act according to the directions of the corresponding people's commissariats of the RSFSR in agreement with the Crimean sovnarkom.

6. In order to maintain the unity of the financial and economic policy over the whole territory of the RSFSR, all decrees and instructions of the people's commissariats of the RSFSR for food, finance, soviet of people's economy, labor, ways of communication, posts and telegraphs, workmen's and peasants' inspection, and the central statistical administration are obligatory for the corresponding people's commissariats of the ACSSR.

NOTE: The people's commissars of the above-mentioned commissariats and administrations are appointed by the Crimean sovnarkom and confirmed by the corresponding people's commissariats of the RSFSR; the same order is established in regard to the president of the Crimean cheka.

7. The people's commissariats of the ACSSR for interior, justice, education, health, social welfare, agriculture, and the division of communal economy are independent in their activities but responsible directly to the Crimean central executive committee, the Crimean sovnarkom, and the VTsIK.

8. In order to correlate and unify the activity of the economic organs of the ACSSR, is created and attached to the sovnarkom of the ACSSR, the Crimean economic conference which acts in conformity with the decree of the VTsIK of June 30, 1921.

9. [Corresponds to article 6 of the decree of January 20, 1921, on the ADSSR.]

10. Pending the convocation of the all-Russian Crimean constituent congress of soviets and the election of a Crimean central

executive committee and sovnarkom, the territory of Crimea is administered by the Crimean revolutionary committee.

Signed: President of the VTsIK: M. Kalinin.
President of the sovnarkom: V. Ul'ianov (Lenin).
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. Enukidze.

IX

Decree, Dated April 27, 1923, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) on the Autonomous Iakutsk Socialist Soviet Republic (AIaSSR) [1]

The presidium of the VTsIK decrees:

1. To create the AIaSSR as a federal part of the RSFSR, with its administrative center in the city of Irkutsk.

[Here follows a description of the boundaries.]

3. The governmental authority in the AIaSSR, in conformity with the constitution of the RSFSR, shall consist of local soviets, their conferences, soviets of people's commissars, and the central executive committee of the AIaSSR.

4. For administration of affairs in the republic the following people's commissariats shall be established: (1) interior, with the divisions of administration and organization, militia, statistics, and labor; (2) trade and manufacture, with the divisions of domestic trade, foreign trade, and manufacture; (3) finance; (4) food; (5) agriculture; (6) combined people's commissariats for education, health, and social welfare; (7) workmen's and peasants' inspection; (8) justice; (9) administration of posts and telegraphs; (10) ways of communication; (11) political section, the latter being attached to the Iakutsk central executive committee.

Note 1: Foreign affairs and foreign trade remain entirely within the jurisdiction of the central organs of the RSFSR.

Note 2: Military affairs are vested in the Iakutsk commissariat for war, which is directly subordinate to the military commissariat of the circuit [of the RSFSR].

Note 3: The conduct of the struggle against counter revolution shall remain within the jurisdiction of the people's commissariat for interior of the RSFSR in agreement with the Iakutsk sovnarkom.

5. To preserve the unity of financial and economic policy of

[1] *Deistvuiushchee zakonodatel'stvo po sovetskomu upravleniiu,* 196-197.

the RSFSR throughout the republic, the people's commissariats (together with their divisions) for finance, food, trade and manufacture, posts and telegraphs, ways of communication, workmen's and peasants' inspection, and the political section, attached to the Iakutsk central executive committee shall remain directly subordinate to the respective people's commissariats of the RSFSR, whereby all fundamental projects are carried out through the sovnarkom of the AIaSSR.

NOTE: The people's commissariats and the directors of the divisions especially mentioned in the respective decrees of the central organs of the RSFSR are appointed by the central executive committee of the AIaSSR subject to approval by the sovnarkom of the RSFSR.

6. The people's commissariats for: interior, agriculture, and justice, and the combined people's commissariats for education, health, and social welfare, as well as the divisions of domestic trade and manufacture, are independent in their activities, but shall be responsible directly to the central executive committee and the sovnarkom of the AIaSSR, and to the VTsIK.

7. In order to coördinate and unify the activities of economic organs in the AIaSSR, to the sovnarkom thereof is attached the Iakutsk economic conference acting in conformity with the decree of the VTsIK dated June 30, 1921.

8. The AIaSSR shall receive all financial and technical assistance from the RSFSR.

9. Until the convocation of the constituent congress of soviets, all authority in the AIaSSR, within the limits determined by the present statute, shall be vested in the revolutionary committee of the AIaSSR.

10. The transfer of the organs of administration to the AIaSSR shall be effected not later than June 1, 1922, in the order determined by the people's commissariat for interior of the RSFSR.

President of the VTsIK: M. KALININ.
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. ENUKIDZE.

X

DECREE, DATED JULY 25, 1923, OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (VTsIK) AND OF THE SOVIET OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS (SOVNARKOM) ON THE AUTONOMOUS KARELIAN SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC (AKSSR)[1]

The VTsIK and sovnarkom, supplementing the decision of

[1] *Sobranie uzakonenii RSFSR,* 1923, No. 69, Art. 668.

the VTsIK on June 8, 1920 (*Sobr. uzak.* 1920 No. 53, 232) on the formation of the Karelian Labor Commune, decree:

1. The Karelian Labor Commune is to be transformed into an AKSSR, as a federal part of the RSFSR.

NOTE: In order to determine the exact frontiers of the AKSSR, a commission shall be formed consisting of one representative of the Petrograd provincial committee and one of the Karelian Labor Commune, presided over by a representative of the presidium of the VTsIK.

2. The state machinery of the AKSSR, in accordance with the constitution of the RSFSR and with the decisions of the second Karelian congress of soviets, will consist of local soviets, their congresses and executive committees, a sovnarkom and a central executive committee.

3. The affairs of the AKSSR are to be conducted by the following people's commissariats: interior (with a department for social welfare), justice, education, health, agriculture, finance, workmen's and peasants' inspection, labor, and the Karelian economic conference.

NOTE: (*a*) Foreign affairs shall be administered entirely by the unified people's commissariat for foreign affairs; (*b*) the administration of military affairs is to be carried out by the Karelian commissariat for military affairs, which will, however, be subordinate to the nearest military district command; (c) the protection of the state frontiers will be assured by the OGPU; (*d*) the administration of posts and telegraphs will be in the hands of the north-western district department for posts and telegraphs, which will have its representative attached to the Karelian sovnarkom; (e) for the conduct and regulation of foreign trade there shall be attached to the Karelian sovnarkom a board empowered to conduct foreign trade, but subordinate to the people's commissariat for foreign trade of the USSR; (*f*) a statistical department shall be formed in connection with the Karelian sovnarkom, the director of which is to be a member of the sovnarkom with the right of advisory vote.

4. The people's commissariats of the AKSSR for: interior (with its department for social welfare), justice, education, health, and agriculture are autonomous in all their activities and are directly responsible to the Karelian central executive committee and sovnarkom, and to the VTsIK.

5. In order to coördinate and unify the activities of the economic organs of the AKSSR there is attached to the sovnarkom

of the AKSSR, a Karelian economic conference consisting of representatives of agriculture, finance, labor, the people's commissariat for interior, the department of foreign trade, and the trade union soviet.

All plans of a general federal character, as well as work in the various branches of the people's economy of Karelia, will be submitted by the Karelian economic conference to the economic conferences of the RSFSR.

6. The Karelian, Finnish, and Russian languages shall enjoy equal rights throughout the territory of the AKSSR.

Signed: For the president of the VTsIK: P. Smidovich.
Deputy president of the sovnarkom: S. Kamenev.
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. Enukidze.

XI

Decree, Dated May 30, 1923, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) on the Formation of the Autonomous Buriat-Mongol Republic [1]

The presidium of the VTsIK decrees:

To unite the Buriat-Mongol regions of the RSFSR and of the former Far Eastern Republic (DVR) into one Buriat-Mongol Autonomous Republic.

XII

Decree, Dated June 13, 1923, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) on the Unification of the Buriat-Mongol Regions of the RSFSR and of the Former Far Eastern Republic [2]

The presidium of the VTsIK, supplementing its decree of May 30, 1923, on the unification of the autonomous Buriat-Mongol regions of Siberia and of the Far East into one Autonomous Buriat-Mongol Socialist Soviet Republic (ABMSSR), herewith decrees:

1. The city of Verkhneudinsk shall be the administrative center of the ABMSSR.

2. A special commission, composed of representatives of one from each, as follows: (*a*) the Siberian revolutionary committee,

[1] *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporiazhenii rabochego i krest'ianskago, pravitel'stva,* January 15, 1924, No. 1, 15.

[2] *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporiazhenii rabochego i krest'ianskago pravitel'stva,* January 15, 1924, 15-16.

(*b*) the Far Eastern revolutionary committee, (*c*) the autonomous Buriat-Mongol region in Siberia, (*d*) the autonomous Buriat-Mongol region in the Far East, under the presidency of the representative of the people's commissariat for nationalities, shall be charged with drafting the exact determination of the boundaries of the Buriat-Mongol Republic, which drafting shall be submitted not later than August 1, 1923, to the VTsIK for ratification.

3. The project of these boundaries already drafted by the regional executive committee and by the regional revolutionary committee of the autonomous Buriat-Mongol regions shall be taken as a basis for the work with which the commission mentioned in the previous article is charged.

4. Pending the convocation of the first congress of soviets of the ABMSSR, the supreme authority in the united autonomous Buriat-Mongol regions shall be vested with the revolutionary committee of the ABMSSR appointed by the VTsIK and directly related thereto.

5. The revolutionary committee of the ABMSSR shall be charged with the organization of the central organs of authority in the republic, and with the convocation of the first congress of soviets of the ABMSSR.

6. A commission composed of comrades Sapronov, Beloborodov, Kliuger, and Serafimov shall be changed with the drafting of a project of the status of the ABMSSR as an integral part of the RSFSR, in conformity with the resolutions of the presidium of the VTsIK, May 30, 1923, and with the present decree, which project shall be submitted for ratification by the presidium of the RSFSR.

XIII

Decree, Dated September 12, 1923, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) on the State Structure of the Autonomous Buriat-Mongol Socialist Soviet Republic (ABMSSR)[1]

1. The ABMSSR, with its administrative center in the city of Verkhneudinsk, forms a part of the RSFSR.

2. [Corresponds to article 1 of the decree of May 19, 1920, on the ABSR.]

3. For the administration of the affairs of the ABMSSR the

[1] *Deistvuiushchikh po sovetskomu upravleniiu,* 194-195.

following people's commissaries are established: interior, justice, education, health, agriculture, labor, finance, soviet of people's economy, workmen's and peasants' inspection.

4. Foreign affairs and foreign trade shall remain within the jurisdiction of the commissariats for foreign affairs and for foreign trade of the USSR.

5. For the direction of military affairs there shall be established a Buriat-Mongol commissariat for war attached to the nearest regional commissariat.

6. In the territory of the ABMSSR an organ of the OGPU of the RSFSR is attached to the commissariat for interior of the ABMSSR.

7. A bureau of statistics working under the directions of the central statistical bureau of the RSFSR is attached to the sovnarkom of the ABMSSR for carrying on statistical work.

8. The organs of the people's commissariats for ways of communication and posts and telegraphs in the ABMSSR are established by order of the corresponding people's commissariats of the USSR.

9. In order to maintain the unity of financial and economic policy of the RSFSR, the people's commissariats of the ABMSSR for finance, labor, and workmen's and peasants' inspection shall remain directly subordinate to the corresponding people's commissariats of the RSFSR, whereby all projects shall be carried out through the sovnarkom of the ABMSSR.

NOTE: The people's commissars of the commissariats enumerated in article 9 are appointed upon agreement of the central executive committee and sovnarkom of the ABMSSR with the corresponding commissariats of the RSFSR.

10. The people's commissariats for interior, justice, health, education, and agriculture are independent in their activities but shall be responsible directly to the central executive committee and sovnarkom of the ABMSSR and to the VTsIK.

11. In order to coördinate and unify the work of the economic organs of the ABMSSR, an economic conference is created in the sovnarkom thereof.

12. The Buriat-Mongolian and Russian languages enjoy equal rights throughout the territory of the ABMSSR.

The president of the VTsIK: KALININ.

For the secretary of the VTsIK: A. ANDREIEV.

XIV

Decree, Dated February 18, 1924, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) and the Soviet of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) on the Methods of Application of the Decrees and Resolutions of the Central Authority in the Far Eastern Region [1]

In extension of the decree of the VTsIK, dated November 15, 1922, on the unification of the RSFSR with the Far Eastern Republic, and in order to establish a uniform method of application of the decrees and resolutions of the central authority over the Far Eastern territory, the VTsIK and the sovnarkom herewith decree:

1. The fundamental principles of the method of application of the decrees and resolutions of the central authority in the Far Eastern region are hereby ratified.

2. All people's commissariats, the Far Eastern revolutionary committee and the local organs are hereby enjoined to adopt these principles as guiding instructions for the future, subject to absolute execution.

3. The Far Eastern revolutionary committee is hereby ordered to revise all taxes and duties effective at present in the Far Eastern region, to amend or to cancel them in conformity with the tax system of the RSFSR extended hereby also to the Far Eastern Region, and to submit the project of the corresponding resolution for ratification in the VTsIK, not later than March 15, 1924.

4. The Far Eastern revolutionary committee is hereby charged with the submission, not later than March 15, 1924, of the enumeration and drafting of the regulations to be applied in the Far Eastern region, and with the description of local characteristics in accordance with the fundamental principles relating to the application of the decrees and resolutions of the central authority in the Far Eastern region.

5. All regulations of the USSR and of the RSFSR henceforth shall be applicable in the Far Eastern region in a fixed order.

[1] *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporiazhenii rabochego i krest'ianskago pravitel'stva,* March 26, 1924, 257-260.

Appendix to Decree of February 18, 1924

(Fundamental Principles Ratified on February 18, 1924, Relating to the Execution of the Decrees and Resolutions of the Central Authority in the Far Eastern Region.)

The annexation of the former Far Eastern Republic to the RSFSR brought about the problem of the execution therein of all decrees and resolutions of the central authority which have been issued at various times.

This problem requires a special solution, since for the last five years many decrees have been revised, some of them, due to the transitory period toward peaceful progress, being amended greatly in their fundamental principles, and some of them having been declared null and void. However, as a result of execution of certain decrees, now partly annulled, partly revised and amended within the RSFSR, chiefly in the economic field, there was established a relationship so closely connected with the very essence of soviet authority and the socialistic development that the refusal to adopt certain corresponding measures also in the Far Eastern region would cause a break in economic relations between the RSFSR and the Far Eastern region; at the same time, those new legislative measures which, while in conformity with the general principles of soviet policy, though making a considerable step forward in economic construction, still ought to be absolutely applied.

In accordance with this, the following order of execution of all decrees and resolutions of the RSFSR in the Far Eastern territory shall be used:

1. All legislations directly related to the structure of the soviet authority (provincial, county and rural executive committees and their departments, city and town soviets, local economic conferences, and other administrative apparatus) shall be fully applied.

2. Criminal, civil, codes of criminal procedure and civil procedure, as well as statutes relating to jurisprudence with supplements on notaries, procurature, and advocature, and other legislation regulating the judicial apparatus shall be fully applied.

3. In the field of finance shall be fully applied:

a. All legislation concerning state taxes and duties, with payments and appropriations for local funds and taxes, enumerated in the regulations of local finances, adopted by the third session of the TsIK of the USSR, including all subsequent amendments;

The statutes concerning a common agricultural tax are carried out in the Far Eastern region by money payments;

b. All regulations concerning the ratification and execution of budgets, effective throughout the RSFSR, except those resulting from differences in the systems of monetary circulation;

c. All decrees and resolutions of the RSFSR concerning local finances and resources, and particularly revenue, as well as local expenditures, the method of drafting .and execution of the local budget, and also the subsidizing of these budgets from the state resources;

d. All legislation effective at present in the RSFSR concerning credits and credit institutions.

NOTE 1: The Far Eastern revolutionary committee is hereby given the right to retain all private banks existing in the Far Eastern region.

NOTE 2: All matters concerning monetary circulation are regulated by special legislation.

[By a decree dated July 23, 1924, an additional paragraph was added: "All ordinances and decrees of the RSFSR concerning state property insurance."]

4. All decrees and ordinances regulating internal trade in the Far Eastern region, as far as they result from local characteristics, shall remain in force until their coördination with the legislation of the RSFSR by the resolutions of the central authority, in accordance with the suggestions of the Far Eastern revolutionary committee.

Matters concerning foreign trade and customs shall be regulated by the legislation in force at present in the RSFSR.

5. All legislation concerning the conditions of labor, the labor code of 1922, and all regulations issued in conformity therewith shall be applied to the Far Eastern region, with the following provisional exceptions:

a. The state regulation of wages shall be subject to the Far Eastern revolutionary committee.

b. Insurance, according to the system established by the labor code of 1922, shall be applied as from January 1, 1924.

The Far Eastern revolutionary committee shall be charged with the regulation of all matters concerning social insurance, and with the drafting of a plan for the practical execution of the same in conformity with the labor code.

6. In the Far Eastern region shall be applied fully:

a. All legislation concerning social welfare;

b. All legislation concerning public health and the activities of the local organs of the people's commissariats for health, regulations for manufacturing medicines and the selling thereof, as well as matters concerning the resorts and their maintenance;

c. All basic decrees and resolutions regulating public education: particularly, all legislation concerning organs of public education, schools and institutions of social, professional and political education, as well as institutions of higher learning.

7. Confiscation for municipal purposes and nationalization of the buildings in the Far Eastern region shall be regulated by special ordinance of the VTsIK and sovnarkom [of the RSFSR].

The regulations concerning housing, ten per cent. payments for the communal housing fund, and rent, as well as those concerning forcible expulsion shall be extended to the Far Eastern region immediately and without any modification.

8. As concerns nationalization, all of those large enterprises over which the supervision has already been taken over in virtue of article II of the decree, dated June 28, 1918, and those already nationalized by special decrees of the soviet authority or by the ordinances of the Far Eastern state organs, as well as all enterprises forming integral parts of those nationalized enterprises which are located in the RSFSR and all other union republics, *i.e.*, outside of the Far Eastern territorial limits, shall be regarded as nationalized and not returnable to their former owners.

Final nationalization of large enterprises over which no supervision has been exercised shall be effected, upon the recommendation of the Far Eastern revolutionary committee, by the ordinances of the presidium of the supreme soviet of people's economy of the RSFSR, in conformity with article II of the above-mentioned decree of June 28, 1918. The term in which the list with these enterprises must be presented to the supreme soviet of people's economy shall be a period of three months from the day of publication of this decree.

All other enterprises not included in the list, in conformity with article 55 of the civil code, shall be regarded as private property.

Under no conditions shall the nationalization be applicable to the enterprises belonging to the coöperative organization (irrespective of the number of the employed force).

The regulations concerning leases of the state enterprises are determined by the decree of July 5, 1921, and all supplements

thereto, as well as by all later legislation supplementing or amending the same.

The decree on requisition and confiscation, dated October 17, 1921, with all later supplements, shall be applied in full.

9. Regulations concerning natural resources, dated July 7, 1923, shall be applied with the reservation for the Far Eastern revolutionary committee of the right to submit to the legislative organs its suggestions in all matters concerning amending or supplementing these regulations according to the local conditions.

10. The land code shall be applied with proper amendments in accordance with local customs and characteristics; such amendments shall be carried out by the presidium of the VTsIK upon the recommendations of the Far Eastern revolutionary committee in agreement with the people's commissariat for agriculture of the RSFSR. The supervision over and administration of forestry shall be vested with the organs of the people's commissariats for agriculture, in conformity with the regulations provided for in the forestry code. The studs, cattle-breeding, and veterinary are subject to the legislation and administration of the soviets; the same shall apply to the legislation of the RSFSR regulating the waterways and their improvement. Amendments to this legislation which may be found necessary because of local economic and customary characteristics shall be effected in an order established by this decree for introduction into the land code.

11. All fundamental regulations concerning consumers, agricultural, credit, and trade coöperatives which are effective at present in the RSFSR shall be applied to the Far Eastern region in full.

XV

Decree, Dated February 20, 1924, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) on the State Organization of the Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of the Volga Germans (ASSRNP) [1]

The VTsIK and the sovnarkom decree:

1. To transform the autonomous region of Volga-Germans into the ASSRNP, as a federal part of the RSFSR within the limits of the present boundaries of the regions, including the cantons:

[1] E. Gross, *Avt. Sots. Sov. Resp. Nemtsev Povolzh'a*, 34-36.

[Here follows description of the cantons.]

2. The organization of state authority in the ASSRNP shall be composed, in conformity with the constitution of the USSR and RSFSR, and according to the resolution of the eleventh congress of soviets of Volga-Germans, of local soviets, their congresses, executive committees, and of the sovnarkom.

3. [Corresponds to article 3 of the decree of September 12, 1923, on the ABMSSR, with the addition of a commissariat for social welfare.]

4. Foreign affairs and foreign trade shall remain entirely within the jurisdiction of people's commissariats of the USSR.

NOTE: In urgent cases, by order of the People's Commissar for Foreign Trade of the USSR, corresponding commissariats for foreign trade [1] shall be formed in the republic.

5. For the administration of affairs concerning the army, there shall be established a commissariat for war with the prerogatives of a provincial military commissariat and subordinate to the nearest regional commissariat.

6. To the sovnarkom of the ASSRNP is attached an organ of the OGPU of the RSFSR.

7. For the carrying out of statistical work, to the sovnarkom of the ASSRNP is attached a bureau of statistics working under the direction of the central bureau. The director of the bureau of statistics is a member of the sovnarkom of the ASSRNP with the right of advisory voice.[2]

8-9. [Correspond to articles 4 and 9 of the decree of September 12, 1923, on the ABMSSR.]

10. The people's commissars of the ASSRNP for education, agriculture, and social welfare are independent in their activities, but shall be responsible directly to the sovnarkom and the central executive committee of the ASSRNP, and to the VTsIK.

11. The German, Russian, and the Ukrainian languages shall enjoy equal rights throughout the territory of the ASSRNP. In all individual territorial parts of the republic, the official language shall be the one used by the majority of the population in the respective parts.

President of the VTsIK: M. KALININ.
President of the sovnarkom: RYKOV.

[1] This exception does not appear in the decree of September 12, 1923, article 4, on the ABMSSR.

[2] It is to be noted that in the decree of September 12, 1923, on the ABMSSR, article 7, this sentence does not appear.

XVI

Decree, Dated June 15, 1925, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) and the Soviet of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) on the State Organization of the Autonomous Chuvash Socialist Soviet Republic (AChSSR) [1]

The VTsIK and sovnarkom of the RSFSR, supplementing the resolution of the VTsIK on April 21, 1925, on the transformation of the Chuvash autonomous region into an autonomous socialist soviet republic, decree:

1. The organization of the supreme authority in the AChSSR shall be established, in conformity with the constitutions of the USSR and the RSFSR, from local soviets, their congresses and executive committees, the central executive committee, and the sovnarkom.[2]

2. [Corresponds to the decree of September 12, 1923, on the ABMSSR, except for the addition of two new commissariats: for social welfare and for internal trade.]

3. [Corresponds to article 4 of the decree of September 12, 1923, on the ABMSSR.]

4. For the administration of military affairs, there shall be established a commissariat for war, with the prerogatives of a provincial commissariat for war subordinate to the nearest military circuit.

5. To the sovnarkom of the AChSSR shall be attached an organ of the OGPU of the USSR.

6. [Corresponds to article 7 of the decree of February 20, 1924, on the ASSRNP.]

7. For preliminary drafting of proposed as well as existing projects regarding economic policy and matters of internal subdivision into regions a special planning commission shall be attached to the sovnarkom of the AChSSR.

8. The organization of the people's commissariats for ways of communication and posts and telegraphs in the AChSSR shall be established by order of the corresponding people's commissars of the USSR.

9. [Corresponds to article 9 of the decree of February 20,

[1] *Izvestiia,* June 24, 1925, No. 141.

[2] The text may be intentionally vague; reference may be made to the central executive committee and sovnarkom of the AChSSR, or of the RSFSR, or even of the USSR.

1924, on the ASSRNP, with the addition of the commissariat for domestic trade.]

10. [Corresponds to article 10 of the decree of September 12, 1923, on the ABMSSR, with the addition of a commissariat for social welfare.]

11. The Chuvash and Russian languages shall enjoy equal rights throughout the territory of the AChSSR.

President of the VTsIK: M. Kalinin.
President of the sovnarkom of the RSFSR: A. Rykov.
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. Kiseler.

XVII

Decree, Dated April 15, 1927, Transforming the Kirgiz Autonomous Region Into the Autonomous Kirgiz Socialist Soviet Republic (AKSSR) [1]

Recognizing the principle of self-determination of nations as proclaimed by the October [old style] revolution, recognizing the desire of the Kirgiz workmen and peasant masses, recognizing further the political and economic importance of Kirgizstan in the USSR and the national and territorial entity of Kirgizstan, the thirteenth all-Russian congress of soviets decrees:

To confirm the decision of the third session, twelfth meeting, of the VTsIK concerning the transformation of the autonomous Kirgiz region into an AKSSR which should enter the RSFSR as a federal unit.

To confirm the decision of the above-mentioned body authorizing the election of a central executive committee at the first all-Kirgiz congress of soviets and the organization of a republican governing apparatus.

The president of the thirteenth all-Russian congress of soviets:
M. Kalinin.

The secretary of the thirteenth all-Russian congress of soviets:
A. Kiselev.

Moscow, April 15, 1927.

[1] *Izvestiia,* April 30, 1927.

XVIII

Decree, Dated October 19, 1918, of the Soviet of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR) on the German Colonies of the Volga Region [1]

To support the campaign for the social liberation of the German workers and poor Germans of the Volga region, and simultaneously developing the principles laid down as a basis for the statute of the commissariat for German affairs in the Volga region ratified on May 29th, and supplementing the decrees of the sovnarkom dated July 26th, as well as in conformity with the unanimously expressed will of the first congress of soviets of German colonies in the Volga region, the sovnarkom decrees:

1. All localities inhabited by the German colonies of the Volga region, as well as those which, according to the statute of the commissariat for the Volga region, are separated as county soviets of deputies, form, in conformity with article 11 of the constitution [of the RSFSR], a regional union in the nature of a workers' commune, composed of localities within the territories including parts of the counties of Kamyshin and Atkarsk, of the Saratov province, and of the counties of Novouzensk and Nicolaevsk of the Samara province.

2. All questions arising out of the newly formed territorial unit with a German population are decided in a fixed order, whereby the commissariat for German affairs of the Volga region and the Samara and Saratov provincial soviets of deputies shall immediately elect a commission of liquidation to determine in the nearest future the time for this unification.

3. In exact conformity with article 11 of the constitution, the congress of soviets of deputies of the separated territory with a German population elects the executive committee which shall be the center of the socialist soviet activities among the German laboring masses; it shall supervise the proper execution of all decrees and orders of the soviet authorities and give all corresponding instructions.

4. All local authority, within the limits determined in article 61 of the constitution, throughout the territory united according to article 1 of the present decree shall be vested in the executive committee elected by the congress of soviets of deputies from

[1] *Sbornik dekretov 1917-1918,* 172-173.

the German colonies of the Volga region, and by the local soviet of German workers and poorer classes.

5. All activities of the soviet authorities destined to promote the progress of the dictatorship of laboring and poorer masses, as well as to further the reconstruction of all political and economic order on the basis of the socialistic principles are effected in this region, inhabited by the German colonists, through the executive committee of soviets of deputies from the German colonies of the Volga region.

6. All conflicts between the executive committees of soviets of deputies from the German colonies of the Volga region and the provincial soviets of deputies are submitted for settlement to the sovnarkom of the [*sic*] VTsIK.

7. In conformity with the constitution, no restrictions shall be imposed upon the cultural life of the German colonies, namely, upon the use of their native language in the schools, local administration, courts, and social life.

The sovnarkom expresses its confidence that, by furthering these conditions in practice, the struggle for social liberation of the German workers and poorer masses in the Volga region will cause no national differences, but, on the contrary, will serve as a means for bringing together all German and Russian working masses, the unification of which is the best guaranty for their victory and for the success of the world socialist revolution.

Signed: President of the sovnarkom: V. Ul'ianov (Lenin).
In charge of the affairs of the sovnarkom:
Vl. Bonch-Bruevich.

XIX

Proclamation, Dated July 2, 1919, of the Soviet of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR) Addressed to the Kalmyk Laboring People [1]

Kalmyk Brothers: The entire past of your people is an uninterrupted chain of suffering. Owing to their economic and political backwardness, your people were always an object of exploitation by stronger neighbors. The autocratic tsarist government, which extended its power by sanguinary conquests over many foreign tribes, has likewise put the chains of slavery on the freedom-loving Kalmyk people. After the conquest, the autocracy treated you as slaves. The lands which were in your

[1] T. K. Borisov, *Kalmykiia*, 88-90.

possession were curtailed. You were not allowed to study and to print books in your native language; you were purposely held in ignorance in order to be oppressed more easily. Many of you have been called to military service to be used—by taking advantage of your ignorance—as instruments of oppression of other peoples, oppressed as you were.

This continued until the Russian laboring people, the workers and peasants, cast into a precipice the odious tsarist autocratic government, and, after it, the power of the capitalists and landowners. Having done this, the Russian workman and peasant formed a new state, the workers' and peasants' republic, where power is in the hands of the laboring masses themselves.

One of the first steps of the workers' and peasants' soviet authority was the publication of the "declaration of the rights of the people of Russia", where equality was promised to all peoples, the right to determine themselves their future; the repeal of all national and religious restrictions and free cultural development.

But the enemies of the workers' and peasants' soviet power, the capitalists and landowners, desiring to rule over the workers' and peasants' masses as before, during all this time gave no possibility to the soviet power to carry out the promise given in regard to the Kalmyk people. Once more your territory has been conquered by tyrants fighting for the restoration of the rights of the capitalists and landlords.

They are helped by foreign capitalists, English and French, who oppress hundreds of millions of your tribesmen and co-religionaries in Asia. One must be blind not to see the purpose of these people. They desire to restore the old order by which the Kalmyk people will suffer as they suffered hundreds of years during the tsarist régime. But now this will not be so.

Kalmyk Brothers: It has often occurred during this civil war carried on by brutal generals, capitalists, and landowners against the masses of workers and peasants of Russia, that your people were exposed to all kinds of outrages on the part of individual agents of soviet power. The sovnarkom which stands at the head of the workers' and peasants' government declares to you, Kalmyk Brothers, that it fought, is fighting, and will continue to fight against all abuses of these persons, and punishes and will continue to punish severely the violators.

The workers' and peasants' soviet government guarding the interests of the laboring masses of all peoples declares to you, Kalmyk Brothers, that the fate of your people lies in your own

hands. Therefore, the sovnarkom decreed to help the laboring Kalmyk people in the convocation of the general Kalmyk labor congress. For the organization of this congress, the sovnarkom approves the commission consisting of comrades Chapchaev, Amur-Sanana, Lavgaev, Mechtcheriakov, Mankirov, Sarangov, and Gertsenberg, with the right of attaching other members for technical purposes. The sovnarkom, in order to attract to the cause of building up Kalmyk life as many workers as possible from among the Kalmyk themselves, has decided to grant amnesty to many of those prominent Kalmyk agents who have been until now in the camp of the white guard.

The sovnarkom charges the commission with the convocation of the general Kalmyk congress and with the execution of this amnesty.

The sovnarkom will make all efforts to help the laboring Kalmyk people to rebuild their economic life destroyed by the war, and after examination at the general Kalmyk congress of their real needs and local conditions of economy, to provide them with a sufficient area of land, to further the restored cattle-breeding and other kinds of domestic economy of the laboring Kalmyk people.

Kalmyk Brothers: In order to obtain the convocation of the general Kalmyk congress, it is necessary to liberate the greater part of your territories from the white guard bands. The workers' and peasants' government and its red army are fighting for this liberation. But to accomplish liberation as soon as possible and with the least bloodshed, it is necessary that the entire Kalmyk people rise as one man against the tsarist generals, white guards, and help the red army immediately to crush Denikin.

Kalmyk Brothers: The fate of your people is in your hands. Everybody into the ranks of the red army: All against the white guard and Kazak bands of Denikin: All for the defence of your soviet power.

Signed: President of the sovnarkom: V. Ul'ianov (Lenin).

XX

Decree, Dated July 24, 1919, of the Soviet of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) on the Organization of the Land Usages of the Kalmyk People [1]

1. The Kalmyk laboring people declare the lands of the

[1] T. K. Borisov, *Kalmykiia*, 90-91.

Kalmyk steppes to be for ever free from the oppression of wealthy people and to be the property of the laboring Kalmyk people. Detailed rules of land usages shall be determined by the population of the Kalmyk steppe itself and by its future government according to the conditions of life and economic structure.

2. In order to give the Kalmyk people, who were always oppressed and deprived by the old régime, the possibility to prepare themselves peacefully to carry out land reform on the territories occupied by them, these territories, pending the drafting of a detailed plan of land organization, are closed to all unorganized migration which may take place only after a specially stipulated order, in accordance with an agreement between the government of the RSFSR and the future government of the laboring Kalmyk people.

3. All arbitrary and disorganized utilization of the land by means of usurpation by right of force is stopped. The workers' and peasants' government will maintain by every means the communal forms of land usage.

4. The RSFSR lends to the laboring Kalmyk people its assistance by technical means and by experience in the matter of carrying out the organization of land. In those localities which have a nomad or semi-nomad population, a preliminary investigation of economic and national conditions will be carried out in order to establish a standard of land usage. This standard must correspond to the actual needs of the laboring people and must secure the cultivating of the various kinds of local craft and the possibility of its development by means of transferring it to more productive forms.

5. During the land organization, settlement, and colonization, all measures will be taken to protect those elements of the Kalmyks who are feeble and backward in economic and cultural respects against oppression by stronger groups of the population, including those who usurped their land during the revolutionary period. Likewise all measures will be taken in order that all those parts of the Kalmyk people which were detached by force may have the possibility to apply their labor to their native steppe.

6. The Kalmyks build their central and local (*ulus* and *aimak*) land organs for the administration and organization of lands, using the experience of the socialist land legislation of the RSFSR. With the completion of land organization on

socialist principles, inequality in the utilization of land which is provoked by the oppression of the feeble by the strong, and the poor by the rich, will be destroyed, and there will also be abolished the existing privileges of certain groups of the population in regard to others arising from their nationality, creed, sex, and citizenship.

Signed: President of the sovnarkom: V. Ul'ianov (Lenin).
People's commissar for agriculture: S. Sereda.
Secretary of the sovnarkom: L. Fotieva.

XXI

Declaration of Rights, Dated July 5, 1920, of the Kalmyk Laboring People Approved by the First General Kalmyk Congress of Soviets on July 5, 1920 [1]

The Kalmyk laboring people, after centuries spent under the heavy national, cultural, economic, colonial, and moral yoke of autocracy, now being liberated and, by the will of the great October revolution, entrusted with the free building of their life, at the first congress of laboring masses taking place after 300 years within the boundaries of Russia, proclaim their free existence and consider their cultural-economic restoration possible in close collaboration with the brotherly proletariat of Russia. Proclaiming the union of all dispersed parts of the Kalmyk people into one administrative-economic unit, but without seceding from the body of the RSFSR, the first general Kalmyk congress of soviets of the laboring people decrees:

I. *Formation of a Region*

The entire Kalmyk population of the Astrakhan province [here follows a description of the boundaries] shall be detached from these provinces and regions and shall form a region under the name of "autonomous region of the Kalmyk laboring people".

2. The separation and construction of the life of the region shall take place according to the principles of the constitution of the RSFSR, the proclamation of comrade Lenin to the laboring Kalmyk people on July 22, 1919, the decree of the new organization of land usages of the Kalmyk people of July 24, 1919, the decree of protection and restoration of Kalmyk cattle-breeding of October 5, 1919, and according to all decrees of the all-Russian congresses of soviets.

[1] T. K. Borisov, *Kalmykiia*, 92-94.

II. *Congresses of Soviets and Central Executive Committees*

3. The supreme authority in the region belongs to the congress of soviets of the region and, in the interval between the congresses, to the central executive committee of the region of Kalmyk laboring people; in the ulusy the supreme power belongs to the ulus congress of soviets and to the aimak executive committees.

Note *a*. Ulus is identical to county: the number of sections necessary to the executive committee is determined by the central executive committee in conformity with the decrees of the seventh all-Russian congress of soviets concerning the question of soviet structure.

Note *b*. Aimak is identical to rural district. The organization of an aimak executive committee takes place in conformity with the principles of the "statute on rural district executive committees" approved by the VTsIK, with amendments to conform to conditions on the steppe.

4. The standard of representation in the regional congress of soviets shall be as follows: one delegate for 500 workers and for the red army; one delegate for 1,000 persons of the other part of the population; the total number of delegates not to exceed 3,000 for the region. The elections shall be carried out according to general principles.

III. *The Central Executive Committee of the Autonomous Region of the Kalmyk Laboring People*

5. The supreme administration of the region is concentrated in the central executive committee of the autonomous region.

6. All executive committees of the region are directly subordinate to the central executive committee of the autonomous region of Kalmyk people; the latter has the right of reconstructing them.

7. The central executive committee of the autonomous region of the Kalmyk people is composed of the following departments: (1) administration, (2) military, (3) justice, (4) labor, (5) social welfare, (6) education, (7) finance, (8) agriculture, (9) food, (10) soviet of people's economy, (11) workmen's and peasants' inspection, (12) statistics, (13) health, and (14) veterinary.

Note *a*. The division of posts and telegraphs is included in the department of administration.

Note *b*. The division for fighting counter-revolution and speculation is formed by the cheka in accordance with the central

executive committee of the autonomous region of Kalmyk people.

8. The aim of the central executive committee of the autonomous region of the Kalmyk people is:

a. Uniting and organizing all soviet activity throughout the region.

b. Controlling the activity of the local soviets and executive committees.

c. Settling all questions of purely local importance.

d. Taking all measures for promoting the economic and cultural development of the region.

e. Informing the center of the necessity of satisfying special needs of the region.

f. Carrying out all decrees of the central authority.

g. Carrying out military and labor mobilization.

h. Fulfilling all orders received from the center.

i. Creating a special Kalmyk red army composed of mobilized Kalmyks, subordinate through the central regional commissariat to the nearest military circuit.

9. The members of the central executive committee of the autonomous region of the Kalmyk people are the supervisors of the departments.

IV. *Relation to the Central Organs*

10. The congress of soviets of the region and the central executive committee of the autonomous region of the Kalmyk people are directly subordinate to the VTsIK and to the sovnarkom [of the RSFSR].

11. The appointment of supervisors of departments of the central executive committee of the autonomous region of the Kalmyk people is subject to the approval of the corresponding people's commissars.

XXII

Decree, Dated November 4, 1920, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) and the Soviet of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) on the Formation of the Autonomous Region of the Kalmyk People [1]

The VTsIK and the sovnakrom decree:

1. To form an autonomous region of the Kalmyk people.

[1] T. K. Borisov, *Kalmykiia,* 91.

2. The establishment of boundaries and the elaboration of a statute of the autonomous region is assigned to a commission consisting of the representatives of the people's commissariat for nationalities, of the people's commissariat for interior, and of the people's commissariat for agriculture, with the participation of representatives of the interested nationality and the interested provincial executive committee.

3. To charge the commission to finish its work as soon as possible.

4. To charge the people's commissariat for nationalities with the convocation of the commission.

Signed: President of the VTsIK: M. Kalinin.
President of the sovnarkom: V. Ul'ianov (Lenin).
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. Enukidze.

XXIII

Decree, Dated June 24, 1920, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) and the Soviet of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) on the Autonomous Chuvash Region [1]

The VTsIK and the sovnarkom decree:

1. To form an autonomous Chuvash region as a part of the RSFSR, with its administrative center in the town Cheboksarakh, and to include in its composition:

[Here follows a description of the boundaries.]

2. Prior to the convocation of the first congress of soviets of the Chuvash region, and within the limits indicated in the present statute, all authority in the autonomous Chuvash region belongs to the revolutionary committee. The immediate task of this committee is the convocation of the first congress of soviets of the Chuvash region and the administration of the entire region; for this purpose the apparatus of the Chebokarskii executive committee is used.

3. The congress of soviets of the Chuvash region elects the executive committee of the autonomous Chuvash region, to which appertain the rights of a provincial executive committee.

4. [Corresponds to article 9 of the decree of May 27, 1920, on the ATSSR.]

Signed: President of the VTsIK: M. Kalinin.
President of the sovnarkom: V. Ul'ianov (Lenin).
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. Enukidze.

[1] *Izvestiia*, June 29, 1920.

XXIV

Decree, Dated November 4, 1920, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) and the Soviet of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) on the Formation of the Autonomous Region of the Mariisk People [and Identical Decrees on the Same Date on the Formation of the Autonomous Region of the Kalmyk People, and on the Autonomous Region of the Votiak People] [1]

The VTsIK and the sovnarkom decree:

1. To form an autonomous region of the Mariisk people.

2. The establishment of the boundaries and the elaboration of a statute on the autonomous region is entrusted to a commission consisting of representatives of the people's commissariat for nationalities, the people's commissariat for interior, and the people's commissariat for agriculture, with the participation of representatives of the interested nationality and the interested provincial executive committee.

3. To charge the commission to finish its work as soon as possible.

4. The people's commissariat for nationalities is charged with the convocation of this commission.

Signed: President of the VTsIK: M. Kalinin.
President of the sovnarkom: V. Ul'ianov (Lenin).
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. Enukidze.

XXV

Decree, Dated November 25, 1920, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) and the Soviet of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) on the Autonomous Region of the Mariisk People [2]

1. Within the composition of the autonomous region of the Mariisk people are included:

[Here follows a description of the boundaries.]

The question concerning the Mariisk rural districts of the Cheboksar province, which enter now into the Chuvash region, shall be settled in agreement with the representatives of the two regions subject to approval by the people's commissariat for interior.

[1] *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporiazhenii raboche-krest'ianskogo pravitel'stva*, 1920, No. 87, article 436.

[2] *Deistvuiushchee zakonodatel'stvo po sovetskomu upravleniiu*, 199.

The administrative center of the Mariisk region is the town Krasnokokshaisk.

2-3. [Correspond to article 2-3 of the decree of June 24, 1920, on the autonomous Chuvash region.]

4. [Corresponds to article 9 of the decree of May 27, 1920, on the ATSSR.]

5. [Corresponds to article 4 of the decree of November 25, 1920, on the autonomous region of the Kalmyk people.]

For the president of the VTsIK: M. Lutovinov.
President of the sovnarkom: V. Ul'ianov (Lenin).
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. Enukidze.

XXVI

Decree, Dated November 25, 1920, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) and the Soviet of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) on the autonomous Region of the Kalmyk People [1]

1. Within the composition of the autonomous region of the Kalmyk people are included:

[Here follows a description of the boundaries.]

2. [Corresponds to article 9 of the decree of May 27, 1920, on the ATSSR.]

3. All authority in the autonomous Kalmyk region belongs, within the limits indicated in paragraph 1, to the congress of soviets and the executive committee elected by the congress. To the executive committee appertain the rights of a provincial executive committee.

4. The transfer of the organs of administration of the territories detached from the adjacent districts and included in the autonomous Kalmyk region must take place not earlier than January 1, 1921, and not later than February 1, 1921, in the order established by the people's commissariat for interior.

Until the drawing up of the act of transfer, the shift of employees from the institutions to be transferred is admitted only upon the consent of the people's commissariat for interior.

Signed: For the president of the VTsIK: I. Lutovinov.
President of the sovnarkom: V. Ul'ianov (Lenin).
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. Enukidze.

[1] T. K. Borisov, *Kalmykiia,* 94-95.

XXVII

DECREE, DATED JANUARY 5, 1921, OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (VTsIK) ON THE AUTONOMOUS REGION OF THE VOTIAK PEOPLE [1]

1. The autonomous region of the Votiak people includes:

[Here follows a description of the boundaries.]

a. The question of the delimitation of the Votiak region and the Tatar republic shall be settled in agreement with the representatives thereof and approved by the people's commissariat for the interior [of the RSFSR].

b. The administrative center of the autonomous Votiak region is the city Glasov.

2-3. [These articles correspond to articles 2-3 of the decree of June 24, 1920, on the autonomous Chuvash region.]

4. [Corresponds to article 9 of the decree of May 27, 1920, on the ATSSR.]

5. [Corresponds to article 4, paragraph 2, of the decree of November 25, 1920, on the autonomous region of the Kalmyk people.]

Signed: President of the VTsIK: M. KALININ.
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. ENUKIDZE.

XXVIII

DECREE, DATED JANUARY 9, 1922, OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (VTsIK) ON THE AUTONOMOUS BURIAT-MONGOL REGION [2]

The VTsIK decrees:

1. To form the autonomous Buriat-Mongol region, within the limits determined by the agreement between the Siberian revolutionary committee and the plenipotentiaries of the Buriat-Mongol people, composed as follows:

[Here follows a description of the boundaries.]

2. Pending the convocation of the first congress of soviets of the autonomous Buriat-Mongol region, the supreme authority therein is vested in the revolutionary committee, the seat of which temporarily is the city of Irkutsk.

3. The congress of soviets of the autonomous Buriat-Mongol region elects the executive committee of the region, with all the prerogatives of a provincial executive committee.

[1] *Deistvuiushchee zakonodatel'stvo po sovetskomu upravleniiu*, 200-201.

[2] *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporiazhenii rabochego i krest'ianskogo pravitel'stva*, February 25, 1922, No. 6, 66-67.

4. [Corresponds to article 9 of the decree of May 27, 1920, on the ATSSR.]

5. The transfer of the organs of administration in the territory to be separated from the Irkutsk and Transbaikal provinces for inclusion in the autonomous Buriat-Mongol region shall be effected not later than February 1, 1922.

President of the VTsIK: M. Kalinin.
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. Enukidze.

XXIX

Decree, Dated January 12, 1922, by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) on the Formation of the United Autonomous Karachaevo-Cherkess Region [1]

The VTsIK decrees:

1. To separate from the territory of the Gorsk republic at present inhabited by the Karachaevians, and from the Kubano-Chernomorsk region the southern part of the Batalpashinsk circuit at present inhabited by the Cherkessians and six Kazak settlements, and to form from these territories the united autonomous Karachaevo-Cherkess region, with its administrative center in the city of Batalpashinsk, directly incorporated in the RSFSR and composed of the lands and forests included in these circuits, as follows:

[Here follows an enumeration of the boundaries.]

2. Pending the convocation of the constituent congresses of both Karachaevians and Cherkessians, the supreme authority in the region shall belong to the united Karachaevo-Cherkess revolutionary committee, the immediate duty of which shall be the convocation of the constituent congress of soviets of Karachaevians and Cherkessians.

3. The congresses of soviets of the Karachaevians and Cherkessians elect, separately and on general principles, their own executive committees which from among their own representatives, on a basis of equality, form a common united Karachaevo-Cherkess executive committee with all the prerogatives of a provincial executive committee.

4. The exact boundaries of the autonomous Karachaevo-Cherkess region shall be determined on the locus by a special commission of the VTsIK which shall also settle all disputed land

[1] *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporiazhenii rabochego i krest'ianskogo pravitel'stva*, February 25, 1922, No. 6, 62-63.

matters in connection with the administrative units of the neighboring regions and provinces.

5. The transfer of the organs of administration in the territory to be transferred from the Gorsk soviet republic and the Kubano-Chernomorsk region into the autonomous Karachaevo-Cherkess republic must be effected not later than March 1, 1922.

President of the VTsIK: M. Kalinin.
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. Enukidze.

XXX

Decree, Dated January 16, 1922, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) on the Formation of the United Kabardino-Balkarskaia Autonomous Region [1]

The VTsIK decrees:

1. In amending the decree of the VTsIK of September 1, 1921, on the formation of the Kabardino autonomous region [*Sobranie uzakonei* 1921, No. 63, article 457] to form a united Kabardino-Balkarsk autonomous region directly united with the RSFSR, to detach from the composition of the Gorsk autonomous republic the territory occupied now by the Balkartsy, and to unite Balkariia with Kabarda.

2. [Here follows a description of the boundaries.]

3. The congresses of soviets of Kabarda and Balkariia elect, on general principles, each one separately, their own executive committees which form, on a basis of equality, from their own representatives a common united executive committee of the Kabardino-Balkarsk region, with the rights of a provincial executive committee.

4. The seat of the regional executive committee, as well as of the local Kabardin and Balkarsk executive committees, shall be the city of Nal'chik.

5. The exact boundaries of the united Kabardino-Balkarsk Region, as well as those of Kabarda and Balkariia separately, shall be determined on the spot by a special commission of the VTsIK which shall settle also all territorial questions between the interested parties.

6. The transfer of the administrative apparatus of Balkariia, detached from the Gorsk republic must take place not later than March 1, 1922.

Signed: President of the VTsIK: M. Kalinin.
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. Enukidze.

[1] *Deistvuiushchee zakonodatel'stvo po sovetskomu upravlenii*, 200.

XXXI

Decree, Dated June 1, 1922, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) on the Formation of the Autonomous Region of the Oirat People [1]

The VTsIK decrees:

1. To form the autonomous region of the Oirat people as a part of the RSFSR, with its administrative center in the village Ulalinsk, which shall include:

[Here follows a description of the boundaries.]

2. [Corresponds to article 2 of the decree of June 24, 1920, on the autonomous Chuvash region.]

3. The congress of soviets in the autonomous Oirat region elects an executive committee, the size of which shall be based on the budget and staff-list of the county executive committee.

4. The people's commissariats for interior and for nationalities, together with the Siberian revolutionary committee, are charged with the formation of a mixed commission for settling the questions that may arise in the course of a detailed delimitation of the boundaries of the autonomous Oirat region.

5. The transfer of the organs of administration in the territories to be incorporated within the autonomous Oirat region must be effected not later than June 15, 1922, and in the order prescribed by the commissariat for interior.

6. [Corresponds to article 4, paragraph 2, of the decree of November 25, 1920, on the autonomous region of the Kalmyk people.]

President of the VTsIK: M. Kalinin.
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. Enukidze.

XXXII

Decree, Dated July 27, 1922, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) on the Formation of the Cherkess (Adygeisk) Autonomous Region [2]

The presidium of the VTsIK decrees:

1. To detach from the Krasnodar and Maikop sections of the Kubano-Chernomorsk region that territory inhabited at present by Cherkessians (Adygeits), including therein the villages, together with the land and forests belonging thereto, and to form from the same the Cherkess (Adygeisk) autonomous region consisting of the following circuits:

[1] *Deistvuiushchee zakonodatel'stvo po sovetskomu upravleniiu*, 202-203.
[2] *Deistvuiushchee zakonodatel'stvo po sovetskomu upravleniiu*, 204-205.

[Here follows a description of the boundaries.]

2. Until the convocation of the Cherkess (Adygeisk) congress of soviets, all authority in the region appertains to the Gorsk (Cherkess) executive committee, the immediate duty of which shall be the convocation of the congress of soviets.

3. The congress of soviets elects, on general principles, the regional executive committee, which has the prerogatives of a provincial executive committee.

4. [Corresponds to article 9 of the decree of May 27, 1920, on the ATSSR.]

5. The transfer of the administrative apparatus of the territory taken from the Maikop and Krasnodar sections of the Kubano-Chernomorsk region and formed into the Cherkessk (Adygeisk) autonomous region must take place not later than August 15, 1922.

NOTE: The regional administration remains temporarily at Krasnodar.

The present decree enters into force from the date of its publication.

President of the VTsIK: M. KALININ.
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. ENUKIDZE.

XXXIII

DECREE, DATED JULY 7, 1924, OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (VTsIK) ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE AUTONOMOUS GORSK SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC (AGSSR) AND THE FORMATION THEREFROM, ACCORDING TO THEIR NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS, OF TWO AUTONOMOUS REGIONS—SEVERNAIIA OSETIIA AND INGUSHETIIA—OF AN AUTONOMOUS SUNZHENSK REGION WITH THE PREROGATIVES OF A PROVINCIAL CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, AND ON THE DELIMITATION OF THE CITY OF VLADIKAVKAZ INTO A SEPARATE ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT [1]

In accordance with the expressed will of the peoples inhabiting the AGSSR, and for the quickest possible development of the national consciousness of peoples composing this republic, as well as in order to secure the fullest participation of the working masses of these republics in the affairs of the soviet

[1] *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporiazhennii rabochego i krest'ianskogo pravitel'stva,* No. 66, September 10, 1924, 838-839.

administration, the VTsIK, amending its decree of January 20, 1921, on the formation of the AGSSR, now decrees:

1. To dissolve the AGSSR by dividing it, according to national characteristics, into two autonomous regions of Severnaiia Osetiia and Ingushetiia; one autonomous unit, Sunzhensk, and by forming the city of Vladikavkaz into a separate administrative unit.

2. The autonomous regions of Severnaiia Osetiia and Ingushetiia shall enter into the composition of the RSFSR, with their administrative center in the city of Vladikavkaz.

3. The supreme authority in the autonomous regions of Severnaiia Osetiia and Ingushetiia shall belong to the regional congresses of soviets and to the executive committees elected by the former, these committees having all the prerogatives of provincial executive committees.

Note 1: Temporarily, pending the convocation of the first congress of soviets of Severnaiia Osetiia and Ingushetiia, all authority in these regions shall be vested with their revolutionary committees, the immediate duty of which shall be the convocation of the first congress of soviets of Severnaiia Osetiia and Ingushetiia.

Note 2: The composition of the revolutionary committees must be approved by the presidium of the VTsIK.

4. The Sunzhensk region, as an autonomous administrative unit, shall be subordinate directly to the VTsIK, and shall be administered by the congress of soviets and the executive committee elected by the former and having all the prerogatives of the provincial executive committee.

Note: The budget and staff-lists of the Sunzhensk region shall be established on the same basis as determined for the counties.

5. The city of Vladikavkaz is an independent administrative unit subordinate directly to the VTsIK and administered by its city soviets and a city executive committee having all the prerogatives of a provincial executive committee.

6. The determination of boundaries of the autonomous regions of Severnaiia Osetiia, Ingushetiia, Sunzhensk, and of the city of Vladikavkaz, as well as their administrative division, transfer of the administrative apparatus, and the settlement of all questions that may arise in the course of distribution thereof and establishment of the former AGSSR among the autonomous regions Severnaiia Osetiia, Ingushetiia, Sunzhensk and the city of Vladikavkaz, shall be effected by a special united commission

under the presidency of a member of the VTsIK appointed by the presidium thereof. All resolutions of this mixed commission must be approved by the presidium of the VTsIK.

7. The work of the commission mentioned in paragraph 6 must be completed within one month.

XXXIV

Act of Ratification by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) of a Decree of its Presidium on June 28, 1926, on the Administrative Organs of the Oirat Autonomous Region [1]

In supplementing the "statute on the Siberian region" approved by the II session of the VTsIK, XII meeting, and in conformity with article 2 of the decision of the same meeting concerning the entry into force of the said statute, the VTsIK decides:

1. The Oirat autonomous region included in the territory of Siberia is administered by the regional executive committee which is elected at the congress of soviets of this region, and possesses all rights granted thereto by decision of the VTsIK creating it; and by later regulations in accordance with this:

(*a*) In the field of internal organization, education, health, social welfare, justice, local economy, local budget, and agriculture, the autonomous region of the Oirat people is independent of the administrative organs of the territory, provided, however, that its program and plan of activity in the field of local budget and economy must be coördinated with the general economic plans of the territory.

(*b*) In the field of finance and taxation, labor, workmen's and peasants' inspection, internal trade, and statistics, the autonomous region is subordinate to the central organs of authority, as well as to the central executive committee of the territory and to the presidium thereof.

(*c*) Foreign trade, railway transport, and posts and telegraphs, according to existing laws, remain under the jurisdiction of the plenipotentiaries of the corresponding people's commissariats in the executive committee of the whole territory.

2. In case of disagreement with the decisions of the central executive committee of the Oirat region, the territorial executive committee may appeal to the presidium of the VTsIK.

3. In case of disagreement with the decisions of the central

[1] *Postanovleniya III sessii VTsIK, XII sozyva,* 16-18.

executive committee of the territory, the central executive committee of the Oirat region, in every case upon special decision of the regional executive committee or its presidium, has the right to suspend the execution of the decision of the central executive committee of the territory and to appeal to the presidium of the VTsIK.

4. The individual enterprises of state or regional importance, as well as those registered as state industrial trusts in the autonomous region of the Oirat people, are under the direct jurisdiction of the central territorial organs of the departments of state industry, or their local plenipotentiaries.

The new enterprises may be registered in the list of those of state or regional importance only with the consent of the central executive committee of the autonomous region of the Oirat people; in case of disagreement it may take place only upon decision of the central executive committee.

5. The central executive committee of the Oirat region has the right of direct communication with the presidium of the VTsIK and with the sovnarkom of the RSFSR.

6. The autonomous region of the Oirat people retains the right to elect directly delegates to the all-Russian congress of soviets, and to send representatives also to other all-Russian congresses and conferences.

(Note: In the elections of representatives to the all-Russian congress of soviets from the territory of Siberia, the population of the autonomous region of the Oirat people is excluded, for it elects its own representatives separately.)

7. The organization of courts and procuratures in the autonomous region of the Oirat people is determined by the "statute on the court administration of the RSFSR" approved by the III session of the VTsIK, XII meeting.

8. The heads of departments of the regional central executive committees of: (*a*) finance, (*b*) labor, (*c*) workmen's and peasants' inspection, (*d*) internal trade, and (*e*) statistical bureau, are appointed by the regional executive committees, provided that the presidium of the central executive committee of the territory has the right to reject the appointment. All differences are settled by the presidium of the VTsIK.

9. The provisions of the statute on the rural district congress of soviets, rural district executive committees and on the village soviets as approved by the II session of the VTsIK, XI meeting,

are applied also to the aimak congress of soviets, aimak executive committees, and to the village soviets of the region.

XXXV

Decree, Dated July 27, 1922, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) on the Status of the People's Commissariat for National Affairs [1]

In addition to the decree of May 19, 1920, on the reorganization of the people's commissariat for national affairs, and for the amendment of the regulations concerning the people's commissariat for national affairs, adopted on May 26, 1921, and in order to concentrate all organs carrying out the fundamental directions of soviet national policy, the VTsIK herewith decrees: to consider the people's commissariat for national affairs as working in accordance with the following statutes:

I. *Purpose of the People's Commissariat for National Affairs*

The people's commissariat for national affairs has for its purpose:

(*a*) To secure a peaceful construction and fraternal coördination of all nationalities and races of the RSFSR, as well as of the fraternal republics united by treaty.

(*b*) To lend all possible assistance for the material and intellectual development of all nationalities and races in accordance with their customs, culture, and economic standing.

(*c*) To secure proper conditions which would promote the development of the productive forces of all territorial-national unions, and to protect their economic interests in the new economic surroundings.

(*d*) Supervision over the putting into practice of the national policies of the soviet authorities.

II. *Functions of the People's Commissariat for National Affairs*

In order to carry out these duties, the people's commissariat for national affairs:

(*a*) Drafts all corresponding projects of measures relating to the national policy, and submits them for approval by the VTsIK and soviet of people's commissars (sovnarkom) respectively.

[1] *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporiazhenii rabochego i krest'ianskogo pravitel'stva,* August 23, 1922, No. 47, 759-764.

(*b*) Takes, in a regular order, all necessary measures for the application of the common federal legislation, as well as of the ordinances of individual people's commissariats, to the needs and characteristics of the mode of living, culture, and economy of each individual nationality and race; and, nationally, of the territorial unions throughout the whole territory of the RSFSR.

(*c*) Looks after the interests of the autonomous republics and regions in the course of the examination of these budgets by the central organs and gives its opinion on all financial and material appropriations asked for by the autonomous republics, regions, and communes.

(*d*) Participates in drafting the all-federal system of taxation in order to coördinate it with the interests and economic development of the autonomous republics and regions, and gives its opinions on separate or special matters concerning taxation.

(*e*) Unites all representations of the autonomous republics and regions included within the RSFSR, assisting them by all available means in their relations with the central organs of the federation, and supervising their common work.

(*f*) Defends the rights of the national minorities within the RSFSR, and controls the proper execution by the departments and individual representatives of the RSFSR and autonomous republics, regions, and communes of all provisions of the constitution, decrees, agreements, and ordinances concerning individual nationalities.

(*g*) Establishes its own representatives in the central executive committee and soviets of people's commissars of the individual republics and in the corresponding executive committees of the autonomous regions.

(*h*) Carries out all negotiations with the representatives of separate nationalities within the RSFSR and submits to the VTsIK and sovnarkom all projects on the formation of new autonomous units.

(*i*) Collects and examines the materials relating to the *modus vivendi* of individual nationalities and races inhabiting the RSFSR, as well as outside thereof, and publishes corresponding materials.

(*j*) Establishes special learned societies for studying the life of the individual nationalities and races, as well as special institutes and courses for preparing a corps of political and soviet workers of non-Russian nationality.

III. *Structure of the People's Commissariat for National Affairs*

1. The people's commissariat for national affairs, according to the character of its functions, is composed of:

(*a*) the soviet of nationalities—of the large collegium;
(*b*) the small collegium;
(*c*) the administration;
(*d*) the secretariat of the collegium;
(*e*) the department of information and press;
(*f*) the departments of nationalities;
(*g*) the department of national minorities.

2. In the people's commissariat for national affairs shall be established:

(*a*) learned societies and special institutes and courses;
(*b*) federal committees;
(*c*) representation of the autonomous republics and regions;

3. In case of need, the people's commissariat for national affairs has corresponding departments of nationalities in the provinces, and its representation in the government of autonomous republics and regions.

IV. *The Soviet of Nationalities—the Large Collegium*

1. (*a*) At the head of the people's commissariat for national affairs is the soviet of nationalities—the large collegium, composed of:

(1) the people's commissar for nationalities (president);
(2) his deputy (deputy president);
(3) representatives of the autonomous republics and regions;
(4) directors of the departments for nationalities, and of the departments of national minorities.

(*b*) The large collegium discusses and decides all general problems of major importance, including budgets and taxation, affecting the nationalities.

2. The large collegium is convoked by the people's commissar or by his deputy not less than once every month. Extraordinary sessions of the large collegium are convoked by the people's commissar and his deputy either upon the decision of the small collegium or upon the request of one-third of the members of the large collegium.

V. *The Small Collegium*

a. The small collegium is the permanent presidium and the executive organ of the large collegium.

b. The small collegium is composed of: the people's commissar for nationalities, or his deputy, appointed by the VTsIK and sovnarkom in a general order, and five members elected by the large collegium and approved by the sovnarkom.

NOTE: Members of the small collegium who are not members of the soviet of nationalities have the right of casting vote in the sessions of the latter.

c. The small collegium enjoys the prerogatives of the sovnarkom.

VI. *Administrative Departments*

a. Within the jurisdiction of the administration of affairs falls all matters of administrative, financial, and economic character; this body is composed of general, economic, financial, and legal departments.

b. The secretariat of the people's commissariat for national affairs works for the large and small collegia, keeps the minutes of all their sessions and congresses, prepares all cases to be discussed, and supervises the intercourse between them and the VTsIK, the sovnarkom, and other central organs.

c. The department of information and press collects and examines all materials concerning information, and edits newspapers, magazines, and other printed matter issued by the people's commissariat for national affairs and its organs.

VII. *Departments of the Nationalities*

a. All nationalities living within the RSFSR as national minorities, but having their corresponding territorial units not entering the composition of the RSFSR, and not representing, at the same time, union or soviet republics (Poles, Estonians, Letts, Lithuanians, Finns, and others), as well as the Jews, have their respective national departments attached to the people's commissariat for national affairs.

b. The national departments are created by the people's commissariat for national affairs with the immediate assistance of the laboring masses of the corresponding national groups in the RSFSR.

VIII. *Department of National Minorities*

The department of national minorities combines and directs the work of provincial and county departments for nationalities, working in behalf of the national groups (minorities) in the

RSFSR who have no national departments of their own in the people's commissariat for national affairs, and who do not enter into the corresponding state territorial compositions.

IX. *Learned Societies and Special Institutes*

The learned societies and the all-Russian association for Oriental studies, as well as special institutes, such as: the communist university for the workers of the Orient, the institute for Oriental studies, and the Petrograd institute of spoken Oriental languages in the people's commissariat for national affairs, shall be established, upon the recommendation of the people's commissariat for national affairs, by special decrees of VTsIK and sovnarkom, and shall be subject to special provisions determined by the people's commissariat for national affairs and approved by the VTsIK and sovnarkom.

X. *Federal Committees*

a. In order to coördinate the work of the central people's commissariats with their activities in the autonomous republics and regions from the point of view of the national policy of the soviet authorities, the people's commissariat for national affairs has the right to establish federal committees on affairs of the individual people's commissariats.

b. Into the composition of the federal committee enter: one representative from the corresponding people's commissariat of the autonomous republics, two representatives from the corresponding people's commissariat of the RSFSR, and one representative from the people's commissariat for national affairs, and other interested people's commissariats and central organs of the RSFSR, in each case upon a special order of the presidium of the VTsIK. The personnel of the federal committee is approved by the presidium of the VTsIK upon the recommendation of the people's commissariat for national affairs.

c. Into the composition of the federal committee for land enter: one representative from the people's commissariat for agriculture of the autonomous republics, two representatives of the people's commissariat for agriculture of the RSFSR, and one representative from the people's commissariats for national affairs, interior, supreme soviet of people's economy, state planning commission, and the all-Russian central soviet of trade unions; into the composition of the federal commission for educa-

tion enter one representative from the people's commissariat for education of the autonomous republics, two representatives from the people's commissariat for education of the RSFSR, and one representative from the people's commissariats for: national affairs, agriculture, all-Russian central soviet of trade unions, and from the administration of institutions of higher learning.

NOTE: Participation of the soviet republics in the federal committees shall be determined on the basis of special agreements with their governments, approved by the presidium of the VTsIK.

d. The representative of the people's commissariat for national affairs shall be the president of the federal committee, and the representative from the corresponding people's commissariat of the center shall be the deputy president.

e. The federal committees work by sessions, while in the periods between sessions the work is carried on by the permanent presidium composed of the president of the federal committee, two representatives from the autonomous republics and two representatives of the corresponding people's commissariats of the center.

f. All decisions of the federal committees and their presidia are executed after ratification by the small collegium of the people's commissariat for national affairs. The representative of the corresponding people's commissariat of the RSFSR and the federal committees, in case of disagreement with the decision of the small collegium, have the right of appeal to the presidium of the VTsIK. In such cases, the execution of the decision shall be suspended.

g. To the federal committees is attached a secretariat to carry out the office work of the committee, while the study of the materials and the execution of the resolutions, after approval by the federal committee, is carried out by the central and local working apparatus.

h. All activities of the federal committee are effective throughout the territories of all autonomous republics and regions; the representatives of the autonomous regions enter into the composition of the federal committee with the right of casting vote only on matters concerning the interest of their regions; in all other matters they have a right of advisory vote.

i. The detailed program of the work of the federal committee, as well as the limits of its jurisdiction, shall be determined by a special statute to be worked out by the people's commissariat

for national affairs, together with the corresponding people's commissariats of the RSFSR. All statutes shall be subject to approval by the presidium of the VTsIK.

XI. *Representation*

a. All autonomous national-territorial units have their representatives in the people's commissariat for national affairs.

b. At the head of each representation in the people's commissariat for national affairs is a president and his deputy appointed by the central executive committee of the corresponding republic or region, subject to approval by the presidium of the VTsIK.

c. The representatives act in conformity with a special statute ratified by the large collegium, their staff-list and pay being in accordance with the budget of their republics or regions, established in agreement with the people's commissariat for national affairs.

d. In addition to establishing a close organic relationship between the autonomous units and the center, the representations participate, through the large collegium, in the drafting and execution of all state regulations concerning the nationalities in the RSFSR and in the protection of political, economic, and cultural interests of their republics.

XII. *Local Organs of the People's Commissariat for National Affairs*

1. Representations of the people's commissariat for national affairs:

a. In order to unify the experiment of carrying out the soviet policy in the autonomous regions and republics, as well as in treaty republics, and to supervise the execution of the decrees issued by the central federal authority of the RSFSR in order to protect the rights and interests of the minorities, the people's commissariat for national affairs has its representation in the government of the autonomous republics and in the executive committees of the autonomous regions; for the same purpose the people's commissar for national affairs has his representatives, who at the same time are the counselors of the soviet plenipotentiary of the RSFSR in the given republic, also in the government of the treaty republics.

b. The representatives of the people's commissariat for national affairs act in conformity with a special statute.

2. National departments of the provincial central executive committees.

a. The provincial departments for nationalities unify the work among the national minorities living in the given province, and participate in the work of other soviet institutions dealing with matters concerning national minorities.

b. The purpose of the departments for nationalities is: (a) to cement the principles of soviet construction and to carry out all regulations issued by the soviets among the national minorities within the territory of the given province; (b) to raise the economic, political, and cultural level of the national minorities in the given province; and (c) to publish periodical and non-periodical literature for the national minorities.

President of the VTsIK: M. Kalinin.
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. Enukidze.

XXXVI

Constitution of the Autonomous Crimean Socialist Soviet Republic (ACSSR) [1]

[Approved by the Crimean congress of soviets on November 10, 1921.]

I. *General Principles*

1. The long and tenacious struggle of the laboring masses of Russia against the counter-revolutionary armies of the generals and landlords, who were supported by the forces and means of the international imperialistic robbers, has finally come to its end in Crimea, too, by the definitive victory of labor over capitalism.

The power of the laboring masses in Crimea, grown up from and strengthened by the ruins of capitalism, is the organization of the dictatorship of the workers' class and of the poorer peasantry, directed to the definitive subjugation of their secular oppressors, the landlords and capitalists.

The principal task of this dictatorship is the realization of the transition from the bourgeois régime to socialism by means of carrying out socialist modifications and merciless suppression of all counter-revolutionary efforts directed by the hostile classes and international capital against the power of the laboring masses.

The ACSSR is a republic of the working people—workmen

[1] Translated from manuscript copy.

and peasants—whose power, throughout Crimea, is expressed by soviets of workers', peasants', red army, and marine deputies, and other organs elected by the soviets.

2. In Crimea, which has always been a radiant example of the colonization policy of the tsarist government and afterwards of that of its successors, the generals Denikin and Wrangel, a policy always directed to suppression and favoring the possessing classes of the dominating nationality and the subjection of the economic and cultural development of all other nationalities, of which the most important in Crimea is that of the Tatars; this policy has ceased with the establishment of the power of soviets.

Now there is no return to the ignominious policy of tsarism, to the systematic oppression of the feeble, to the instigating of one national group against another, to lies, fraud, and provocation, which lead to greater hostility, to destruction of mutual confidence, and to enhanced slavery of the backward nationalities. Henceforth this policy is based on a free, equal, and close union of the national groups of the laboring population of Crimea.

The fusion of the workmen and peasants of all nations into one single revolutionary force will be possible only as a result of confidence and voluntary union, which would assure their wholesome development and the power to resist all threats of international imperialism.

The ACSSR, stating the equality and the right of all nationalities of Crimea to free development, abolishes all former national and national-religious privileges and restrictions.

The Russian and Tartar languages are accepted as the state languages of the ACSSR.

Henceforth the ACSSR aligns herself with those federations of the great soviet republic which prove by their very existence that national conflicts can be solved only under the conditions of the dictatorship of the workers and the poorer peasantry.

3. Breaking decidedly off from the past, creating conditions favorable for the free cultural-economic development of the Crimean nationalities, and endeavoring to secure their friendship, the ACSSR is at the same time conscious of being only one of the detachments of the great proletarian army, and of the fact that a successful accomplishment of the creation of a new life in Crimea is not possible without a close union with the workmen and peasants of the powerful soviet federation.

The ACSSR states her firm decision to remain one of the component parts of the general federation of the great Russian Republic, on the basis of a close and complete political and

economic union for the common fight for the triumph of the communist revolution.

Deriving from this, the ACSSR accepts and declares effective throughout its territory all valid legislative acts of the RSFSR which have been published already, as well as those which may be issued later, with a reservation of the right to modify them according to the local conditions and characteristics of Crimea.

II. *The Constitution of the Central Authority*

4. The organs of the central authority of the ACSSR are:

a. The all-Crimean congress of soviets of workers', peasants', and red army deputies;

b. The Crimean central executive committee;

c. The soviet of people's commissars.

5. The congress of soviets is convoked twice a year. In addition, the congresses may be convoked by a special order of the Crimean central executive committee, or on the initiative of the local soviets which represent at least one-third of the population of the ACSSR.

6. The congress of soviets is composed of representatives of city soviets on the basis of one deputy for each 500 electors, and of representatives of soviets of rural districts on the basis of one deputy for each 2,500 of the population.

NOTE: The deputies to the all-Crimean congress of soviets are elected on the above-mentioned basis to the regional congresses of soviets, while in case the all-Crimean congress is not preceded by regional congresses, they are elected directly by district congresses.

7. The all-Crimean congress of soviets is the supreme organ of authority of the ACSSR.

8. The all-Crimean congress of soviets elects from among its members the central executive committee, consisting of 50 members. In Crimea this organ is the supreme legislative and controlling organ of power in the interim between the congresses of soviets.

9. The Crimean central executive committee is responsible to the congress of soviets.

10. The Crimean central executive committee, as the supreme legislative and controlling organ in Crimea, has the general direction of the activity of all organs of soviet authority in Crimea, unites and coördinates their work, revises and approves the proposals made by the soviet of people's commissars or its organs.

11. The Crimean central executive committee carries out its work in meetings held not less than once every two months.

12. The Crimean central executive committee selects from amongst its members a presidium consisting of five members, whose rights and duties it determines.

13. The members of the Crimean central executive committee work, in the interim between the sessions, in the people's commissariats of the local soviets, or undertake special work for the Crimean central executive committee.

14. For the permanent administration of the affairs of the ACSSR, the Crimean central executive committee selects from amongst its members the soviet of people's commissars and creates for the guidance of the different branches of administration the people's commissariats, whose internal organization is established and the matters under their jurisdiction determined by the Crimean central executive committee.

NOTE: The heads of the different people's commissariats may be appointed by the Crimean central executive committee outside of the members thereof.

15. The soviet of people's commissars consists of the president and people's commissars.

NOTE: The right to appoint and recall at any time the president and individual members of the soviet of people's commissars appertains exclusively to the Crimean central executive committee.

16. In carrying out its tasks, the soviet of people's commissars has the right to consider all affairs and questions concerning the general administration of the republic, to issue decrees, orders, and instructions, and to take all measures necessary to secure prompt and orderly administration, informing the Crimean central executive committee of such measures at the next session.

17. The soviet of people's commissars is responsible for its activity to the Crimean central executive committee and to the congress of soviets.

18. The Crimean central executive committee has the right to annul or to suspend any decision of the soviet of people's commissars.

The title of a people's commissar of Crimea belongs exclusively to members of the soviet of people's commissars of the ACSSR, and can not be appropriated by any other representatives of the central or local powers.

III. *The Organization of Soviet Authority in the Provinces*

20. The entire territory of the ACSSR is divided into [provinces] counties, rural districts, and villages.

21. The organs of the soviet authority in the provinces are:

a. The soviets of workers', peasants', red army and marine deputies (urban and rural);

b. The county and rural district congresses of soviets and the executive committees elected by them.

22. The soviets of deputies are formed:

a. The urban: one for each 1,000 of the population;

b. The rural: one for each 100 of the population.

NOTE: The soviets of deputies do not select executive committees; the duration of the mandate of the soviet is six months.

23. The congresses of soviets are formed:

a. The district: from the representatives of rural soviets one deputy for each 1,000 of the population, and the representatives of the urban electors, one deputy for each 200 electors.

NOTE 1: The elections of deputies to the regional congress from the urban voters takes place at the plenary session of the soviet.

NOTE 2: The elections of deputies to the regional congress from the urban voters takes place at the plenary session of the soviet; in case the soviet does not exist directly from the union of the laboring masses.

b. The rural district: from the representatives of rural soviets one deputy for each 250 of the population, and from the laboring population of the towns one deputy for each 50 electors.

24. The congress of soviets is convoked by the corresponding executive committee at least twice a year, upon the initiative of the latter, or upon the demand of the soviets of those localities which count not less than one-fifth of the entire population residing on the corresponding territory (rural district, county, all Crimea).

25. For the carrying out of the permanent work, the county and rural district congresses of soviets elect executive committees.

26. The congress of soviets is the supreme organ of authority throughout its territory. In the interval between the congresses, the executive committee is the supreme authority.

27. The Crimean central executive committee establishes the order of election and convocation of the local soviets, congresses, and their executive organs, the general statutes concerning the

internal organization thereof, and the distribution of the matters falling within their jurisdiction.

28. The right to modify the form of representation at the elections is reserved to the Crimean central executive committee.

IV. *Of the Electoral Right*

29-30. [Corresponds to Chapter XIII of the constitution of the RSFSR.]

V. *Of the Emblem and the Flag of the ACSSR*

31. The emblem of the ACSSR consists of the figuration customary in the RSFSR, with an inscription in the Russian and Tatar languages on the surrounding wreath: (a) Crimean SSR; (b) Proletarians of all countries, unite.

32. The flag of the ACSSR consists of a red background with an inscription in Russian and Tatar: The Crimean Socialist Soviet Republic.

VI. *Of the Study of the Constitution of the ACSSR*

33. The people's commissariat for education of the ACSSR is ordered to include in the program of the schools of the ACSSR, in addition to the study of the constitution of the RSFSR, also that of the constitution of the ACSSR.

CHAPTER IV

FROM DECENTRALIZATION TO CENTRALIZATION

From 1918 to 1922 it may be said that the territory of the former Russian Empire remaining after the separation of Poland, Finland, and the Baltic states formed eight theoretically independent states. For the greater part of this period each of these polities had its own constitution, promulgated its own laws, and in divers ways manifested its independence. The RSFSR was, of course, by far the strongest of the several parts of the old empire. It was the heart of Russia, corresponding very roughly to the Muscovy of old with its center in Moscow. Muscovy, like a centripetal force, had drawn many peoples under a single government and administration. Had this same center of power permanently lost control over all the outlying territories as it did over Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, the work of the Tsars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would have been undone.

Age-long habits of submission, however, are not easily forgotten. It is this principle that enabled decaying Rome, after the power of making fresh conquests was lost, again and again to recover outlying provinces that had fallen away; now it was to prove the strongest ally of the bolsheviks. At once hindered and helped by doctrines of self-determination, of the freedom of subject peoples, and the like, the authorities at Moscow began to bring together the fragments of a crumbled empire. Their first step was to discourage intervention by other states.

When the bolsheviks took over the reins of power in Petrograd, they set out to secure external peace at any price. As if directed by some higher authority, the leaders

of the new Russia began negotiations with the central powers which terminated in the armistice signed at Brest-Litovsk on December 15, 1917, and a treaty of peace signed three months later.[1]

This preliminary adventure in peace at the price of wholesale abandonment of territory by no means restored friendly relations with the enemies of Russia. It ushered in a new period of occupation by German troops and the armed forces of the allied powers as well, an occupation which encouraged uprisings by discontented groups within Russia. As the background to the later developments in the internal affairs of Russia, brief consideration is necessary for this period of civil war and intervention by the great powers in Russia from the summer of 1918 to the fall of 1920.

The original concern of the allied powers was both to prevent war supplies from falling into the hands of the Germans and to keep Russia in the war; the aim of Germany was to prevent the re-formation of a new opposition in the east; while the prime object of the bolsheviks was first to keep in power and then both to establish their control throughout the former empire and to promote world revolution at the same time. The many angled conflict that ensued may be analyzed with reference to the fronts along which the issues were fought out. These were six in number.[2]

[1] March 3, 1917. See *Texts of the Russian "peace"* (Washington 1918); also, Miscellaneous No. 18 (1918), *Treaty of peace signed at Brest-Litovsk between the central powers and the Ukrainian people's republic together with the supplementary treaty thereto.* Cd. 1905.

[2] The most significant account, used in the following pages, of the intervention of the allied powers in Russia is *Les alliés contre la Russie* (Paris 1926) by various Russian writers. The same book exists in Russian. Other works to be consulted are the memoirs of A. I. Denikin, *The Russian turmoil* (London 1922), of Nikolai Wrangel, *From serfdom to bolshevism* (Philadelphia 1927), together with an article by Wrangel entitled "The white armies: in Russia and later" in 45 *English Review* (London 1927), 375-394. Other memoirs of the period have been cited elsewhere.

1. The northern front where troops of the allied powers, as well as of the United States, were centered at Archangel.
2. The north-western front with General Iudenich [or Yudenich] at Reval (Estonia).
3. The western front with Bermondt-Avalov in Mitau (Latvia).
4. The southern front along the Don with Kaledin, Kornilov, Alexiev, Denikin, and Wrangel successively in control.
5. The eastern front held by Admiral Kolchak.
6. The far eastern front, centered at Vladivostok, where Japanese and American troops directly or indirectly supported anti-bolshevik leaders.

Allied troops had been in Archangel since the beginning of 1918. Their purpose there was declared to be to prevent the use of that port as a submarine base and to protect stores of munitions. So far as their actual significance for this period of Russian history is concerned, the military operations or rather hibernation there may be passed over. These troops were withdrawn in September 1919, and the only apparent result of the occupation was to leave many Russians to meet death at the hands of a revengeful red army of bolsheviks.

While the Archangel occupation was being liquidated, General Iudenich was preparing his own campaign against the Bolsheviks. British influence now superseded German control over the Baltic provinces, but more interest was manifested apparently in securing the recognition of the independence of Estonia and Latvia than in loyally aiding Iudenich. At the critical moment the British fleet was conspicuous by its absence, and the movement resulted in complete failure. By the end of 1920, Iudenich's army no longer existed. At the same time the force established by the German general staff at Mitau disappeared. This, however, could hardly be called anti-bolshevik for, as with an ulterior motive, it attacked the Letts, who were fighting for their independence against the bolsheviks, instead of

coöperating with General Iudenich in Estonia as planned at first.

It was on the southern front that the most determined attempts were made to check the soviet advance. There Great Britain and France had special interests which they were attempting to realize. The original motive for maintaining the Russian front against the German advance no longer held. In the summer of 1918, the Ukraine and Crimea had been occupied by some forty divisions of German troops, but these were withdrawn after the armistice in November. The anti-bolshevik leaders could have entered into an alliance with these German troops; but, unfortunately perhaps for their cause, they chose wholly to depend upon the assistance of the allies.

At a conference held at Jassy in November 1918, various Russian political groups had asked that the allies intervene against the bolsheviks in Russia. One month before, on October 27, 1918, M. Clémenceau, the French premier, wrote to General Franchet d'Esperey, then in command of the allied troops at Saloniki, asking that he draw up a plan for a military base at Odessa, which could be used to isolate Russia economically and defeat the bolsheviks in this way.

The plan of intervention which required a center of operations at Odessa may be summarized as follows:

1. Twelve French and Greek divisions were to be landed at Odessa.

2. Sevastopol, in Crimea, was to be occupied simultaneously with Odessa.

3. These operations carried out, Kiev and Kharkov, the Donetz coal basin, the Don and Kuban regions—all among the richest areas in Russia—were to be occupied.

4. The counter-revolutionary leader, Denikin, was to receive all necessary supplies.

The economic and political significance of this plan is evident. It was made more so by later events. The chief

concern of Great Britain became, it is asserted, the formation of independent states in Transcaucasia where are the oil areas; and even in Turkestan, the direct approach to India. If this were accomplished, not only would she secure the greater part of the mineral wealth of Russia, but, in addition, the old Russia as a great European power would cease to exist; the new Russia would be a state of the second rank. France, it is asserted, was interested in securing a similar result by means of intervention in the Ukraine. In particular, she then wished Poland to take the place of her old ally, Russia, to maintain the European balance of power. This was perhaps the meaning of the proposed French zone of influence extending throughout the south-west of Russia: the Ukraine, called by a romanticist of the Quai D'Orsay "the most beautiful colony of France"; Crimea, where France and England defeated Russia in 1854-1855; Poland; and the western part of the region of the Don. Such, likewise, may be said to be a similar political and economic significance attached to the entire English zone of influence, which, as originally conceived, comprised the forests of northern Russia, the present Baltic states, the oil regions of the Caucasus, the Kuban, the western part of the region of the Don, and the approach to India through Persia, Afghanistan, and Turkestan.

When the Germans evacuated the Ukraine, in accordance with the terms of the armistice, Petlura,[3] the leader of a democratic movement, established his power. For the moment conditions were favorable for a French occupation. They did not remain so; in March 1919 the red army began its offensive. The French troops were driven back; French public opinion and certain forces at work in the French ministry of foreign affairs refused longer to support a campaign in Russia. Odessa was evacuated on April 5-8, 1919; Crimea was evacuated next (April 12th) by the allied troops

[3] Killed on the streets of Paris in 1927 by a Jew named Schwartzman.

following a request by the soviet commissar for foreign affairs! The dream of a French zone of influence in Russia was ended. The way was open for a consolidation of all areas under soviet rule.

The British occupation was of longer duration. Baku was captured on July 13, 1918, at a moment when it was being attacked by the Turks. At the other side of the Caucasus, Batum was occupied, and a Georgian government was organized. The policy of establishing an independent Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan was well started toward realization. Denikin, who was, above all, anti-bolshevik but still pro-Russian, seems to have been opposed to this dismemberment of his country, but, being dependent on Great Britain for support, he was powerless to protest effectively.

British troops remained in the Caucasus for nearly twenty-three months and in the Trans-Caspian area for sixteen months. Between May 1919 and April 1920 the bolshevik army succeeded in taking over the territory which this foreign army had occupied. This time the dream of an English zone of influence which should insure control over the cotton of Turkestan and the naphtha of the Caucasus was ended. Another vast area of the former Russian Empire could be reunited with the other parts of Soviet Russia.

The landing of troops at Vladivostok served a no more useful purpose, omitting the maintenance of the policy of the open door as opposed to domination by a single power, than the occupation of other regions. The disorganization and misery of the country continued; the power of the soviets was consolidated in the end. The allies treated with Admiral Kolchak in Siberia on the same basis as with the leaders on the other fronts. They were more concerned with securing a promise from the anti-bolshevik leader that he would recognize the independence of the Baltic states and Poland and would assume responsibility for the debts

of the Tsarist government [4] than they were in giving him actual assistance, although such help might have made possible the future discussion of their terms.

Mention of foreign intervention for the purpose of giving a better understanding of the relations of Moscow to other parts of the former empire is made here. Aside from the Mohammedan sections of Russia proper, there are eight areas of special importance that need to be considered. These areas are: the Ukraine; White Russia; Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, which, in 1922, became the Transcaucasian Socialist Soviet Republic; Bukhara; Khorezm; and the Far Eastern Republic. A short account is given of the complicated developments in each which led to the formation of a union of them all in 1923.

The White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic

White Russia is made up of a marshy stretch of territory with an area of 126,256 square kilometers and a population of nearly five millions. Since 1918 this area has been little more than a war zone between the RSFSR and Poland.

When the Russian Empire began to crumble in 1917, the White Russian element did not delay to proclaim its independence. If small neighboring countries like Estonia or Latvia could preserve an independent existence,[5] such a right could hardly be denied to some five million White Russians who likewise presented well defined national characteristics distinguishing them from the Muscovites.

The authorities at Moscow recognized the independence of White Russia on February 5, 1919, one day after the White Russian congress of soviets had ratified the constitu-

[4] These terms were embodied in the note of the Big Four—Wilson, Lloyd George, Clémenceau, and Orlando—to Admiral Kolchak on May 26, 1919.

[5] The RSFSR recognized, in a treaty of peace, the independence of Estonia on February 2, 1920, of Latvia on August 11, 1920, of Lithuania on July 12, 1920, and of Finland on October 14, 1920. The latter part of 1918, however, independent soviet republics had been recognized. These soon passed out of existence.

tion of the republic. White Russia, however, was too important a buffer territory between the RSFSR and the new Polish state to be permitted to go its own way. A decree of the all-Russian central executive committee on June 1, 1919, announced that it stood "firmly for the principle of recognizing the independence, liberty, and self-determination of the laboring masses of the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, White Russia, and Crimea".[6] Nevertheless, steps were to be taken at the same time to unify the administration of these entities with that of the RSFSR. A close military and economic union was decreed in order better to resist the attack of the capitalistic states. During the vicissitudes of the German-Austrian invasion in 1918, a Polish invasion in 1920, and disturbances of local origin throughout the period, the inhabitants of White Russia, like those of the Ukraine, were drawn closer than ever to the Muscovite and the international communist. The principal step toward union was the signature on January 16, 1920, of the treaty of the workers' and peasants' alliance with the RSFSR.

By this treaty obligation with the RSFSR, signed nearly one year after the recognition of the independence of their country, the White Russian representatives willed away their newly proclaimed independence. They did so by acceding to a military and economic union. The supreme soviet of people's economy, the commissariats for war and marine, foreign trade, finance, labor, ways of communication, and posts and telegraphs were unified. At the same time control over these commissariats was to be exercised by the all-Russian congress of soviets and the all-Russian

[6] See document I, this chapter. The account of White Russia given here has been purposely restricted to the bare outline. Information as to the history, government, etc. of the area is to be found in the following publications: *Belorusskaia Sovetskaia Sotsialisticheskaia Respublika* (Izdanie SNK BSSR, Minsk 1927); A. Charviakoy, *Za Savetskuiu Belarus'* (Minsk 1927); *Sbornik deistvuiushchikh zakonov za 1921-1924 g.g.* (Minsk 1927). The text of the present constitution as ratified by the seventh White Russian congress of soviets in April 1927 is available in the White Russian, Russian, Polish, and Yiddish languages, all under one cover.

central executive committee, in which White Russia would have her representatives. This arrangement placed White Russia at a disadvantage in the union; in fact, she surrendered control over the organs through which the sovereignty of an independent state is expressed.

Unlike other regions of Russia, White Russia never had an opportunity to escape from foreign control, whether at the hands of the Germans or the Muscovites. Even from the moment her independence was recognized and her constitution adopted, she was to no small extent under the tutelage of the authorities at Moscow. After White Russia officially became a socialist soviet republic on August 1, 1920, the subservience to Moscow was absolute.

The constitution of White Russia derived its inspiration from the fundamental law of the RSFSR. It contained practically the same "declaration of the rights of the laboring and exploited people". The general principles were identical, and it is necessary only to substitute the words "White Russia" for "RSFSR" to transform the one document into the other. The organization of the central authority differed only in the numerical basis of representation. The constitution of the RSFSR, for example, provided for a central executive committee of 200 members; the same body in White Russia was composed of fifty members. In elections to the congress of soviets, the proportion of representatives to electors in the case of town soviets, for example, was one to 25,000 in the RSFSR and one to 2,000 in White Russia.

The amendment to the White Russian constitution ratified on December 17, 1920, by the second White Russian congress of soviets regulated the organization of the central authority. Here also the general structure was that worked out in the RSFSR.

From the date of the conclusion of the military and economic alliance with the RSFSR, White Russia was an integral part of a system that recognized no boundaries, least

of all those of an inferior ally. Only a commanding word was necessary to bring about the complete abandonment of the fiction of independence and to make White Russia a part of a larger soviet republic.

The Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic

Numbering as they did some forty millions and having their center in perhaps the most important part of the former Russian Empire, where two-thirds of them lived, the Ukrainian people became of special moment once the disruption of Russia began in 1917. Were the Ukraine proper to form a separate national state, Russia would be seriously weakened. Were it to unite with the newly-formed Polish state, though this was hardly to be expected in view of an historical enmity between the Ukrainians and the Poles, the two would practically take the place of the former empire in international affairs. Corresponding to its significance to Russia, the central powers, and to the allies, the history of the Ukraine after 1917 becomes complicated. Only the principal developments are indicated in the following narrative.

The beginning of the world war apparently aroused hopes in the Ukraine for a special status in the Russian Empire. A promise of autonomy to Poland, vague though it was, necessarily had its reverberations in the Ukraine. From the time of that promise ideas of autonomy correspond to political developments in Petrograd and later in Moscow. Beginning with the hope of a large degree of autonomy, the Ukrainian leaders soon had visions of a powerful and separate state.

The first step in the demand of the Ukraine for a privileged position was marked by the creation of a rada or central soviet at Kiev. In June 1917 a delegation from this body presented a report to the provisional government and to the Petrograd soviet in which it demanded:

1. Immediate recognition of the principle of autonomy

for the Ukraine and the right of the Ukraine to participate in the future peace conference.

2. That Ukrainian contingents form a separate army commanded by Ukrainian officers.

3. That the Ukrainians, like the Armenians and the Georgians, be given a church responsible only to the patriarch of Kiev, with the religious service in the Ukrainian language.

At various meetings in the Ukraine, the demand for separation was violently voiced. An all-Ukrainian peasant congress held in the summer of 1917 declared that, since autonomy was refused, the Ukrainian republic should be proclaimed at Kiev and a constituent assembly held. It was proposed that from July 15, 1917, all taxes levied on the Ukrainian people should be placed exclusively at the disposition of the rada. The president of the rada announced that he did not favor separation from Russia but that since the Finnish constitution had been reëstablished, it was necessary also to proclaim again the old Ukrainian status guaranteed by the treaty of Pereiaslavl of 1654, which Russia had violated.

A Ukrainian military congress, composed of some 2,000 delegates and representing, it was declared, more than one million soldiers, met at Kiev on July 18, 1917. The group favoring complete independence had placed in their hands a small brochure entitled "Catechism of the Ukrainian", of which the second commandment ran as follows: "All men are brothers, except the Moskals [Muscovites], the Liakhs [Poles], the Hungarians, and the Jews who are the enemies of our people." But the majority of the delegates pronounced in favor of autonomy and approved a resolution worded thus: "The Russian provisional government does not understand the situation in Ukraine and does not fully appreciate the strength of Ukrainian democracy. By such lack of comprehension and systematic opposition, it aggravates national conflicts, impairs the effort of the organiza-

tion of the Ukrainian people and provokes anarchist movements among the population. If the provisional government is desirous that calm reign in the Ukraine, the first thing to do is to sanction immediately the claims presented by the central Ukrainian rada, and to allow the rada to proceed with the organization of the country." [7]

All these wishes were embodied in a manifesto (*universal*) of Kiev prepared by the central Ukrainian rada and solemnly read at the last sitting of the congress: "That without separating itself from Russia and without breaking with the Russian government, the Ukraine be free! That the Ukrainian people receive on their territory the right to organize their life! The Russian government refused the hand offered it by the Ukrainian people; it rejected all the requests that were presented by our delegates. As it is unable to create in our territory a legal order, from this day we, ourselves, must take care of this mission. After the preliminary work of organization, we shall convoke the representatives of all the peoples of the Ukraine and we shall elaborate laws which we shall ask the constituent assembly to ratify. Citizens of the cities and of the country as well as local soviets are invited to establish, as of July 1st, a tax on the population for this national work." [8]

A manifesto of the rada of Kiev promulgated on June 18, 1917, was compared in the Ukrainian press with the treaty of Pereiaslavl of 1654 which stipulated the recognition by Muscovy of Ukrainian rights and traditional privileges.[9]

[7] A French version of this text is given in the *Bulletin périodique de la presse russe,* No. 50, for the period June 14-July 1, 1917.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] See 3 *Sobranie gosudarstvennikh gramot i dogovorov* (Moscow 1822), 523. By the convention of Androussiv in 1687 Russia gave Ukrainian territory from the right bank of the Dnieper to Poland, with whom it remained until the partition of that state among Russia, Austria, and Prussia. After the partition the greater part of the Ukraine was again attached to Russia, while Galicia remained under Austrian control until November 1918.

At the end of the world war Poland, imbued with characteristic ideas of grandeur, wanted to create a Poland-Austria which would include

The central Ukrainian rada clearly intended to organize an autonomous government in the south of Russia. From a desire at first to remain in the union, the Ukraine had now an ambition to separate from it.

In July 1917, the situation was somewhat ameliorated by the visit of two ministers of the provisional government, Tereshchenko and Tsereteli, to the rada at Kiev. An agreement was then reached between the Russians and the Ukrainians. The provisional government agreed to recognize as a supreme organ of administration in the Ukraine a general secretariat on which would be represented all the non-Ukrainian nationalities of southern Russia. The formation of an Ukrainian army was to be postponed. The terms of this agreement did not meet the demands of June 18th, and accordingly on July 16th a new manifesto was published modifying and completing the original declaration of the Ukrainian people. The text was as follows:

"Citizens of the land of the Ukraine! The representatives of the provisional government have advised us of the measures which the government proposes to take for the administration of the Ukraine pending the convocation of the constituent assembly [to be called for all of Russia]. The government defends the liberties gained by the revolutionary people and recognizes the right of each nationality to self-determination; it extends its hand to the representatives of the Ukrainian democracy and invites us to organize in agreement with it a new life in the Ukraine for the good of all of Russia.

"We have never been included among those who wish to

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eighteen million Poles, five million Ukrainians, five million White Ruthenians, nearly two million Germans, three million Jews (because they happened to be living on the territory desired), and some three millions of other peoples such as Letts, Russians, and Czechs. Thus the Polish element in the imaginative Polish state then to be formed would not even have been ascendant. Never historically able to organize Poles alone, the weakness of such a creation dominated by Poles was evident even to ardent supporters of Poland at the peace conference.

separate the Ukraine from Russia. Desirous of working with all the other nationalities for the prosperity of Russia, we welcome with satisfaction the call of the government to the union.

"The central rada elected by the Ukrainian people and its revolutionary organs will soon be enlarged by the representatives of other nationalities living in the Ukraine chosen on an equitable basis. It will then be the single supreme organ of the democracy of the Ukraine, representing the interests of the whole population of our country. The central rada, thus complete, will choose from among its members an executive organ which shall be responsible to it, which shall be called the general secretariat and recognized by the provisional government as representing the regional government, and which will concentrate all our rights and all our means of action.

"The central rada shall prepare drafts of laws relative to the autonomous organization of the Ukraine in agreement with the minorities in order to submit them for ratification by the constituent assembly.

"Considering that the creation of a regional government gives satisfaction to the wishes of the population and that the destiny of all the nationalities of Russia is closely bound together, we categorically reject all attempts towards the arbitrary realization of the autonomy of the Ukraine until the all-Russian constituent assembly. . . .

"In informing the citizens of the Ukraine of this agreement, we firmly believe that the Ukrainian democracy will unite its efforts with those of the whole Russian democracy in order to lead the country to the definitive triumph of the revolution." [10]

Four months later, when the provisional government no longer existed but a bolshevist system ruled in its place, the question of the separation of the Ukraine was again a burn-

[10] A French version is given in the *Bulletin périodique de la presse russe*, No. 52, for the period July 15-August 1, 1917.

ing issue. On November 20, 1917, in a third manifesto, the rada proclaimed the "People's Ukrainian Republic". The theories of the bolsheviks proposed in a declaration elaborated by Stalin provided for "the equality and sovereignty of all peoples of Russia, the right of nationalities to self-determination and the establishment of independent states, abolition of all national and national-religious privileges and limitations, and the free development of national minorities and ethnical groups residing on Russian territory".[11] Such statements did not give the new rulers at Petrograd reason to forbid a declaration of independence in the Ukraine. In their reluctance to see the Ukraine secede from Russia, however, they asserted that the rada was bourgeois and would support a counter-revolution. On December 18, 1917, the soviet of people's commissars in Petrograd sent the rada an ultimatum demanding that Ukrainian troops be not withdrawn from the front unless the Ukraine wished to find itself in a state of war with the power of the soviets in Russia and in the Ukraine.

The answer of the Kievan government was not long in coming. The president of the general secretariat, Vinnishenko, and the general secretary for war, Petlura, strongly opposed the pretense of the soviet rulers in Petrograd. The Ukrainian reply, perhaps about the last document of its kind to show how principles of self-determination were being carried out under the bolsheviks, is deserving of quotation: "In recognizing the independence of the Republic of the Ukraine," declared the government at Kiev, *"the people's commissars have lacked either sincerity or logic. It is not possible simultaneously to recognize the right of a people to self-determination and to infringe roughly on such a right by pretending to impose on this people a certain type of government.* The general secretariat categorically rejects all attempts to interfere in the political life of

[11] This was a decree of the soviet of people's commissars dated November 2, 1917. See *Piat'let vlasti sovetov* (Moscow, Izdanie VTsIK, 1922), 224.

the Ukrainian people, on the part of the people's commissars. Their pretensions are the less justified since the political organization which they wish to impose on the Ukraine has led to unenviable results in the territory which is under their own administration. Great Russia is more and more becoming the prey of anarchy, and all the liberties which were gained by the revolt against Tsarism are stamped under foot. The general secretariat does not wish to repeat this sad experiment in the Ukraine. If the bolsheviks are not satisfied with the composition of the rada, they may leave the Ukraine and go back to Great Russia, where their national sentiments will receive the desired satisfaction." [12]

Two months after the Ukrainian republic had been proclaimed, the rada at Kiev took the final step in separation from Moscow. In the midst of a war with Soviet Russia, on January 22, 1918, the sovereignty and independence of the new republic were announced to the world.

From this time the history of the Ukraine becomes almost hopelessly entangled. The Moscow authorities at once protest their respect for the autonomy and independence of the Ukraine, and, at the same time, by propaganda and armed force, an attempt is made to bring the country under the centralized soviet system and thus automatically to destroy its separate existence.

Characteristic of the policy of the communist party at Moscow was a resolution of its central committee on December 2, 1919. It shows the ulterior motive that really lay back of all relations with the Ukraine.

"The central committee of the Russian communist party," ran the resolution, "recognizing the principle of the self-determination of nations, considers it necessary to reaffirm its support of the independence of the Ukraine.

"Regarding as undeniable for every community, for every conscious workman, the necessity for the closest union on

[12] A French version is given in the *Bulletin périodique de la presse russe*, No. 62, for the period December 8-25, 1917. Italics not in original.

the part of all soviet republics in their struggle with the formidable forces of world imperialism, the Russian communist party holds that the determination of the form of this union will be definitely made by the Ukrainian workmen and laboring peasants themselves.

"In view of the fact that the Ukrainian culture (language, schools, etc.) was suppressed for centuries by tsarism and the exploiting classes of Russia, the central committee of the Russian communist party declares it the duty of all members of the party to assist by all means in the removal of all obstacles to the free development of the Ukrainian language and culture. In view of the fact that on the soil of long centuries of oppression, in the midst of the less developed part of the Ukrainian masses, nationalistic [*sic*] tendencies may be observed, the members of the Russian communist party are bound to deal with them with the greatest possible care, opposing to them a word of comradely explanation of the similarity of interests of the laboring masses of the Ukraine and Russia. The members of the Russian communist party on the territory of the Ukraine must, in fact, carry out the right of the laboring masses to study and express themselves in all soviet institutions in their native language, opposing by all means attempts by artificial means to push the Ukrainian language into the background, and attempting on the contrary to transform the Ukrainian language into a tool of communist enlightenment of the working masses. Immediately measures must be taken also in order that in all soviet institutions there may be a sufficient number of officials using the Ukrainian language and that in the future all officials should be able to express themselves in Ukrainian." [13]

At the Brest-Litovsk conference in January 1918, Joffe, the head of the Russian delegation, had issued a circular to the other delegations stating that the "Ukrainian Repub-

[13] Cited in R. N. Popov, *Ocherk istorii Vsesoiuznoi kommunisticheskoi partii* (third edition), 247.

lic" was sending two delegates to take part in the peace negotiations "on behalf of the central [executive] committee of the workers', soldiers', and peasants' soviets of all Ukraine, but also to form a supplementary part of the Russian delegation itself." The circular had stated in addition that "the Russian delegation, in full agreement with its frequently repeated acknowledgment of the right of self-determination among all peoples—including, of course, the Ukrainian—sees nothing to hinder the participation of the workers' and peasants' government of the Ukrainian Republic in the peace negotiations, and receives them, according to their wish, among the personnel of the Russian Peace delegation." [14] This type of representation was to the bolsheviks at the time preferable to having the German and Austro-Hungarian governments deal with the representatives of the rada at Kiev, who were the real government of the Ukraine.

The period from April to December 1918 was that of the German occupation of the Ukraine, and then the era of Petlura followed. Under Petlura, hopes for a united Ukraine which would include not only Ukrainians in Russia but also those in Austria and Hungary were at the highest point. The Ukrainian demands for recognition and an independent state were placed before the peace conference at Paris. At this critical moment, however, expected assistance from the allies was not forthcoming. The opportunity for altering fundamentally the new map of this part of Europe was lost for reasons that remain obscure other than for certain national bias which prevailed in an influential circle in the French ministry of foreign affairs at the time.

Left to her own resources, the Ukraine proved no match for the propaganda and armed force of the bolsheviks. The beginning of the end of independence was the treaty con-

[14] Speech by Count Czernin to the Austrian delegation, January 24, 1918, given in O. Czernin, *In the world war* (London 1919), 301.

cluded by the revolutionary groups in the Ukraine with the RSFSR on December 28, 1920. This treaty merely repeated the agreement signed between White Russia and the RSFSR on January 16th of that year. The Ukraine, like White Russia, was theoretically independent; in reality and practice from this time on she was almost as closely bound to Moscow as before the revolution.

Before the treaty with the RSFSR, the communist forces in the Ukraine had already adopted their constitution. The fundamental law approved by the third Ukrainian congress of soviets on March 10, 1919, was but a repetition of the constitution of the RSFSR as concerns the system of authority established. Given the usual network of soviets, propaganda, and armed force directed from Moscow, and a treaty of union such as that signed in the latter part of 1920, the dream of an independent Ukraine was futile. Another socialist soviet republic under the control of Moscow had become a reality.

The Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic

The Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic was not formed until March 12, 1922. First, there must be considered separately the developments in each of its component parts, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia.

Perhaps in no place in the Russian Empire was local feeling more pronounced, a spirit of independence more resolute, a diversity of characteristics more prominent than in Transcaucasia. Despite determined attempts at Russification, the peoples of the Caucasus had never wholeheartedly accepted the central control of the old government. The revolutionary movement of 1902-1906 is proof of the point.

When the world war began, the long-established antagonism between christian and moslem and the inveterate desire for local independence reappeared. The outbreak of the revolution unleashed this spirit, which at once mani-

fested itself in an anti-Russian movement. And yet the leaders, such as the Georgian mensheviks Chkheidze and Tsereteli, opposed any break with Russia. As regards Georgia, which had originally fallen under Russian control as an alternative to Persian domination, whatever the desire of local leaders, the problem now was to choose between submission to Russia and conquest by Turkey, yet Russia and Turkey later worked hand in hand in establishing soviet control over the country.

With the rise of bolshevism in the center of Russia, the Georgian leaders, who had taken such an active part in bringing about the downfall of the old régime, saw that the utmost for which they could hope was control over Transcaucasia. On November 15, 1917, they formed a Transcaucasian committee to govern Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia. It appears, however, that it was still not the intention of Tsereteli and Chkheidze to separate from Russia proper, but that they were waiting until they could play again a leading part in the affairs of a unified Russia. Three months after the formation of the Transcaucasian committee a united assembly or *seim* was constituted. The next step was a formal declaration of the independence of Transcaucasia on April 22, 1918, following the dissolution by the bolsheviks in Petrograd of the constituent assembly in January 1918.

But national differences and animosities soon disrupted this union. The Mohammedans of Azerbaijan refused to fight the Turks, who were then attempting to win control of all of Transcaucasia. It was at this time, May 1918, that the Georgian officials appealed to the Germans to enter Tiflis as the one means to drive out the Turks, who were already on Georgian soil.[15]

When German troops were in Tiflis, the independence of

[15] By the treaty of Brest-Litovsk the bolsheviks agreed to restore to Turkey the territory occupied during the war and other territory, including Erivan, Kars, and Batum.

Georgia was proclaimed (May 26, 1918).[16] Azerbaijan and Armenia, though conditions in these countries were different, followed the example of Georgia two days later. These separate declarations of independence, which marked the end of the ephemeral republic of Transcaucasia, were intended to obviate the possibility of Turkish control over all of Transcaucasia exercised through an independent "Republic of Azerbaijan" dominated by Mohammedans.

The political situation now changed quickly. A peace treaty was signed between Georgia and Turkey on June 4, 1918; the Germans withdrew from the Caucasus after the armistice of November on the western front; British troops entered the vacated areas and protected the local elements which proceeded to establish new republics. Independence established with the aid of a foreign army, however, is a fragile arrangement at the best.

Georgia maintained her separation from Moscow longer than either Armenia or Azerbaijan. At a moment when the soviet authorities were in difficulty with Poland, a peace treaty between the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic on the one hand and the "Democratic Republic of Georgia" on the other hand was signed.[17] Under the terms of this treaty, dated May 7, 1920, it was stipulated (article 1) that "Russia recognizes unconditionally the existence and independence of the Georgian state, and voluntarily renounces all sovereign rights which belonged to Russia with respect to the Georgian people and territory." In addition to this, Russia agreed (article 2) "to refrain from any kind of interference in the internal affairs of Georgia." Economic relations between the two countries were to be based on the most-favored-nation principle.

The basis of the government of Georgia was the declara-

[16] See in connection with the independence of Transcaucasia *Alliance of the Caucasian states. Memorandum from the representatives of the republics known as Caucasian.* League of nations document No. A, 104, 1921, VIII.

[17] See document IV, this chapter.

tion of independence already mentioned. Immediately after its proclamation the drafting of a constitution began; it was not proclaimed, however, until February 22, 1921. By that time the soviet authorities had new ideas about the principle of independent states and the doctrine of self-determination.

Relevant not only to Georgia but to all other areas the independence of which was first recognized by Moscow but which were later forced by one means or another to abandon their treaty rights, is the interpretative statement by a communist writer, apparently connected with the people's commissariat for foreign affairs in Moscow. The question of whether the soviet authorities really expected to fulfil their treaty obligation with Georgia may be judged from that statement, not to mention the diplomatic correspondence that ensued later.

"While signing these agreements," says the writer in question, "the government of the Russian Republic was very well aware of all former unfriendly attitudes and activities of parties and persons in power in Georgia, but it likewise took into consideration various other factors. The most important of these, not to mention the proclaimed and firmly followed principle of the right of the peoples to self-determination, are that *Georgia with her small working class can hardly be able to play an important rôle in the fate of the world revolution for which the whole policy of the soviet republic is carried out;* on the contrary, menshevist Georgia, with her uncontrolled foreign and domestic policy, lacking in logic, may serve as a perfect proof for the western European proletariat that the activity and measures of the soviet rule are correct; Georgia, when freed of blockade, may be for Soviet Russia the same outlet to Europe on the Black Sea as Latvia and Estonia are on the Baltic Sea. For Soviet Russia, it was important to protect herself from any participation of Georgia in open activities against Russia or any other of the soviet republics. It was

important, also, to protect the communists residing in Georgia from any oppression and injustice whatsoever. These interests of Russia are now protected by the treaties just concluded. There have been some doubts as to whether the most severe enemies of the Soviet Republic will be able to restrain themselves from endangering her. But even these doubts had no sound basis because it was supposed that Jordania, Chkhenkeli, and Tsereteli, as well as others, during these three years of power, have raised themselves to the level of statesmen, who would understand all profits and advantages for their country in having amicable relations with the Soviet Republic." [18]

Mention is made in the foregoing comment of the protection of communists in Georgia as provided by treaty. Such protection was not provided for in the treaty published at the time but in a *secret agreement* likewise concluded on May 7, 1920. Two years after the bolsheviks had loudly denounced all secret treaties they themselves concluded one with Georgia.

Under the terms of the secret treaty [19] with Georgia, all communist organizations in that country were to have the right of "free existence and activity". Stated in another manner, this meant that Georgia could not take steps to prevent subversive activity by obvious enemies.

Whether the Georgian government really intended to abide by the terms of this treaty is open to question. It could, however, perhaps sign it in good faith in view of the provision in the published agreement to the effect that

[18] *Rossiiskaiia Socialisticheskaiia Federativnaiia Sovetskaiia Respublika i Gruzinskaiia Demokratischeskaiia Respublika ikh v zaimootnoshenüa,* (Moscow 1922), 1-8. The italics are not in the original. This is a curious and little known publication; the name of the author is not given. See also *Le Transcaucase de la République d'Arménie dans les textes diplomatiques du traité de Brest-Litovsk au traité de Kars 1918-1129,* Par A. Poidebard (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1923); and the same title, *Appendixes* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale. 1924). It is not clear just why this publication should have been printed by the official French printing office.

[19] See document IV, this chapter.

"Russia undertakes not to interfere with the internal affairs of Georgia".

Whatever the intention on either side, the placing of the communist party in Georgia on a legal basis did not fail to increase the influence of Moscow and consequently to necessitate measures against the communists by the Georgian authorities. This matter marked the beginning of a long diplomatic correspondence between the ministries of foreign affairs of the two countries, the RSFSR at one time sending a daily note of protest for one reason or another.[20]

A brief outline is here given of developments from this time. What occurred in Georgia was in many respects duplicated in the other areas that were brought under the control of the authorities at Moscow.

To the protests of the RSFSR in behalf of the communists of Georgia, the Georgian minister of foreign affairs replied, in a note dated June 30, 1920, that communists enjoyed full liberty in Georgia when they did not attempt to overthrow the government. On the other hand, he regretted to state that the "members of the Georgian communist party, besides their own legal work, and with immense sums of money received from outside sources, are carrying out a very active propaganda among the troops, the people's guard, and large masses of peasants for the purpose of overthrowing the existing governmental order".

Georgia was merely experiencing difficulties which other countries having formed relations with the RSFSR encountered from that time. Complaints similar to that quoted above have been made by the foreign offices of several countries in a less precarious position than was Georgia.

Experiencing pressure from every side and faced by considerations of economic necessity, Georgia signed a commercial-transit agreement with the RSFSR and Azerbaijan on June 12, 1920. This agreement was complemented five

[20] This correspondence is given in *RSFSR i Gruzinskaia Demokraticheskaia Respublika,* as cited.

months later by the signature at Tiflis with the same parties of a secret agreement whereby Russia was given exclusive leases in Batum for the storage of crude petroleum. All other parties were to be refused such leases. In other words, this secret treaty was intended to force the British troops to leave Batum, a port in which, according to the unratified treaty of Sèvres signed August 10, 1920, between the allied powers and Turkey, all members of the league of nations should have complete freedom (article 335) and through which free access to the Black Sea should be given to "Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Persia, as well as to Armenia" (article 351).

In addition to troubles arising from the alleged activities and treatment of communists, Georgia and Azerbaijan—the latter was already under the thumb and dictation of Moscow—were henceforth to have difficulties under the terms of their transit agreement. For one reason or another, in fact, a whole series of complaints were made by Moscow against the young Georgian republic. An ultimatum handed to Georgia on January 21, 1921, demanded satisfaction in such varied matters as the handing over of Russian vessels in Georgian waters, freedom for imprisoned communists, and satisfaction for the tearing down of a soviet flag that had been placed by local communists above the Georgian state flag.

The Georgian government showed its willingness to accede to almost any demand made on it. Only one exception: it requested that those non-Georgian communists who were released should leave the country at once. In reply to the Moscow ultimatum the Georgian foreign secretary noted that "the existence in Georgia of such illegal organizations of the communist party my government regards as an exact and consistent fulfillment of article 17 of the resolutions of the second congress of the communist international on July 19 (August 1), 1920, which article runs thus: 'In the countries where the bourgeoisie or counter-revolu-

tionary social democrats are still exercising the supreme power, the communist parties must learn to combine gradually legal work with illegal, whereby the former must remain always under the actual control of the illegal party' ".

In opposing the communist international or its mouthpiece, the people's commissariat for foreign affairs at Moscow, however, the Georgian government was measuring swords with a strong enemy. A combined attack by the various organs of soviet power, abetted by dissatisfied local elements, proved too much for the Democratic Republic of Georgia. On February 11, 1921, the soviet diplomatic representative in Tiflis denied any intention of his government to attack Georgia. But one day later soviet troops did attack that country, and on February 25th they occupied Tiflis, the capital of the republic. A soviet republic was proclaimed immediately.

The final chapter to the history of an independent Georgia was written in March 1921 when representatives of the RSFSR signed an agreement with local Georgian officials terminating the former government.[21] A revolutionary committee then assumed control over the country in the same manner as in all other areas where soviet rule was first begun. The red army of Soviet Russia occupied Georgia. The independence of a distinct nationality had been proclaimed and terminated[22] within one year. On one day a

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] The British and French governments protested against the violation of the independence of Georgia. They have continued ever since to regard that country as independent. In 1924 the two governments recognized the authorities of Soviet Russia as being "the *de jure* government of those territories of the old Russian Empire which recognize its authority." This phraseology excluded Georgia which, having representatives abroad and being recognized *de jure,* has ever since been treated as a polity separate from Soviet Russia.

Similarly, the Belgian minister of foreign affairs, Vandervelde, in a speech before the chamber of representatives on July 17, 1925, stated that a condition precedent of Belgian recognition of Soviet Russia was "the reservation of the rights of governments, such as Armenia and Georgia,

promise had been made to respect local independence; the next day armed invasion of a weak state unable to defend itself occurred. Instead of an independent republic to which they were entitled if the soviet theories of the rights of smaller nations had not been just a fiction from the beginning, the Georgians were now told of the blessings of national autonomy under the new soviet power directed from Moscow. Rarely in history has greater hypocrisy and cold-bloodedness been shown than in the treatment of Georgia by the bolshevik leaders at Moscow.

The history of Georgia was repeated on a more limited scale in the neighboring areas of Azerbaijan and Armenia. Here, too, local independence and sovereignty had been recognized,[23] but no sooner was this done than the Moscow authorities undertook a series of other agreements intended to establish a close relation of policy with the new republics. These acts, already mentioned in part for Georgia, may be enumerated in their chronological order for each of the republics separately.[24]

I. Between the RSFSR and Azerbaijan

1. A military-economic alliance concluded at Moscow on September 30, 1920. "The government of the Azerbaijan

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which have been recognized *de jure* by Belgium. That is what France did when she recognized the republic of the soviets". *Chambre des représentants—Annales parlementaires,* July 17, 1915, 376. The speech as given in the *Compte rendu analytique* differs somewhat from the source just given. Belgian recognition is declared there to depend, for one thing, upon the "recognition [by Soviet Russia] of the republics recognized by us [Belgium], such as Georgia, which are kept under oppression". Source as cited, July 17, 1925, 130.

[23] When the independence of Armenia was recognized on December 2, 1920, that country was declared "an independent soviet republic", but Russian troops were to defend that independence.

[24] The text of treaties between the RSFSR and other parts of the former Russian Empire from January 1, 1921, to July 1, 1922, are given in three volumes published by the people's commissariat for foreign affairs of the RSFSR, entitled *Sbornik deistvuiushchikh dogovorov soglashenii i konventsii, zakliuchennykh RSFSR s inostrannymi gosudarstvami.* Unless otherwise noted, translations have been made from this official Russian text.

republic and the government of the RSFSR shall effectuate, within the shortest possible delay, the union of: (1) the military organization and the military command, (2) the organs having in their jurisdiction people's economy and foreign trade, (3) organs for supplies, (4) the railway and water transport and the post and telegraph department, (5) finance."

2. An agreement on the uniting of their food policy, concluded the same day as the military-economic alliance.

3. Agreements for the unification of the administration of the post, telegraph, telephone, and radiotelegraph; an agreement on financial questions;[25] and an agreement for the carrying out of a unified economic policy[26]—all concluded at Moscow on May 24, 1922.

II. Between the RSFSR and Armenia

1. Recognition of the independence of Armenia on December 2, 1920.[27]

2. An agreement on financial questions concluded at Moscow on September 30, 1921.

3. The agreements on a united economic policy and on the unification of the means of communication as signed between the RSFSR and Azerbaijan likewise included Armenia.

III. Between the RSFSR and Georgia

1. A treaty of peace, supplementary agreement, and secret treaty concluded at Moscow on May 7, 1920.[28]

2. An agreement on financial questions concluded at Moscow on May 21, 1921.

3. A treaty of the workers' and peasants' alliance of same date.

The tenor of all these diplomatic acts is fairly evident

[25] See document VI, this chapter.
[26] See document V, this chapter.
[27] See document VIII, this chapter.
[28] See document IV, this chapter.

from the summary or list given. In financial matters, for example, Georgia and Azerbaijan were each to receive in their soviet of people's commissars a delegate from the people's commissariat for finance of the RSFSR. In case of a deficiency in the budgets, assistance would be forthcoming from Moscow. Here, as in all other cases at a later date, the RSFSR used this provision for financial support as a means to control the policy of the various areas.[29]

After the period of separate agreements between the RSFSR and the three Caucasian republics, before the end of 1921, a period of collective agreements began. More and more Transcaucasia came to be regarded, in accordance with the necessities of its geographical position, as an inseparable whole.

The first collective agreement was the peace treaty concluded between the three republics and Turkey on October 13, 1921.[30] The agreement was formulated "with the participation of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic". The principal declared object of this treaty, besides ending a state of war, was to delimit boundaries.

On January 14, 1922, a protocol was approved between the RSFSR on the one hand and the three republics on the other whereby all railway lines of Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia were to be under the control of a newly created central railway administration of Transcaucasia. The separate commissariats for ways of communication of the three republics were to be abolished, and all their staff and material to be handed over to the new administration. The requirements of that administration were to be included in the railway budget estimates of the RSFSR. On May 24, 1922, a similar step was taken in the case of the post, telegraph, telephone, and wireless systems in the three Transcaucasian republics.

[29] See page 239.

[30] Mention may be made, however, of the trade and transit agreement with its secret annex signed at Tiflis on November 14, 1920, between the RSFSR and Azerbaijan on the one hand and Georgia on the other,

The agreements mentioned above, taken as a whole, were for the Transcaucasian republics what similar acts were for the Ukraine and White Russia. First, they bring about a period of complete independence, with an appeal on the part of Moscow to the 'laboring people' to throw off the 'oppressors' seeking to reëstablish the old régime. Then as the 'oppressors' are driven out the bolsheviks enter. At first their ostensible aim is only to give the fruits of freedom to downtrodden peoples. They bear the so-called white man's burden. This idea is in turn superseded by the ordinary necessities of economic intercourse. To insure free relations it proves much more feasible to have one railway system, one system of posts and telegraphs, and then one army and one government than to have three independent countries in a small area that was formerly a part of the Russian Empire. In brief, imperialism is the same the world over; whether it be the bolshevist or capitalist variety is of no basic importance.

The trend of events in the Caucasus towards a close military and economic relationship with the all-powerful RSFSR led inevitably to the formation of a legal basis for the new order. While the RSFSR had dealt with each of the three Transcaucasian republics both separately and collectively, by the middle of 1922 it was still a question whether this decentralization in the Caucasus should continue or whether a confederation should be formed. The entire tendency within the RSFSR had been towards extreme centralization of authority. That was the primary tenet of the Russian communist party. In the economic agreements made with the Transcaucasian republics the same policy was followed. It was in the order of things, therefore, that Moscow should strive to create one strong central authority in the Caucasus, an authority that would be directly under its control but which would in turn control the component parts. Thus before a union of the vari-

ous soviet republics throughout Russia was effected, Moscow lent every support to the creation of a Transcaucasian confederation which would later enter into the larger federation.

A political unification of the Caucasus was effected when the "Federal Union of Socialist Soviet Republics of Transcaucasia" came into being by treaty on March 12, 1922.[31] The three republics, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, were formed into a close "military, political, and economic union". The highest authority was the "plenipotentiary conference" composed of a total of twenty-five representatives delegated by the central executive committees of the several republics separately. A "union soviet" elected by the conference was created to exercise authority over executive questions such as those relating to military affairs, finance, foreign policy, foreign trade, ways of communication, posts and telegraph, regulation of labor, the fight against the counter-revolution, and the direction of economic policy in the three republics. A people's commissariat was created for each of these matters. Special emphasis was placed on the organization of the supreme economic soviet, an "organ which regulates, guides, and directs the work of separate people's commissariats of general regional importance." The decisions of this body were compulsory for all departments of the governments of the three units making up the federation.

When the three republics were united by treaty, it remained to promulgate a constitution which would formulate in detail their relation to each other and the nature of the central governing organs. In other words, as the RSFSR had a functioning central authority before the constitution of 1918 was ratified and before the various autonomous republics and regions were created, so in Transcaucasia there was a central power from the time of the treaty of

[31] See document XV, chapter VI.

union, but it was only nine months later that a detailed fundamental law was ratified by the first Transcaucasian congress of soviets.

Steps leading to the drafting of a detailed constitution for the federation were taken in April 1922. Representatives of the central executive committees of the three republics then met in Tiflis. There they agreed upon the fundamental principles of federation: a detailed definition of the relationship between the republics and the central authority and the structure of the central authority itself. A union soviet was to be the directive organ. When the first Transcaucasian congress of soviets met in December 1922, the draft agreed upon by representatives of the central executive committees came up for amendment and approval. A lapse of eight months had occurred. In the meantime the local officials had become fully familiar with the progress being made in drawing up simultaneously at Moscow a constitution for the proposed union of all soviet socialist republics. When the congress of soviets met, therefore, it was in favor not only of a union soviet but of the small details of a true soviet structure as elaborated at Moscow, namely, a unified central executive committee for the three republics and also a unified soviet of people's commissars. Such an organization was regarded as necessary "since otherwise entrance into the union of all soviet republics and federations would be impossible".[32]

Before the constitution for the federation of the three republics was adopted on December 13, 1922, and before the union treaty was signed on December 30, 1922, there existed the three separate constitutions as already mentioned. Those constitutions, amended so as not to conflict with the constitution of the Transcaucasian federation or the funda-

[32] Editorial in the *Zaria Vostoka*, published at Tiflis, December 10, 1922. The statement shows that in drafting the constitution for the Transcaucasian federation it was being made to conform to the requirements of a still higher authority, that is the union planned simultaneously at Moscow.

mental law of the USSR, still hold for the republics in their local life.

A comparison is given of the original Georgian soviet constitution, promulgated in 1921,[33] and the constitution of the Transcaucasian federation.[34] The fundamental differences are indicated in tabular form, reference being made at the same time to a third document, the constitution of the RSFSR.

Constitution of the Socialist Soviet Republic of Georgia (SSRG) of 1920

1. The sovereignty and dictatorship of the proletariat are proclaimed. As in the constitution of the RSFSR, provision is made for the socialization of land and abolition of all rights of private ownership. The provisions for separation of the state and the church, education for the working class, etc., are reproduced practically verbatim from the constitution of the RSFSR.

2. "The SSRG declares its firm readiness to enter into the body of the one International Socialist Soviet Republic, as soon as the conditions for its creation will be created; at the same time it acknowledges its full solidarity with the already existing soviet republics, and its decision: (*a*) to enter with

Constitution of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (ZSFSR)

1. As in the constitution of the RSFSR, the evils of the old régime are recalled. The laboring peoples had led the "common fight against the common enemy", and, to preserve their unity, had formed a Federal Union of Socialist Soviet Republics of Transcaucasia, followed by a common constitution, a "further political, economic, and military union."

2. "The Transcaucasian laboring people, true to the traditions and the strivings of the workers' masses for solidarity and fraternal union, at the same time solemnly declare before all laboring mankind their complete readiness to create, together with the workers and peasants of the soviet repub-

[33] See document XVII, chapter VI for text of the present constitution.

[34] See document XVI, chapter VI. The part in square brackets is the amended text. Georgia also includes the autonomous republics of Abkhaziia and Adzhariia and the autonomous region of Iugo-Ossetiia; Azerbaijan includes the autonomous region of Nakhichevan. Thus there is a federation within a federation.

them into a close friendly, political and economic contact for the common fight for the definitive triumph of socialism, and (*b*) to enter with them into the closest collaboration in the domain of communist building on an international scale."	lics, a single soviet front for the common struggle against world capital. Deriving from this, the ZSFSR [(Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia), unite with the RSFSR, the UkSSR, and the BSSR in one united state—the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics".] finds absolutely irrevocable the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—this prototype of the universal mighty union of all soviet countries."
3. "The SSRG is a sovereign state."	3. "The Transcaucasian Congress of Soviets . . . is the supreme state authority of the ZSFSR."
4. Organization of the central power: congress of soviets and central executive committee on same basis as in RSFSR. The Georgian committee has 95 members.	4. Same as for Georgia. The Transcaucasian central executive committee has 150 [210] members and 50 [117] candidates.
5. Twelve people's commissars. Under the commissar for interior is included a special administration on national affairs, posts and telegraphs, the central statistical administration, and the cheka [extraordinary commission].	5. Eight people's commissars. Unlike in Georgia, there is no commissar for justice, education, or health. On the other hand, there is a people's commissar for foreign trade and interior which were not provided for in Georgia.
6. Detailed provisions relating to the central and local authority.	6. Covers relationship of the supreme state organs of the ZSFSR to the three republics composing it.
7. Special chapters on the workmen's and peasants' inspection, the supreme economic soviet, on the judiciary, and on electoral rights and procedure.	7. No analogous provisions.

8. The budget procedure. Budgets must be approved by the Georgian central executive committee. Local soviets must submit their estimates to the same body. The state treasury may grant credits to the local bodies.	8. "The Transcaucasian congress of soviets and the Transcaucasian central executive committee establish forms of taxation and income, as well as their limits, and determine the kinds of income and expenditure and the parts thereof which are to be included in the general state budget, in the state budgets of the republics, and in local budgets."

The analysis of these two documents might have included a comparison with the Georgian constitution as adopted by the Georgian constituent assembly on February 22, 1921, just before soviet control was firmly established in Georgia. Obviously, however, the ideas of non-bolshevik Georgians, imbued with plans for an independent democratic republic, conformed in no respect with the plan of Moscow for a socialist soviet republic having as its basis the dictatorship of the proletariat. The constitution of the democratic republic of Georgia is now of only historical interest.[35]

Central Asia

The influence of the Russian Empire did not penetrate into Central Asia until the middle of the nineteenth century. The move toward Afghanistan and India and the attempt of Russia to conquer Constantinople were two aspects of the general picture of the diplomatic and military struggle to win an outlet to the south. Both aims were a direct menace to the British Empire and were opposed accordingly.

The part of Central Asia referred to here was made up of

[35] An inadequate translation is given in *Hearings before the committee on foreign affairs, house of representatives, 69th congress, 1st session, on H. J. Res. 195 providing for the appointment of a diplomatic representative to the national republic of Georgia,* 171-179.

two distinct territorial areas: Khiva and Bukhara, ruled over by a Khan and Emir respectively. Treaty relations between Russia and Bukhara began on September 23, 1873. The agreement then signed ended at once in a recognized protectorate. The same year, by treaty with Russia, Khiva became practically a vassal state. Both Bukhara and Khiva remained juridically independent under their treaties with Russia, but in practice they were regarded from St. Petersburg as on a footing little different from the governorship of Turkestan.

When the revolution broke out in all the other parts of Russia in 1917, no special change occurred in Bukhara and Khiva. Central Asia was far removed from Moscow. The Emir and Khan continued to rule as before. Emissaries of the bolsheviks, however, were not long in coming.[36] Their advent coincided with customary revolutionary disorders. Emirs, Khans, or other Oriental potentates, symbols of oppression and enslavement according to socialist theories, were to be given no quarter in bolshevik Russia.

Soviet control was established over Khiva in June 1919. That republic was then renamed Khorezm, its old name. No sooner was the soviet system of authority established than a military-political treaty with Khorezm was drafted at Moscow. Like the Ukraine and White Russia, Khorezm was now to be closely bound by treaty to the RSFSR.

Recognizing the right of all peoples to self-determination, the treaty signed on September 13, 1920,[37] declared that the RSFSR abandoned all claims upon Khorezm and recognized the complete autonomy and independence of that soviet republic. Each party agreed to prohibit the formation on

[36] See J. Castagné, *Les musulmans et la politique des soviets en asie centrale* (Paris, Leroux, 1925). Also by the same writer, who lived in Central Asia during the early revolutionary period, *Le Turkestan depuis la révolution russe* (1917-1921) (Paris, Leroux, 1922), being a reprint from Vol. 50 of the *Revue du monde musulman.*

[37] See document X, this chapter, on Bukhara. The texts are drafted along the same lines.

its territory of groups hostile to any soviet republic. Of most importance in the treaty were the military and economic provisions. A common military direction was established, or, in other words, the RSFSR took over the policing of Khorezm. In the economic field, the RSFSR secured effective control over the trade of Khorezm, including a treaty provision that no concession of any sort could be given to any country except the RSFSR.

Simultaneously with the establishment of their control over Khorezm, the communists were penetrating into Bukhara. In September 1920 the Emir was overthrown and a soviet republic was proclaimed. Political relations between Bukhara and the RSFSR were put on a legal basis six months later.

In an agreement signed March 4, 1921, at Moscow,[38] the RSFSR recognized "without reservation, the self-government and complete independence of the Soviet Republic of Bukhara, with all consequences deriving therefrom, and renounces for ever the rights established by the Russian Tsarist régime in Bukhara". Still, since "there can be no conflict of interests among the laboring masses of all countries", and since "only a close union of the laborers of the East and West will secure for them victory," the contracting parties found it advantageous to enter into a military-political agreement.

Under the terms of this document the RSFSR and Bukhara undertook not only to prohibit the formation on their territory of any hostile elements trying to overthrow "any other soviet republic", but also to grant mutual assistance in order to protect the independence of either country against the "unceasing attacks of the world bourgeoisie and its agents against the very existence of both soviet republics".

Other articles of the treaty provided for the confirmation of previously existing frontiers, for an economic agreement

[38] See document X, this chapter.

—signed the same day[39]—to coördinate commercial policies, under which Russia would assist Bukhara by providing materials, machinery, technical experts, and by granting "unredeemable subsidies", that is subsidies not to be repaid.

Finally, by a treaty signed April 26, 1923, the customs of Bukhara were united with those of the RSFSR. Russian troops were to guard the Afghan border until the Bukhara red army could be formed, though it is not clear that the soviet forces were expected to be withdrawn when such a time should come.

Under the foregoing agreements, Bukhara, though nominally independent, was closely attached to the RSFSR. The constitution of Bukhara, ratified on August 18, 1922, followed closely the order of the constitution of the RSFSR so far as the system of soviets was concerned. But like the constitution of Khorezm[40] drawn up in April 1920 and amended in May 1921, it was a more liberal document than the fundamental law of any socialist soviet republic. This is explained by the admitted fact that both Bukhara and Khorezm were soviet but not socialist.

The constitution of Khorezm contained what may, perhaps, be called a bill of rights. In this respect the Mohammedan of Central Asia had a much greater respect for the individual than the Slav, or at least his masters, in Russia proper. The freedom of religious rituals was strictly guaranteed; "no citizen of the Khorezm People's Soviet Republic shall be deprived of his freedom and punished without due process of law". Also, "all citizens living on the territory of Bukhara enjoy the right freely to dispose of their movable and immovable property". More heretical doctrines than these could not have been promulgated from the standpoint of revolutionary Russia.

The situation in Central Asia at the beginning of 1922 may be summed up as follows. Turkestan was an autono-

[39] See document XI, this chapter.
[40] See document XVIII, chapter VI.

mous republic forming a part of the RSFSR. This republic, however, occupied a privileged position. Its constitution, adopted on September 4, 1920, provided that only in the case of the commissariats for interior, foreign affairs, and foreign trade should there be a fusion with the RSFSR, whereas in the other republics the ways of communication and posts and telegraphs were likewise unified. Furthermore, the local organs of administration asserted a greater independence than was the case in the other autonomous republics.

Bukhara and Khorezm likewise occupied a more independent position with respect to the RSFSR than did White Russia or the Ukraine. They were soviet in structure but far from socialist in spirit.[41] Even the communist party, the citadel of sovietization in any country, was composed in Khorezm and Bukhara of clergy and merchants to the extent of about sixty per cent. These elements were completely disenfranchised in the socialist soviet republics.[42]

By the end of 1922 when the socialist soviet republics were completely under the control of Moscow and socialized, Bukhara and Khorezm still retained a tradition of independence. Some time was to elapse before they entered into a close union with other parts of the former empire.

The Far Eastern Republic

Different in nearly every respect from the socialist soviet republics whose early relations to Moscow have just been traced was the Far Eastern Republic, the independence of which was declared by a local constituent assembly on April 6, 1920. The formation of this republic must be

[41] As late as the fifteenth congress of the communist party of the Soviet Union in December 1927 Molotov reported that the party "should not speak of livening up the soviets, but of creating them. We shall undoubtedly need quite a long time to organize a real soviet government in Central Asia. *Report of the XV congress of the communist party of the Soviet Union* (London 1928), 359.

[42] N. N. Popov, *Natsional'naia politika sovetskoi vlasti*, 124.

described with its accompaniment of civil war and the landing of troops of the allied powers at Vladivostok in 1918.

The Far Eastern Republic was established as a buffer state between conflicting ideas. The allied powers, or at least Japan, on the other hand, would hardly have permitted the setting up of a soviet republic so long as their troops were within striking distance. The advancing red army would not permit the formation of a hostile political entity. In January 1920, the soviets agreed that Krasnoshchekov, a revolutionist of Jewish parentage, born in Kiev, who was certainly more pro-bolshevik than pro-ally, should set up a democratic republic. Four months later, May 14, 1920, the Moscow authorities extended recognition to a "separate, independent, democratic republic", with which they entered into diplomatic relations.

The relations of the new republic with the bolsheviks are of interest principally from the point of view of local history. The facility with which this republic was established in agreement with the soviets showed its real nature. It was a bolshevik creation, a medium through which Soviet Russia could enter indirectly into diplomatic relations with the world powers. The adoption of a constitution [43] of 184 articles on April 17, 1921, and the despatch of delegations to foreign countries to secure recognition are but passing phases of an attempt of the RSFSR to secure foreign contacts through the Far Eastern Republic.

Treaty relations between the RSFSR and the Far Eastern Republic were established in the form of an economic alliance signed February 17, 1922.[44] The preamble states that the treaty arose from "the necessity of safeguarding the interests of the laboring class". No distinction was thereafter to be made between the political rights and privi-

[43] The text is given in H. K. Norton, *The Far Eastern Republic of Siberia*, 282-307 (London 1923).

[44] 3 *Sbornik deistvuiushchikh dogovorov*, No. 38.

leges of citizens of the two countries. The RSFSR, as in the treaty concluded with Khorezm, was to have preferential rights in the exploitation of the natural resources, concessions, and industrial enterprises in the Far Eastern Republic. All customs duties were to be eliminated by a separate convention; a customs union would then follow.

This treaty marks the abandonment of hope in Moscow that the Far Eastern Republic would prove a useful tool in international relations. The inconveniences of the theoretical independence of the area were greater than any possible advantages to be derived from it. It was natural, therefore, that steps should be taken to abandon the fiction. A decree of the all-Russian central executive committee on November 15, 1922, provided for the annexation of the republic to the RSFSR. A few months later a considerable part of the former republic became the Buriat-Mongol Autonomous Republic. The difference between the status of this republic and that of the various socialist soviet republics shows the extent to which the Far Eastern Republic was only a soviet bait for foreign powers.

Summary

The transition from the Russia of 1917 to 1920 to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of 1923, the restoration of a central and dreaded authority over a greater part of the vast, open spaces of old Russia during this relatively short space of time, may almost be compared to the restoration of Roman power under Claudine Gothicus and Aurelian after a period of disintegration and the rise of autonomous states. It was a task of no mean proportions that had confronted the communist leaders in the early revolutionary period. But Lenin knew how to appeal to the masses. In his speeches there was little of the "epistemological scholasticism" [45] which he had long criticised in

[45] See the foreword by A. Deborine to the English translation of 13 *Lenin's collected works* (New York 1927), ix.

other revolutionists. It needs no other evidence than the watchwords of the revolution to prove that Lenin had established his power by appealing to the basest qualities of mankind. His were doctrines of pillage, of destruction, of hatred. The Mongol strain of his ancestors showed its predominance in his character. The result was the almost complete destruction of Russian economic life. Then, when the former possessing classes and all that they symbolized no longer existed, the bolsheviks expected to construct a new state from the bottom up. The world was to begin with the year 1917.

To build a new state, however, Lenin had to discard the very doctrines that had been used to destroy the old order. The theories of Marx and Engels as expounded by the bolshevik leaders had to meet the test that is given the doctrines of every party that has been newly placed in office: the test of dealing with actual conditions. Doctrines of withdrawal from the war, the redistribution of the land, and class war were eminently efficacious in destroying Russia; they did not, however, afford a basis of reconstruction.

After a year of pillage, there can be little wonder that the constructive decrees of the new régime went unnoticed in the beginning, even in Petrograd and Moscow. In the interior of the country also, where even the old régime had found no little difficulty in securing the fulfilment of its orders, legislation from Petrograd and Moscow at first went unheeded. Authority in many places had ceased to exist. Russia was becoming a conglomeration of states, split up on the basis not only of nationality but also of race. Tiny units went their own way, dividing the land, pillaging, burning, confiscating everything of value, and assiduously murdering the bourgeoisie. The most primitive instincts of man were unchained; anarchy prevailed; the government seemed impotent.

When the rage for destruction had spent itself, and when the demobilization of the allied and of the German armies

had proceeded so far that no serious attack from abroad was to be feared, the disciples of communism vigorously went to work to gather together as many as possible of the bedraggled fragments of the old empire. Nominal power was concentrated in the hands of a soviet of people's commissars, of which Lenin was the guiding light. Actual power was in the hands of Lenin and others acting as a select party group.[46] This central nucleus of the communist party sent agents throughout Russia preaching the gospel of communism. Above all, the leaders organized the red army and, by propaganda and special disciplinary measures, rendered it a measurably effective force so long as it encountered no formidable military power.

A concomitant centralization of authority in the economic and financial fields facilitated the process of administrative reorganization. The independent political units were welded into a highly centralized system.

The uniformity and similarity of constitutional development in the creation of so-called socialist soviet republics in the far-flung parts of the old Russian Empire are striking. Not only in the internal development of each republic was the same process repeated; but also in the relations of every unit with the RSFSR or Moscow occurs the same story of the establishment of a system of authority directed from Moscow and followed by binding agreements.

In White Russia, the Ukraine, the Caucasus, and Central Asia, not to mention the non-Slavic parts of the RSFSR, the communist minority, directed from Moscow, established its authority with the aid of the red army. The new leaders were of a common school of thought; their minds held only a single idea; they preached a doctrine of self-determination, independence, and equality, but in practice they gave widely different peoples a form of government as uniform as that of the old régime. Even more, by a military-political union, by subsidies, and by control over vital services

[46] See chapters XII-XIII.

such as posts and telegraphs, they established a central direction by a small group of men which, though practically a necessity, was quite at variance with the precepts of their written constitutions.

The first attempt to establish a general union of soviet republics dates from the decree of the all-Russian central executive committee on June 1, 1919, appointing a commission to formulate the terms of an alliance between the "socialist soviet republics created by the laboring masses on the territories of Russia, the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, and White Russia".[47] Outside aggression by capitalistic powers, the decree declared, required of these republics "the closest union of all military forces, their centralization and control in the difficult struggle for life or death". It was considered necessary, while recognizing the principle of the "independence, liberty, and self-determination" of the *laboring masses* of these republics, to unite closely not only the military organization and command but also the soviets of national economy, and of the railway, finance, and labor commissariats. The decree concluded thus: "For the realization of these measures, the all-Russian central executive committee appoints a commission charged with immediate entrance into negotiations with the representatives of the corresponding central executive committees in order to elaborate, together with them, concrete standards of union, and to formulate immediately, pending the elaboration of a definitive union, regulations relating to the practical application of the same." This procedure was actually followed several years later, but the list of republics included was not the same. Latvia and Lithuania were neither socialist nor soviet and had no intention of becoming so, whatever the 'laboring masses', that is, a small group of communist leaders, desired.

Even after the power of Moscow became well established within Russia, the existence of theories of local inde-

[47] See document I, this chapter.

pendence caused serious inconveniences. The practical disadvantages of these theories were impressed upon the bolshevik leaders at the international conferences in 1922. It was unimportant that in the peace treaties with Germany in 1918 there was no delegate to represent Russia as a whole; it was another matter that, in 1922, when the Moscow authorities were attempting to secure recognition abroad, the same lack of unity should prevail.

At the conference at Cannes on January 10, 1922, representatives of the allied powers found it necessary to determine what 'governments' in Russia should be invited to the economic conference to be held at Genoa. The discussion that ensued is of special interest.

As concerns the Ukraine, the Italian delegate, Marquis della Torretta, said that his country had recently concluded a treaty of commerce with Russia and that on that occasion the Russian delegates had stated that they represented also the Ukraine. In view of this fact and of the further fact that the Ukraine had not been recognized by the powers, he favored not inviting her to the conference. "When one speaks of commercial relations with Russia, it should not be forgotten that the Ukraine is the only interesting part of Russia." [48]

After further discussions the supreme council decided not to invite "Asiatic states" to a European conference; thus Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, which had in reality ceased to exist, need not be invited. As to the Ukraine, the supreme council decided to wait until Moscow stated whether it would act in the name of the Ukraine or whether a separate invitation should be sent to the capital of that republic.

Following this, the authorities in the RSFSR took measures to secure a united representation of the various republics. February 22, 1922, the representatives of Georgia,

[48] The minutes upon which this account is based have not been published.

Azerbaijan, Armenia, White Russia, Bukhara, the Far Eastern Republic, the Ukraine, and Khorezm signed a protocol whereby they agreed that the RSFSR should represent their interests at the European economic conference expected to meet on January 13, 1922.[49] When that conference met the 'independent' states in the Caucasus were already under soviet control. Consequently, there was no doubt thereafter that the RSFSR could speak for all of Russia in any international conference, just as the organs of administration at Moscow issued binding orders for all socialist soviet republics in internal affairs.

[49] 3 *Sbornik deistvuiushchikh dogovorov,* No. 74.

DOCUMENTS TO CHAPTER IV

I. Decree appointing a commission to formulate the terms of an alliance between the soviet republics of Russia, the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, and White Russia.
II. Order of the revolutionary war soviet on the application to the Ukraine of all orders of the RSFSR concerning the army.
III. Treaty of alliance between the RSFSR and the Ukraine.
IV. Peace treaty between the RSFSR and Georgia.
V. Agreement between the RSFSR and Azerbaijan on a unified economic policy.
VI. Agreement between the RSFSR and Azerbaijan on financial questions.
VII. Agreement between the RSFSR and Azerbaijan on foreign trade.
VIII. Agreement between the RSFSR and Armenia concerning the recognition of the independence of Armenia.
IX. Agreement between the RSFSR and Armenia on financial matters.
X. Military and political agreement between the RSFSR and Bukhara.
XI. Economic agreement between the RSFSR and Bukhara.

I

Decree, Dated June 1, 1919, Appointing a Commission to Formulate the Terms of an Alliance Between the Soviet Republics of Russia, the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, and White Russia for the Fight Against World Imperialism [1]

The socialist soviet republics created by the laboring masses on the territories of Russia, the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, and White Russia have repeatedly proclaimed to the world their readiness to enter into peace negotiations in order to terminate the war which was imposed upon them. The forces of interna-

[1] *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporiazhenii rabochego i krest'ianskogo pravitel'stva,* 1919, No. 21, Art. 264.

tional imperialism, entertaining the insane hope of conquering the whole world, striving for an unlimited expoitation of the wealth of these countries, and united against the universal movement of the laboring masses, have rejected the peaceful proposals of the laboring masses of Russia, the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, and White Russia, and now exert all their efforts in order to suppress the soviet power in all places where it was created by the unified revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants. World capital, having mobilized against soviet power all the forces of the monarchist and capitalistic counter-revolution, strives to strangle the power of the workers and peasants by a common aggression on all frontiers. The suppression of this attempt to plunge again into slavery tens of millions of Russian, Ukrainian, Lettish, Lithuanian, White-Russian, and Crimean workers and peasants, requires of them a most close union of all military forces, their centralization and control in the difficult struggle for life or death. A military union of all the above-mentioned socialist soviet republics must be the first reply to the aggression of the common foes. Therefore, the all-Russian central executive committee (VTsIK), standing firmly for the principle of recognizing the independence, liberty, and self-determination of the laboring masses of the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, White-Russia, and Crimea, and adopting the resolution of the Ukrainian central executive committee approved by the assembly of May 18, 1918, and responding to the proposals of the soviet governments of Latvia, Lithuania, and White Russia, acknowledges the necessity of forming a close union of the: (1) military organizations and military command, (2) soviets of people's economy, (3) railway administration and economic structure, (4) finances, (5) commissariats for labor of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, White-Russia, and Crimea, whereby the supervision of the above-mentioned branches of national life shall be concentrated in the hands of separate collegia.

The union must be effected in the form of an agreement with the central executive committee and soviet of people's commissars of each of the above-mentioned republics.

For the realization of the said measures, the VTsIK elects a commission charged with immediate entrance into negotiations with the representatives of the corresponding central executive committee in order to elaborate, together with them, concrete

standards of union, and to formulate immediately, until the elaboration of a definitive union, regulations relating to the practical application of the same.

Signed: President of the VTsIK: M. Kalinin.
Secretary of the VTsIK: L. Serebriakov.

II

Order, Dated June 19, 1919, of the Revolutionary War Soviet of the Republic on Proclaiming Effective Throughout the Territory of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (UkSSR) of all Decrees, Statutes, Ordinances, and Orders Concerning the Red Army and the People's Commissariat for Military Affairs. (Order of the Revolutionary War Soviet No. 1020)[1]

In conformity with the order of the people's commissariat for military affairs of the UkSSR of February 11th of this year, No. 27, all decrees, legislative statutes, ordinances, and orders concerning the red army and matters within the competence of the people's commissariat for military affairs, such as have already been published, and such as may be published in the future by the corresponding organs of the Russian Soviet Republic, shall be effective throughout the territory of the UkSSR, in so far as they do not contradict existing or future agreements between the all-Russian central executive committee and the Ukrainian central executive committee concerning army units, administrations, institutions, and officials of the two soviet republics.

The units, institutions, and persons of both republics guilty of non-execution in any part of the present order, bear equal responsibility in the order determining responsibility for the non-execution of a decree, legislative statutes, ordinance, or order corresponding to each given case.

Signed: Alternate for the president of the revolutionary war soviet of the republic: E. Sklianskii.

[1] *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporiazhenii rabochego i krest'ianskogo pravitel'stva,* 1919, No. 30, Art. 322.

III

Treaty of Alliance Between the Workers and Peasants of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR) and the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (UkSSR), Signed at Moscow, December 28, 1920 [1]

The government of the RSFSR and the government of the UkSSR, recognizing the right of self-determination of peoples as proclaimed by the great proletarian revolution, and the independence and sovereignty of the contracting parties; conscious of the necessity of uniting their forces for the purpose of defence, and in the interests of their economic structure, have decided to conclude the present treaty of alliance between the workers and peasants, for which purpose they have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The Soviet Russian government—the president of the soviet of people's commissars (sovnarkom), Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, and the people's commissar for foreign affairs, Georgii Vasil'evich Chicherin; and the Soviet Ukrainian government—the president of the [Ukrainian] soviet of people's commissars and the people's commissar for foreign affairs, Christian Georgievich Rakovskii.

The above-mentioned plenipotentiaries, having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have come to the following agreement:

I

The RSFSR and the UkSSR unite in a military and economic union.

II

Both states consider it necessary to declare that all common engagements which they may undertake in the future in regard to other states can be prefaced only upon the community of interests of the workers and peasants concluding the present treaty of alliance between their republics, and that the fact that Ukrainian territory previously belonged to the former Russian Empire shall imply no obligation whatsoever [*sic*].

III

For the better realization of the purpose indicated in Par. 1, both governments declare the following commissariats as being henceforth unified: (1) war and navy, (2) supreme soviet of people's economy, (3) foreign trade, (4) finance, (5) labor, (6) ways of communication, and (7) posts and telegraphs.

[1] *Sistematecheskii sbornik vazhneishikh dekretov,* 117-118.

IV

The united people's commissariats of both republics enter into the composition of the sovnarkom of the RSFSR, the latter having their plenipotentiaries in the sovnarkom of the UkSSR. These plenipotentiaries are approved and controlled by the Ukrainian central executive committee and congress of soviets.

V

The order and form of the internal administration of the unified commissariats shall be established by a special agreement between the two governments.

VI

The supervision and control over the united commissariats is effected through the all-Russian congresses of soviets of workers', peasants' and the red army deputies, as well as through the all-Russian central executive committee. The UkSSR shall send thereto her representatives in conformity with the statute of the all-Russian congress of soviets.

VII

The present treaty must be submitted for ratification by the corresponding superior legislative institutions of the two republics.

The original has been drawn up and signed in two copies, in the Russian and Ukrainian languages, at Moscow, on December 28, 1920.

Additional Order to the Regulation of the All-Russian Congresses of Soviets

At the congress of soviets each of the signatory parties has the right to demand that, in regard to the non-unified commissariats, the other party shall have only advisory power.

IV

Peace Treaty, Concluded in Moscow on May 7, 1920, Between the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR) and the Democratic Republic of Georgia [1]

The RSFSR and the Democratic Republic of Georgia, animated by a common desire to establish stable and peaceful rela-

[1] *Rossiiskaia Sotsialisticheskaia Federativnaia Sovetskaia Respublika i Gruzinskaiia Demokraticheskaia Respublika ikh v zaimootnosheniia,* 8-15.

tions between the two countries in order to assure the well-being of the people living therein, have decided to conclude for this purpose a special treaty and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries: the government of the RSFSR, Lev Mikhailovich Karakhan, deputy people's commissar for foreign affairs, and the government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia, Grigorii Illarionovich Uratadze, member of the constituent assembly of Georgia; who, having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article 1. Recognizing the principles proclaimed by the RSFSR concerning the right of all peoples to self-determination, including complete secession from the state to which they belong, Russia recognizes unconditionally the existence and independence of the Georgian state, and voluntarily renounces all sovereign rights which belonged to Russia with respect to the Georgian people and territory.

Article 2. Recognizing the principles proclaimed in the preceding article 1 of the present treaty, Russia undertakes to refrain from any kind of interference in the internal affairs of Georgia.

Article 3. 1. The state frontier between Russia and Georgia runs from the Black Sea, along the river Psou to Mount Akhakhcha, passes over Mount Akhakhcha and Mount Agapet, and continues along the northern frontier of the former Chernomorsk, Kutais, and Tiflis provinces to the Zakatalsk circuit and along the eastern boundary thereof up to the frontier of Armenia.

2. The summits of all mountains along this boundary line shall be considered neutral until January 1, 1922. They shall neither be occupied by troops of, nor fortified by, either of the contracting parties.

3. The neutralization provided for in article 2 shall extend also the Dar'ial summit from Balty to Kobi, on the Mamison summit from Zaremag to Oni, and on all other summits for a distance of five versts on each side of the boundary line.

4. The exact determination of the state boundary between the two contracting parties shall be carried out by a special mixed boundary commission composed of an equal number of representatives of each party. The results of the work of this commission shall be confirmed by a special treaty between the two contracting parties.

Article 4. 1. Russia undertakes to recognize unconditionally as entering into the state of Georgia, in addition to those parts

of the province of Chernomorsk transferred to Georgia in accordance with paragraph 1 of article 3 of the present treaty, the following provinces and regions of the former Russian Empire: Tiflis, Kutais and Batum with all districts and circuits forming the said provinces and regions, and, in addition, the circuits of Zakatalsk and Sukhum.

2. In accordance with the gradual development of mutual relations between Georgia and states other than Russia which exist or may be formed later, and which now border or may border on Georgia along boundary lines other than those described in the preceding article 3 of the present treaty, Russia undertakes to recognize, at a later date, as Georgian territory those parts of the former vice-royalty of the Caucasus which may be transferred to Georgia by agreements concluded with the above-mentioned formations.

Article 5. Recognizing the justice of Russia's request that within the territory of Georgia henceforth there shall not be permitted any military operations, the presence of military forces, or, generally, activities which may create within the territory of Georgia conditions likely to endanger Russia's independence or to establish in Georgia a base of military operations directed against the RSFSR or against states allied with the latter, Georgia undertakes:

1. To disarm immediately or to intern in concentration camps all military and naval units which, at the time of signing this agreement, shall find themselves on the territory of Georgia, and also detachments or groups which pretend to be the government of Russia or of part of Russia, or the government of states allied with Russia, as well as representatives and officials, organizations and groups whose purpose is to overthrow the government of Russia or of allied states.

2. To disarm immediately and to intern all vessels anchored in the harbors of Georgia which form part of the military and naval forces and groups mentioned in paragraph 1 of the present article, or which for any reason have been at the disposal of those organizations and groups and are anchored at present in the harbors of Georgia. The provisions of paragraph 1 of this article shall be applied in full to the crews of those vessels.

3. To deliver to Russia free of charge, without request for compensation, and without exception, all military and naval property, valuables, and sums which shall be found in the pos-

session, use, or at the disposal of the organizations and groups mentioned in paragraph 1 of this article and which, in accordance with paragraphs 1 and 2 of the same article, have been transferred to Georgia.

By the terms of the present paragraph the following shall be considered as naval and military property: vessels and other floating units, all artillery, commissary (including food and equipment), engineering and aviation supplies.

4. To hand over to Russia, after their disarmament, all units, organizations, groups, and crews of the vessels mentioned in paragraph 1 of the present article.

NOTE: Russia undertakes to spare the life of all persons delivered to her under this article.

5. To take measures to deport from Georgian territory, as described in article 4 of the present treaty, all troops and military units which do not form a part of the government troops of Georgia.

6. To take measures against the admission into the territory as described in article 4 of the present treaty of all troops and military units which do not form a part of the government troops of Georgia.

7. To take measures against the admission into the territory of Georgia of troops and military units enumerated in the preceding paragraph 5 of the present article.

8. To forbid any person belonging to the units, organizations and groups enumerated in paragraphs 1 and 5 of the present article, in case such persons are not of Georgian nationality, to enlist in any capacity whatsoever, even as volunteers, in the government troops of Georgia.

9. Neither to permit henceforth any formation or existence on her territory, as described in article 4 of the present treaty, of any kind of organizations and groups pretending to be the government of Russia or a part of Russia, or the government of a state allied with Russia, nor to permit any representatives and officials of the organizations and groups having as their purpose the overthrow of the government of Russia or the government of states allied to Russia. Georgia also undertakes to prohibit any transportation through her territory by such organizations and groups of all material which may be used for attacking Russia or allied states as well as to prohibit vessels and floating units belonging to such organizations and groups from remaining in Georgian ports and waters, with the exception of such cases

as may be provided for by international law with regard to vessels in distress and the like.

10. In case such organizations, groups, representatives, or officials enumerated in paragraph 8 of this article should attempt to violate the measures therein,—these persons and their property, while subject to arrest or sequestration by the government of Georgia in accordance with the obligations which it has assumed in virtue of paragraph 8, shall be treated in conformity with the provisions of paragraphs 3 and 4 of this article.

11. The measures provided for in paragraph 5 of this article shall be carried out immediately after the signature of this treaty. Georgia promises to effect their execution within the shortest possible delay, not hesitating to employ armed force whenever necessary.

Article 6. Russia undertakes not to permit on her territory the sojourn or activities of any kind of groups and organizations pretending to be the government of Georgia or any part thereof, or of any kind of groups and organizations whose purpose is the overthrow of the government of Georgia. Russia undertakes to use all her influence with the states allied to her for the purpose of preventing any admission into their territories of groups and organizations mentioned in this article.

Article 7. In order to remove all possible misunderstandings, both contracting parties have agreed that in carrying out paragraphs 5 and 6 of article 5 of this treaty in those parts of Georgia which shall form part thereof as provided for in paragraph 2 of article 4 of this treaty after the delimitation of Georgia with neighboring states, except Russia, the necessary preventive measures, on the part of Georgia, provided for in such cases, shall be carried out as soon as possible after she has formally asserted sovereignty over any of these territories.

Article 8. A mixed commission composed of an equal number of representatives of both parties shall be established to supervise the exact fulfilment of articles 5 and 6 of this treaty, as well as to transfer and receive persons and properties mentioned in paragraphs 3 and 4 of article 5. This commission shall itself determine the order of procedure. The delivery and the reception of persons and property, in conformity with paragraphs 3 and 4 of article 5 of the present agreement shall be completed within two months from the date of the signature of this treaty.

Article 9. 1. Persons of Georgian origin residing on Rus-

sian territory and having attained the age of eighteen are entitled to opt for Georgian citizenship. Similarly, persons of non-Georgian origin, residing on the territory of Georgia and having attained the age indicated, are entitled to opt for Russian citizenship.

2. The details concerning the procedure to be followed for carrying out the present article shall be confirmed by a special agreement between the two contracting parties.

3. Citizens of both contracting parties who desire to avail themselves of the rights granted them by the present article shall fulfill the required formalities within a year from the date on which the agreement mentioned in the preceding paragraph 2 of this article shall enter into force.

ARTICLE 10. Georgia undertakes to exempt from punishment and from any further judicial or administrative prosecution all persons who were subject to such prosecution in Georgia for offenses committed in behalf of the RSFSR or of the communist party.

NOTE: Georgia undertakes to liberate immediately all persons under imprisonment for offenses as mentioned above.

ARTICLE 11. Each of the contracting parties undertakes to recognize and respect the flag and emblem of the other party as the emblem of a friendly state. The designs of the flags and emblems and modifications thereto, if any, shall be communicated mutually through diplomatic channels.

ARTICLE 12. Pending the conclusion of a commercial treaty between the contracting parties, for which purpose measures shall be taken as soon as possible, economic relations between Russia and Georgia shall be subject, temporarily, to the following general provisions:

1. Both contracting parties shall base their mutual commercial relations upon the principle of the most favored nation clause.

2. Goods whose origin or destination is one of the contracting parties shall not be subjected by the other party to any transit duties or taxes.

ARTICLE 13. The provisions of paragraphs 1 and 2 of article 11 of the present treaty shall serve as a basis for the commercial treaty which is to be concluded between the two contracting parties, as provided in article 12.

ARTICLE 14. Diplomatic and consular relations shall be established between Russia and Georgia as soon as possible. Pending

the conclusion of a special convention between the contracting parties concerning the mutual status of their consuls, for which purpose measures shall be taken, the rights and duties of a consul shall be determined by the laws of each contracting party relating thereto.

Article 15. The settlement of questions of public and private rights arising between citizens of both contracting parties, as well as the settlement of certain special questions between the two states, shall be entrusted to special Russo-Georgian mixed commissions which shall be formed within the shortest possible delay after the signature of this treaty. The composition, rights, and duties of these commissions shall be set forth in separate instructions to be confirmed in the case of each commission upon mutual agreement of both contracting parties. Within the jurisdiction of these commissions, among other questions, fall:

1. Formulation of a commercial treaty and other economic agreements.

2. Settlement of questions concerning the distribution, from the former central institutions, of all archives, judicial and administrative records, deposits and acts of civil character.

3. Settlement of the question concerning the method of utilization, the use, possession, and administration of the Batum-Baku petroleum pipe-line with regard to that part of it which, as provided in article 4 of the present treaty, shall fall in Georgian territory. This question shall be confirmed later by means of a special agreement between the two contracting parties.

Article 16. The present treaty enters into force automatically from the date of its signature and shall not require special ratification. In witness whereof the plenipotentiaries of the two contracting parties have signed the present treaty and affixed their seals thereto.

Done in two copies in Moscow, May 7, 1920.

(Signed) L. Karakhan. (Signed) Gr. Uratadze.

Special Secret Supplement to the Agreement Between Russia and Georgia

Article 1. Georgia undertakes to recognize the right of free existence and activity of all communist organizations throughout her territory, and in particular the right of free assemblies and free press (including press production).

In any case there shall be no judicial or administrative repression against private persons, as a result of public propaganda

and agitation in behalf of the communist program or from the activity of persons and organizations working on a communist basis.

Article 2. The present secret supplement shall form an integral part of the treaty signed on this date between Russia and Georgia. Similarly to the said treaty, this supplement enters into force automatically from the date of its signature and shall require no special ratification.

Done in two copies at Moscow, May 7, 1920.

L. Karakhan Gr. Uratadze.

Supplementary Agreement to the Treaty of Peace Between Russia and Georgia, Concluded on May 7, 1920

The undersigned, the representative of the RSFSR, Lev Mikhaliovich Karakhan, deputy people's commissar for foreign affairs, and the plenipotentiary of the Democratic Republic of Georgia, Grigorii Illarionovich Uratadse, member of the constituent assembly of Georgia, taking into consideration the fact that the Russian government has secured the preliminary approval of the government of the Azerbaijan Soviet Republic as concerns the contents of the articles which follow, have agreed as follows:

Article 1. The question of contested localities situated on the frontier of Georgia and Azerbaijan and in the Zakatalsk circuit shall be submitted for settlement to a mixed commission composed of representatives of the government of Azerbaijan and Georgia in equal number, presided over by a plenipotentiary of the RSFSR. All decisions of this commission shall be recognized by Azerbaijan and Georgia as compulsory.

Article 2. Pending the decision of the commission with regard to questions mentioned in paragraph 1 of this agreement, Georgia and Azerbaijan shall not send into the Zakatalsk circuit any troops in addition to those which were stationed there at the time of the signature of this agreement.

Article 3. The present supplementary agreement shall be regarded as an integral part of the treaty between Russia and Georgia signed on May 7, 1920, in Moscow, and, similarly to the said treaty, enters into force automatically from the date of its signature and shall not require special ratification.

In witness whereof the plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty and affixed their seals thereto.

Done in Moscow in two copies, May 12, 1920.

(Signed) L. Karakhan. Gr. Uratadze.

V

Agreement Between the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR) and the Government of the Azerbaijan Socialist Soviet Republic (ASSR), on a Unified Economic Policy, Signed at Moscow, September 30, 1920 [1]

In order to coördinate and unify the economic policy of the RSFSR with that of the ASSR, the RSFSR and the government of the ASSR have agreed as follows:

1. The Azerbaijan soviet of people's economy shall determine its plan of production in agreement with that of the RSFSR, whereby the supreme soviet of people's economy undertakes all measures for the maintenance and development of industry in Azerbaijan.

2. Adopting the principle of a common supply stock for both republics, the Azerbaijan soviet of people's economy shall distribute all supplies of raw materials and manufactured goods, now at its disposal, in agreement with the plenipotentiary representative of the supreme soviet of people's economy accredited to the Azerbaijan republic.

3. The supreme soviet of people's economy undertakes the financing of Azerbaijan industry; the supreme soviet of people's economy may finance directly the individual branches of industry and enterprises in Azerbaijan, in agreement with the Azerbaijan soviet of people's economy.

4. Monopolies which exist on the territory of the RSFSR shall gradually become effective on the territory of the ASSR. The establishment of special monopolies in Azerbaijan may take place only in agreement with the supreme soviet of people's economy.

5. There shall be established common schedules of prices for raw materials and for manufactured goods.

6. The supreme soviet of people's economy appoints its plenipotentiary accredited to the soviet of people's economy of the ASSR with the right of deciding (*reshaiuschego*) vote.

Done at Moscow, in two copies, September 30, 1920.

Signed: For the government of the RSFSR:

Georg. Chicherin.

For the government of the ASSR:

B. Shakhtakhtinskii.

[1] 1 *Sbornik deistvuiushchikh dogovorov,* No. 6.

VI

Agreement Between the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR) and the Government of the Azerbaijan Socialist Soviet Republic (ASSR) on Financial Questions, Signed at Moscow, September 30, 1920 [1]

1. The budgets of state revenue and expenditure of the commissariats of the ASSR, whose activity is unified with the commissariats of the RSFSR, are drawn up by each commissariat of the ASSR separately, being then submitted to a special board of estimate. This board submits the budgets, together with all appendixes, explanatory notes, protocols of conferences, and its conclusions, directly to the appropriate people's commissariats of the RSFSR for approval.

The budgets of state revenue and expenditures of the non-unified commissariats of Azerbaijan are first drawn up by each commissariat separately according to the budget regulations of the RSFSR, and are submitted to a special commission which presents them, with all appendixes, explanatory notes, protocols of conferences, and conclusions, for final approval by the soviet of people's commissars of the ASSR.

3. In the ASSR is established a special budget commission under the presidency of the people's commissar for finance of the ASSR and of representatives of the Azerbaijan workmen's and peasants' inspection, of the corresponding departments, and plenipotentiaries of the people's commissariat for finance and of the supreme soviet of people's economy of the RSFSR attached to the soviet of people's commissars of the ASSR.

4. The budgets compiled in accordance with articles 1 and 2 of the present agreement are executed under the control of the Azerbaijan workmen's and peasants' inspection.

5. Budget expenditure is covered: (a) by state revenue, (b) issue of Azerbaijan bonds, while (c) the amount lacking to balance the budget is granted by the RSFSR by transferring to the people's bank of Azerbaijan necessary sums according to the appropriations adopted in the course of execution of the said budgets.

6. Extraordinary credits for all commissariats of the ASSR are appropriated in the above-mentioned order of compiling and

[1] 1 *Sbornik deistvuiushchikh dogovorov,* No. 4.

approving the budgets. In extraordinary cases the necessary funds may be given in advance.

7. The ASSR, in accordance with established principles, issues bonds for circulation throughout the Azerbaijan, and for commercial transactions in Transcaucasia, Persia, and Turkey. The amount of the bonds issued is determined by an agreement between the governments of the signatory republics according to the needs of internal circulation and commercial transactions in the above-mentioned countries.

8. The people's commissariat for finance of the RSFSR appoints its plenipotentiary accredited to the soviet of people's commissars of the ASSR with the right of deciding (*reshaiuschego*) vote.

Done at Moscow in duplicate, September 30, 1920.

For the government of the RSFSR: Georg. Chicherin.

For the government of the ASSR: B. Shakhtakhtinskii.

VII

Agreement Between the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR) and the Government of the Azerbaijan Socialist Soviet Republic (ASSR) on Foreign Trade, Signed at Moscow, September 30, 1920 [1]

1. All economic relations with other countries, the sale and export of produce of the soil and industry in Azerbaijan, as well as the import of foreign produce and goods from Russia, and the conclusion of economic treaties, shall be effected on the basis of general principles and rules adopted by the people's commissariat for foreign trade of the RSFSR and through the intermediary of its corresponding organs.

2. Commercial relations with Transcaucasia, Persia, and Turkey shall be entrusted to the people's commissariat for foreign trade of the ASSR; all goods in Azerbaijan, except naphtha, are left within the jurisdiction of the people's commissariat for foreign trade in order to create a stock for the purpose of goods exchange with the above-mentioned countries. The quantity of naphtha necessary for this exchange of goods and for internal use in Azerbaijan proper shall be left to the decision of the Azerbaijan people's commissariat for foreign trade in agreement with the supreme soviet of people's econ-

[1] 1 *Sbornik deistvuiushchikh dogovorov,* No. 5.

omy and the people's commissariat for foreign trade of the RSFSR.

3. Agreements and commercial treaties of any nature whatsoever between Azerbaijan and other countries may take place only after previous examination and agreement with the people's commissariat for foreign trade of the RSFSR.

4. The mutual settling of all operations regarding the export and import transactions shall enter into force at the end of the operative year.

5. The people's commissariat for foreign trade of the RSFSR appoints its plenipotentiary representative accredited to the soviet of people's commissars of the ASSR with the right of deciding vote.

Done at Moscow, in two copies, September 30, 1920.

Signed: For the government of the RSFSR:

GEORG. CHICHERIN.

For the government of the ASSR:

B. SHAKHTAKHTINSKII.

VIII

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC (RSFSR) AND THE SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA (SSRA) CONCERNING THE RECOGNITION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF ARMENIA, SIGNED DECEMBER 2, 1920 [1]

On December 2, 1920, the plenipotentiary representative of the RSFSR, comrade Legron, in behalf of the Russian Soviet Republic, and comrades Dro and Terter'ian, in behalf of the government of the Republic of Armenia, concluded the following agreement:

1. Armenia is hereby declared an independent soviet republic.

2. Pending the convocation of a congress of soviets of Armenia, a military revolutionary committee vested with full power shall be established.

3. The Russian soviet government recognizes the following as forming undeniably a part of the territory of Armenia: the province of Erivan with all its component counties; that section of the province of Kars which in a military sense guarantees to Armenia the possession of the railway line between the stations Djajur and Araks; the Zengagur county of the province of Elisavetpol; a section of the county of Kazakh of the same

[1] 3 *Sbornik deistvuiushchikh dogovorov,* No. 79.

province within the boundaries as determined in the agreement of August 10th; and those sections of the province of Tiflis which belonged to Armenia prior to October 28, 1920.

4. The commanding staff of the Armenian army shall not be held responsible for acts performed while in the ranks of the army before the soviet power was proclaimed in Armenia.

5. Members of the dashnaktsiutun party and of other Armenian socialist parties shall not be subject to repressive measures because of their allegiance to the said parties.

6. The board of the revolutionary committee shall be composed as follows: five members appointed by the communist party and two members nominated by the radical faction of the dashnaktsiutun party, the latter subject to approval by the communist party.

7. The Russian Soviet Republic shall take measures for the immediate concentration of all military forces necessary for the defence of Armenia's independence.

8. Upon the signing of the present agreement the existing government of the republic of Armenia shall be dissolved; until the arrival of the military revolutionary committee, the authority passes to the military command with comrade Dro at the head. Comrade Silyn' is appointed commissar of the RSFSR attached to the military command.

Done in duplicate.

Signed: The plenipotentiary representative of the RSFSR:
LEGRAN.
By mandate of the government of the Republic of Armenia: DRO. TERTER'IAN.

IX

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC (RSFSR) AND THE SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA (SSRA), ON FINANCIAL MATTERS, SIGNED AT MOSCOW, SEPTEMBER 30, 1921 [1]

In order to strengthen the bonds of fraternity and alliance between the SSRA and the RSFSR, the government of the SSRA and the government of the RSFSR have decided to conclude the present agreement on financial questions, for which purpose they have appointed as their representatives: the government of the

[1] 3 *Sbornik deistvuiushchikh dogovorov,* No. 40.

SSRA, the plenipotentiary representative thereof, Saak Mizzoevich Gabrielian; and the government of the RSFSR, the commissar for foreign affairs, Georgii Vassil'ievich Chicherin.

1. In order to coördinate the financial policy of both contracting parties, the people's commissar for finance of the RSFSR shall have a permanent representation in Armenia in the person of the people's commissar for finance of Armenia, who shall be elected on the same principle as the other people's commissars, and who shall be appointed by the central executive committee of Armenia in agreement with the people's commissar of the RSFSR.

2. Within the territory of the SSRA all taxes and duties (including those covering local necessities) shall be determined in agreement with the people's commissar for finance of the RSFSR, in conformity with article 81 of the constitution of the RSFSR. All taxes and duties collected within the territory of Armenia shall be deposited in the corresponding offices of the people's commissariat for finance of the SSRA in conformity with the budget of state revenue.

3. All payment-offices of the people's commissariat for finance in Armenia shall be under the control of the people's commissariat for finance of the RSFSR through the intermediary of the people's commissar for finance of the SSRA, and shall carry on their work in accordance with the regulations provided for similar institutions in the RSFSR.

4. In order to coördinate all budget appropriations with the common plan of both republics, and in order to establish uniformity in regard to the budgets thereof, a special budget commission shall be constituted in the SSRA, under the presidency of the people's commissar for workmen's and peasants' inspection of the SSRA, and of a representative of the corresponding commissariat of the RSFSR.[1]

5. The budgets of state revenue and expenditure of the people's commissariats of Armenia, which are combined with the corresponding people's commissariats of the RSFSR in virtue of agreement between the RSFSR and the SSRA, shall be submitted separately by each one of the people's commissariats for examination to the budget commission provided for in article 4 of the present agreement. The decision of the commission, together with all documents pertaining thereto, shall be submitted

[1] The source cited gives, evidently erroneously, 'SSRA'.

for approval to the soviet of people's commissars (sovnarkom) of the SSRA and, thereafter, to the corresponding people's commissariat of the RSFSR according to the usual procedure.

6. The budgets of non-unified people's commissariats shall be examined in accordance with the procedure set forth in article 5, with the difference, however, that the decisions of the budget commission, provided for in article 4 of the present agreement, shall be submitted with all documents pertaining thereto to the sovnarkom of Armenia for approval, and, thereafter, to the commissariat for finance for the purpose of being entered into the budget of revenue and expenditure, and for report to the sovnarkom of the RSFSR.

7. The people's commissar for workmen's and peasants' inspection of the SSRA shall exercise control over the execution of the budget referred to in articles 5 and 6 of the present agreement.

8. Paper money and tokens of settlement and payment at present current in the RSFSR and in the SSRA shall have free circulation in both republics.

9. The present agreement shall become effective from the date of signature.

Done and signed in duplicate at Moscow, September 30, 1921.

Signed: GABRIELIAN. CHICHERIN.

X

MILITARY AND POLITICAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC (RSFSR) AND THE BUKHARA SOVIET REPUBLIC (BSR) SIGNED AT MOSCOW MARCH 4, 1921 [1]

By overthrowing the tyranny of capital that oppressed the laboring masses in Russia, the October [old style] revolution has secured for all nations of the former Russian Empire the right of self-determination.

Guided by this principle and renouncing in particular the colonial policy of the former capitalist governments of Russia for which the laboring masses of Bukhara, like other nations of the east, have always been an object of exploitation, the RSFSR recognizes, without reservation, the self-government and complete independence of the BSR, with all the consequences deriving therefrom, and renounces for ever the rights enjoyed by the Russian tsarist régime in Bukhara.

[1] 2 *Sbornik deistvuiushchikh dogovorov,* No. 42.

Taking into consideration the revolution which took place in Bukhara and which expressed the will of her working masses, the RSFSR recognizes as obligatory the substitution of the term Soviet Republic of Bukhara for the former Khanat of Bukhara.

Deriving from the profound consciousness that not only can there be no conflict of interests among the working masses of all countries, but also that the betterment of the workers' existence is rendered possible solely by their struggling in common and by uniting their forces against the imperialistic bourgeoisie of the world; deriving also from the necessity of elaborating a common plan in the struggle for independence and for the coördination of forces, as well as of introducing uniformity into their preparation; and, furthermore, from the conviction that the working masses, after having eliminated any possibility of exploiting each other, are interested in the strengthening of creative forces; and believing, finally, that only a close union of the laborers of the east and west will secure for them victory and that all soviet republics must proceed on the road to fraternal union,—the RSFSR and the BSR have decided to conclude this treaty of alliance, for which purpose they have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The government of the RSFSR:

Georgii Vassil'ievich Chicherin,
Lev Mikhailovich Karakhan;

The government of the BSR:

Mizza Mukhetdin Mansurov,
Radjab Mukhamedov,
Rakhmet Rafik Ardullabekov.

After having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, the said plenipotentiaries have agreed as follows:

Article 1. From the moment of signing this treaty both contracting parties consider all treaties and agreements concluded by Russian tsarism, the late bourgeois government of Russia, and the Socialist Soviet Republic of Turkestan with the former emirate government of Bukhara as abrogated.

Article 2. Simultaneously with the conclusion of the present treaty the two contracting parties agree to conclude a military-political convention.

Note. Pending ratification of this convention the provisional military convention concluded in November 1920 by the representatives of the RSFSR in Bukhara and the BSR shall remain in force.

Article 3. Both contracting parties mutually undertake:

1. Not to permit any formation or sojourn on their territories of governments, organizations, groups or individual persons having for their aim the struggle against any other soviet republic or the overthrow of its government, and not to permit within their territory any mobilization or enlisting of their own citizens or citizens of other states in armies unfriendly to the soviet republics.

2. To prohibit, by taking all necessary preventive measures, the import into or transit through the localities of their territories of such armament belonging to, or destined for, whatever organizations are fighting directly or indirectly against any of the soviet republics.

3. To support each other in defending the independence of both republics against the unceasing attacks of the world bourgeoisie and its agents against the very existence of both soviet republics.

Article 4. The two contracting parties recognize as their future boundaries those which existed between the RSFSR and the BSR at the time of the conclusion of this treaty. For the exact determination of the boundary line a mixed commission shall be appointed on the principle of equal representation.

Article 5. The two contracting parties shall enter immediately into a separate economic agreement, the fundamental principles of which shall be as follows:

1. Coördination of the economic policies and economic plans of both republics, in conformity with the economic structure of both contracting parties.

2. Coördination of the commercial policies of both republics and the elaboration of a common commercial plan on the basis of nationalization of foreign commerce, and on the principle of direct exchange of goods.

3. Mutual recognition in favor of each other of preferential rights regarding the establishment on each other's territory of different kinds of industrial, agricultural, transport, mining, and other concerns.

4. The RSFSR shall lend its assistance to the BSR in respect to satisfying the industrial and other economic requirements thereof by putting at the disposal of Bukhara the necessary materials, machinery, and technical experts, and by granting unredeemable subsidies.

Article 6. In order to regulate the exploitation of the water

system of the river Zarevshan, which is the common property of both republics, and also in order to eliminate the possible violation of either contracting party's interests, the RSFSR and the BSR adopt the principle that all works concerning irrigation, or the modification of existing works involving an alteration in the functioning of the Zarevshan water system (as well as of that of other rivers owned in common by both republics), can be undertaken only after due approval by the mixed irrigation commission which shall be appointed on the principle of equal representation.

Article 7. The RSFSR transfers to the BSR without compensation all immovable property belonging to the Russian Republic either by right of ownership or by right of usage, such as land, city lots, manufacturing plants, constructions, and factories with stocks and equipment. The date of actual transfer of such property shall be considered also as the moment of transfer of rights to such property, and both contracting parties undertake to enter upon the transfer immediately after ratification of the present treaty.

Note 1. Together with the other constructions and concerns, the Anin-Daria flotilla or parts thereof and the railway, and telegraph functioning within the territory of Bukhara shall also be transferred to the ownership of the BSR; and the procedure of the transfer of the flotilla, railway, and telegraph, as well as the form of their administration under compulsory guarantees of proper functioning and of unification of the technical exploitation, shall be determined by a special commission.

Note 2. Both contracting parties agree to invite representatives of the Khorezm Socialist People's Republic to participate in the commission and in the question of the determination of the number of vessels which are to be transferred to the BSR in order to safeguard the interests of the said Khorezm Republic.

Article 8. The BSR on its part shall turn over to the RSFSR all immovable property situated within the latter's territory belonging to the Bukhara emirate government, as well as the private capitalistic concerns of citizens of Bukhara, such as banks, factories, and commercial enterprises which are subject to nationalization in accordance with the law of the RSFSR and on account of their size, with all stock and equipment belonging thereto. The time of actual transfer of this property shall be considered also as the moment of transfer of rights to it, and

both contracting parties undertake to enter upon the transfer immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

NOTE. In cases where, on the basis of laws of the RSFSR, a capitalistic concern owned by citizens of Bukhara or by the Emirate government of Bukhara have been confiscated before the conclusion of the present treaty, the date of confiscation shall be considered as the moment of transfer.

ARTICLE 9. All land and water concessions which are the object of agreements concluded between the former government of the Emir of Bukhara and individual Russian citizens, institutions, and companies are to be considered as unconditionally cancelled. All private Russian concerns of capitalistic character (factories, manufacturing plants, and commercial establishments) using hired labor, subject to nationalization on account of their size and in accordance with the laws of the RSFSR and situated within the territory of the Bukhara Khanat, shall be considered by the RSFSR as the property of the BSR, together with houses, land, and stock attached thereto, and without compensation to the former owners. At the same time the BSR undertakes not to turn these concerns over to private ownership but to work them as state concerns of the BSR.

ARTICLE 10. Goods belonging to citizens of the RSFSR in greater quantities than are admissible by the laws of the RSFSR pass to the ownership of the BSR; reciprocally, goods of Bukhara or of her private citizens confiscated by the organs of the RSFSR shall be considered as the property thereof. The evaluation of the goods owned by citizens of both parties shall be made by a mixed commission which is to be selected on the principle of equal representation. In accordance with this evaluation both contracting parties shall compensate for the value of the merchandise in bills.

ARTICLE 11. Citizens with full rights of the RSFSR residing on the territory of the BSR, as well as citizens with full rights of the BSR residing for purposes of labor on the territory of the RSFSR, shall enjoy all political rights of the republic in which they reside independently of the length of their sojourn.

ARTICLE 12. Citizens of the BSR and citizens of the RSFSR shall be subject to all decrees and ordinances of the republic and organs of its authority on the territory of the republic where they reside.

NOTE 1. Any estate left by a citizen of one of the parties deceased on the territory of the other party shall be integrally

turned over to the representative of the state of which the deceased was a citizen in order to be dealt with in accordance with the laws of the state of his origin.

Note 2. Citizens of Bukhara residing on the territory of the RSFSR and *vice versa* shall not be subject to military mobilization in the state in which they reside but shall fulfill their military service in accordance with the laws and regulations of their own country.

Article 13. In conformity with the will expressed by the population of the whole territory at the regional congress of soviets of the Russian settlements in Bukhara (October 1920), the settlements under the control of the executive committee of the said congress shall be turned over by the RSFSR to the BSR with all consequences deriving therefrom and with renunciation for ever of all rights thereto.

Note 1. All immovable property and appurtenances thereof belonging to the RSFSR and situated on the land to be transferred are handed over to the BSR without compensation.

Note 2. The details concerning the transfer of the Russian settlements to the BSR shall be determined by a special treaty.

Note 3. Citizens of the former Russian settlements who resided there before the revolution in Bukhara may adopt Bukhara citizenship; the authorization for such adoption shall be given jointly by the nazir for foreign affairs of Bukhara and the plenipotentiary representative of the RSFSR.

Article 14. The RSFSR undertakes to assist the laborers of Bukhara by sending to the government of the BSR instructors, including military instructors with a knowledge of the native language, teachers, school-manuals, literature, material for equipment of printing offices, etc.

Article 15. The RSFSR and the BSR shall mutually exchange permanent plenipotentiary representatives.

Article 16. The present treaty is subject to ratification, after which an exchange of acts of ratification shall take place.

Article 17. The present treaty, drawn up in the Russian and Uzbek languages, shall enter into force after the exchange of the acts of ratification.

Done at Moscow, March 4, 1921.

Signed:

Georgii Chicherin, L. Karakhan.

Mirza Mukhetdin Mansurov, Radjab Mukhamedov, Rakhmet Rafik Abdullabekov.

XI

Economic Agreement Between the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR) and the Bukhara Soviet Republic (BSR), Concluded at Moscow on March 4, 1921 [1]

The RSFSR and the BSR, in order to coördinate, for their mutual benefit, their economic policies, and in order to supplement article 5 of the treaty of alliance, have decided to conclude the present economic agreement, and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The government of the RSFSR:

Georgii Vassil'ievich Chicherin,
Lev Mikhailovich Karakhan;

The government of the BSR:

Mirza Mukhetdin Mansurov,
Radjab Mukhamedov,
Rakhmet Rafik Abdullabekov;

who, having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

Article 1. Commercial relations between the two contracting parties shall proceed on the basis of an exchange of goods in conformity with the principle of cost price and of excluding any profit whatsoever.

Article 2. The exchange of goods between the two republics shall be conducted exclusively through the agency of state organs for foreign trade and shall in no case be conducted by private persons.

Article 3. The BSR grants to the RSFSR preferential rights over other states, administrations, and private persons as respects the exchange of goods relating to the surplus of merchandise which the BSR may find possible to export.

Article 4. The RSFSR on its part undertakes to satisfy in full all demands of Bukhara for goods to be exchanged against the produce exported from Bukhara, at such prices as shall be established by mutual agreement between the commissariat for foreign trade of the RSFSR and the corresponding organ of the BSR.

Article 5. Demands for the produce required by the BSR and the RSFSR, as well as the terms and procedure regarding

[1] 2 *Sbornik deistvuiushchikh dogovorov,* No. 43.

the exchange, shall be established by common agreement between the organs for foreign trade of both republics.

ARTICLE 6. After conclusion of the present treaty both parties shall enter upon the elaboration of an agreement for a customs union and for the removal of internal customs barriers, whereby the custom treaties of the BSR with other foreign states [1] as well as the order of protection of the custom boundaries between the BSR and the said states, shall be established by common agreement between the two contracting parties.

ARTICLE 7. The trade of both republics with other foreign countries shall be conducted according to the common plan of imports and exports which shall be elaborated subject to equal consideration of all the necessities and interests of both contracting parties.

NOTE. The common plan of imports and exports must also take into consideration all possibilities and requirements of the trade of the BSR with foreign countries immediately bordering upon Bukhara.

ARTICLE 8. The BSR undertakes to prevent, by all possible means, the penetration into its territory of rapacious industrial capital or of foreign bourgeoisie.

ARTICLE 9. The RSFSR on its part undertakes to lend its assistance to the BSR for the establishment and development of its industrial and other economic enterprises by putting at the disposal of the latter all necessary materials, implements of production, and the like; in case the RSFSR does not possess such materials and implements, the BSR shall place its orders in foreign countries either through the representative of the RSFSR or directly through the representatives of the BSR therein, always adhering to the common plan of imports and exports.

ARTICLE 10. In case of proposals arising for the establishment on the territory of the BSR of various industrial and other enterprises requiring great expenditure of labor and money for production, which the BSR may be unwilling or unable to start or to work, the BSR shall grant preferential rights for the establishment of such enterprises either to the RSFSR or to other soviet republics.

ARTICLE 11. The BSR shall grant concessions to foreign capitalistic countries for the establishment of enterprises indicated in article 10 only after previous agreement with the RSFSR.

ARTICLE 12. The RSFSR also undertakes to place at the dis-

[1] That is the BSR regards the RSFSR as a "foreign state".

posal of the BSR the necessary contingents of engineers, technicians, hydro-technicians, and other experts for prospecting as well as for organizing mining and manufacturing industries of the BSR and for irrigation works.

Article 13. In order to give the BSR immediate assistance in respect of current necessities, the RSFSR lends to the BSR an unredeemable subsidy, the amount of which shall be established by both parties.

Article 14. The present agreement shall be subject to ratification, after which the acts of ratification shall be exchanged.

Article 15. The present agreement, drawn up in the Russian and Uzbek languages, shall take effect from the date of exchange of the acts of ratification.

Done at Moscow, March 4, 1921.

Signed:

(L.S.) Georgii Chicherin.

(L.S.) L. Karakhan.

(L.S.) Mirza Mukhetdin Mansurov.

(L.S.) Radjab Mukhammedov.

(L.S.) Rakhmet Abdullabekov.

CHAPTER V

THE FORMATION OF THE UNION

The rebuilding of the Russian Empire by the bolshevik leaders was no mean achievement. From the time of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918 until 1920, the new rulers of Russia had been generous with their territory. They betrayed as little compunction in abandoning their claims to the regions they could not hold as the Tsars had shown years before in conquering for Imperial Russia those very territories.

This early policy of territorial abandonment was not, however, an indication of a new point of view in respect to state, government, or empire. It may have resulted in part from the spirit of resignation which characterizes people in Russia when faced by a difficult situation. An obvious reason is that the bolsheviks were striving for time. To-morrow could take care of itself; they were concerned with the problems of the hour.

When more normal conditions had returned after the early revolutionary chaos and disorganization, the leaders set out to do exactly what men of the old order would have done in a similar situation. The underlying bases of human behavior remained unchanged by social theories. It was as natural for BOLSHEVIK IMPERIALISM to bring the Ukraine, White Russia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia under its sway as it is for a strong nation, society, corporation, or individual, to seek an increase of power. The process of unification of all the soviet socialist republics was in fact so logical a development that it is difficult to understand why, in Russia, the facts in the case have not been

honestly and frankly admitted instead of an obvious attempt to becloud the entire reconstruction of the empire with such issues as the desire of the proletariat, the oppression of the bourgeoisie, and the like.[1]

In this account of the reintegration of Russia under Moscow, treated in the preceding chapter, two phases of development were stressed. In one case, that of the RSFSR, the formation of many separate units into a federation on the basis of national characteristics and political expediency was mentioned. The other field of state life covered the various soviet republics which gradually came under the control of the largest republic, that is under the direct authority of the RSFSR with its capital at Moscow.

Revolutions are city products. They can start only in industrial centers, not in the sparsely settled agricultural regions. To grow beyond the confines of the industrial areas, it was necessary for the bolshevik revolution to use weapons other than the ones it had forged for conditions in Petrograd and Moscow. With surprising quickness the most useful instrument for the bolshevisation of the outlying regions was found. It was named propaganda.

[1] See in this connection the quotation from Lenin's *State and Revolution,* page 297 of this book. It is difficult to judge whether the difference between the statements and actions of the communist leaders results from a lack of sincerity or whether at times a person adopts a certain line of argument in order to convince himself. In this book what at times may appear to be a criticism of soviet policy would have been passed over altogether if, in Russia and before the world, it had not been declared that one thing was being done whereas in reality the leaders were doing exactly the opposite. For example, the well known case of the conquest of the Caucasus by Moscow was a logical and natural form of modern imperialism. But instead of admitting the fact that they acted as a 'capitalistic power' would have done under the same conditions the bolsheviks solemnly announced at the time their respect for the independence of Georgia one day and violated it the next. And ever since they have protested their innocence. The same is true in the fiction of a constitution supposed to be the basis of state authority when in reality the machinery of the communist party is the real source of governmental power. An honest point of view would be: Let it be so, for there is no harm in it; but do not deny the facts in an attempt to deceive the none too intelligent 'proletariat' or even the outside world.

The first objective of bolshevik propaganda in the interior of Russia was to secure the allegiance of all those elements which had been opposed to the old régime. It was, therefore, deemed expedient to give them exactly what had been denied by the old régime. One of the greatest and most natural longings of any people with a distinct culture or customs or possessing special national characteristics is local freedom. The bolsheviks realized this and decided to form autonomous republics and regions of the several peoples in Russia. The creation of these areas began before soviet control had been established. The plea to the local subject peoples was: overthrow the oppressor, and the blessings of local autonomy will be given unto you. Success followed this strategy. From 1920 to 1922 various units, autonomous in name, were set up. Russia proper became in theory a federation of republics.

In creating these autonomous formations, however, the bolsheviks were violating sacred tenets of socialism. Stalin, in his essay on the national question written in 1913, had stated openly that cultural-national autonomy was not a doctrine to be applied. He regarded it as a principle presupposing an artificial single nation whose natural life was divided. In particular this doctrine was objectionable because it would promote nationalism and lead to the division of peoples by national units. "National particularism," he then wrote, "is not adjustable to the program of social democracy." [2] Instead of cultural-national autonomy there should be regional autonomy based upon a definite population on a given territory but not upon the fiction of territory. By this means national boundaries would be destroyed, and there would be a division by classes instead of by nationality.

The solidarity of the working classes constituted the fundamental tenet of the communist national policy, even though the politically expedient creation of autonomous

[2] *Marksizm i natsional'naia problema,* as cited, 247.

areas before the establishment of soviet control appeared to emphasize the principle of cultural-national autonomy. Here again socialist theories proved sufficiently obscure and elastic to be adapted to any policy found expedient for the moment. As Stalin writes in the above-mentioned essay, "nations have the right to regulate their life in accordance with their own will. They have the right to retain any one of their national institutions, harmful and useful as well, and no one may (has no right!) to interfere forcibly with the life of a nation. This does not mean, however, that the social democracy shall not fight or agitate against these harmful institutions of the nation, or against impractical demands thereof. On the contrary, social democracy is bound to carry on such agitation and to influence the will of a nation in such a fashion as to allow it to adopt the forms which would correspond to the interests of the proletariat." Thus autonomous formations could be established, but there was nothing to prevent their later transformation to suit communist theories. A nation might choose to go its own way; its laboring class could be declared to favor centralization. But such arguments are little more than solemn nonsense; they mean only "you shall think as I do, or you shall die".

The desire for local autonomy and independence and the record of how that ambition was compelled to give way before the centralizing influences of the communist doctrines were traced in the account of the changes which occurred in Russia from 1917 to 1922. The trend to centralization was exactly in line with the doctrines of both the Russian communist party and that world organ, the communist international. At the second congress of the latter (June 19-August 7, 1920) the problem of a federation of the soviet republics had been discussed. It was then decided that a "federation is a transitory form toward the complete unification of the working masses of all nations. The federation has already in practice exposed the

practicability in the relations of the RSFSR with other soviet republics . . . as well as within the RSFSR itself, particularly in matters concerning their relation to nationalties which have had neither state existence nor autonomy. The problem of the communist international consists in the further development and in experimental study of these new federations established on the principles of the soviet movement. Recognizing the federation as a transitory form to a complete union, it is necessary to aim for a more and more compact federal union." [3]

The RSFSR was itself nominally a federal state. It comprised not only Russia proper but also numerous republics and regions that were in theory autonomous. Still it formed only a portion of the vast dominion that had come under the control of the soviets.

Simultaneously with the development of the federal power and the progress of centralization *within* the RSFSR, a similar trend was to be noticed in the relations between the RSFSR as a whole and the other soviet republics. White Russia, in January 1920, signified her desire for a close union with the RSFSR. She was followed by Azerbaijan in April 1920, by Armenia in December 1920, and by Georgia in 1921. Even more important was the treaty of alliance signed by the Ukraine with the RSFSR on December 29, 1920.

The next step toward a union of the various soviet republics came in the Caucasus. On March 12, 1922, the plenipotentiary conference of the three Transcaucasian republics—Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia—decided that a union of the three would be timely. The decision was carried out in December of the same year when a constitution for the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic was formally adopted.

All the soviet republics were now closely connected with

[3] *Rezoliutsii i ustav kommun. internats. priniatye vtorym kongressom kommun. internats.*, 91.

the RSFSR by treaty. The question arises: what was the relation between them in practice?

Each republic, in its treaty of alliance with the RSFSR, in theory retained its sovereignty. Its fundamental law or constitution originated with its own congress of soviets. Yet, save for the treaty declaration of what may best be called *potential* sovereignty, the organs of authority of the RSFSR were supreme in all the allied republics. In addition, prior to the ninth all-Russian congress of soviets, in December 1921, those republics, except the Ukraine and White Russia, were neither in theory nor in practice represented on the central organs of government. Only then, upon the demand of the three Transcaucasian republics, was a system of representation of all soviet republics put into force.

Even after this step, the legislative relation between the RSFSR and other republics remained very indefinite. As a rule decrees emanating from Moscow but intended to apply to the allied republics carried some mention of a supplementary agreement whereby the other soviet republics were to enact them into law. The practice at once began, however, for all decrees of the all-Russian central executive committee, its presidium, the soviet of people's commissars and the soviet of labor and defence of the RSFSR to become effective in all allied soviet republics. The local authorities did no more than register such legislative acts. In a few cases where such decrees were held up by the republic an appeal was made to Moscow; final decision in such instances, however, lay with the all-Russian central executive committee or its presidium.[4]

Relations between the RSFSR and the other republics

[4] See O. Magerovskii, "Soiuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik" (USSR), in *Sovetskoe pravo,* No. 1 (4), 1923, 16. Many decrees that applied to the republics were issued by the soviet of people's commissars of the RSFSR, on which the republics were not represented, without the participation of the all-Russian central executive committee.

were well established by the beginning of 1922. But in practice the RSFSR, as it originally stood, had lost its identity; it had become in reality a union of soviet socialist republics. To preserve the doctrine of self-determination and thus secure the full support of the other republics, however, a formal fusion of all republics with the RSFSR was not desirable. It was accordingly decided to retain the RSFSR as the shaft or guiding wheel and to establish the union of republics under another name.[5] That name would serve as a formal attestation of the reëstablishment of the power of Moscow over the territories of the former empire which had tended to escape from the central control during the civil war of 1919-1920. While the formal establishment of the new union would merely recognize an accomplished fact, at the same time the very fact of the establishment would serve to facilitate the process of the reintegration of Russia under Moscow. This trend to centralization not only corresponded to political and economic necessities but also was in accord with the fundamental aims of the bolsheviks.

It is reported to have been suggested, in an instruction sent out from Moscow about the middle of 1922, that the various republics themselves propose the creation of a federal union.[6] By this indirect method it would not appear that Moscow had taken the initiative in proposing a union. There have been many similar manifestations of the popular will in Soviet Russia. The various republics did not hesitate to ally themselves even more closely with the RSFSR by obeying the instruction and by proposing, as if

[5] An official publication states the problems thus: "To cement this union and to increase its power, the communist party, under the principal direction of which the soviet authority is guided, set forth the principle of federation of states organized in the soviet fashion, and in this sense the entire national policy of soviet authority was carried out from the moment of its creation." *Piat' let vlasti sovetov*, 224.

[6] The writer has not been able to find direct published evidence to prove the statement. Private conversations in Moscow form the basis for what has been stated.

on their own initiative, that a union of all the soviet republics in Russia be consummated. The central executive committees of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan took the lead. They were not inexperienced in such matters, for at this time, October 1922, they were busy formulating the constitution for the three Caucasian republics. They carried out the drafting of that constitution with full knowledge of the drafts already proposed in Moscow for a constitution of all Russia.[7]

The proposal of the three republics of the Caucasus for a federal union was followed by the central executive committees of White Russia and the Ukraine.[8] Each appointed a special commission to study the question of amending the local constitutions so as to make possible a closer union with the RSFSR.

When the tenth all-Russian congress of soviets met at Moscow on December 23, 1922, the stage was set. The individual rôles had been rehearsed. A 'spontaneous' demand for union was declared to have come from the theoretically independent but allied soviet republics.

Stalin introduced the resolution proposing the creation of a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. He said that shortly before the opening of the congress resolutions had been received from the congresses of soviets of the Transcaucasian republic, the Ukraine, and White Russia on the desirability and necessity of uniting these republics and the RSFSR into a federal state.[9] Stalin attributed this move to three main causes: the internal economic situa-

[7] See page 228.

[8] The movement in favor of a union is stated sometimes to have been particularly strong in the Ukraine, because under the existing arrangement the "hegemonic position" of the RSFSR was displeasing. It is true that in 1922 nationalistic or chauvinistic feeling in the Ukraine was still strong and there was an undercurrent of opposition to Moscow. But it would have been somewhat naïve to look to the formation of a close federal union as a means to increase the power and influence of the Ukraine, even though the organs of the RSFSR were separated from those of the Union.

[9] See stenographic report, 185.

tion, the danger from foreign powers, and the international nature of soviet authority.

First, economic reasons. By a series of transit and trade agreements a fairly close correlation already had been worked out. At the head of the economic system was established a supreme soviet of people's economy with its numerous central and local divisions. The early legislation abolishing private property, cancelling loans, seizing all private banks, and nationalizing all means of production and trade required a central organization without parallel in any country. From this necessity arose the central body just mentioned to manage the business life of the country. Its work could be carried out in full only when its power was supreme throughout the closely allied republics. Also, as Stalin pointed out, many parts of Russia were too poor to stand alone. In one section agriculture was predominant; in another part industries; the different areas needed to be formed into an economic unit before economic life could prosper.

In the field of foreign policy the inconvenience arising from a divided representation in dealing with European powers has been mentioned. The problem in Russia was similar to that in the period of the articles of confederation in America. In both cases the motto "united we stand, divided we fall" was applicable. This fact need not be attributed to imperialist designs of the capitalist world. Union or disunion, strength or weakness, require no special explanation.

The third reason given by Stalin for the necessity of a union of all soviet republics was in keeping with the philosophy of the communist international. From the very beginning of the revolution in 1917, the leaders had declared that they could not succeed until there was a world revolution. The communist party, by its class nature, could recognize no boundaries. It proposed the freedom of all peoples of the world, but in the same breath these peoples

were told that they should form one united soviet system based on the dictatorship of the proletariat. At last the theses of Stalin at the eighth party congress in 1919 and again in 1921 on the will of the proletariat as opposed to the doctrine of self-determination were to be consummated.[10]

Following the report by Stalin, the congress resolved to recognize as expedient the union of four soviet socialist republics—the RSFSR, Transcaucasia, the Ukraine, and White Russia—into one Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The constitutional basis of this union was to be the free will and equality of the republics, each one reserving the right to separate from the union.

A special delegation of representatives of all the republics concerned was appointed to draw up a treaty of union. This treaty, the delegates were instructed, should provide for the consolidation into unified commissariats of the existing organs in the different republics for the army and navy, ways of communication, foreign affairs, foreign trade, and posts and telegraphs. Furthermore, the separate commissariats for finance, food, people's economy, labor, and workmen's and peasants' inspection of the treaty or union republics should be made subordinate to the same organs of the union. On the other hand, the delegates were instructed that the national interests of the peoples of the separate union republics should be fully guaranteed.

It remained now for the committee thus appointed to draw up a treaty along the lines suggested. The congress of soviets of the future union, then ready to assemble, would ratify the treaty as formulated by the committee on the formation of a union of all soviet socialist republics. From the time the committee was appointed to draft the terms of a union to the date of proclamation only three days elapsed. On December 30, 1922, there was issued in fact

[10] See also chapter X.

not only a declaration of union[11] but also a treaty of union.[12] This uncanny speed is in no wise to be attributed to superior skill in drafting but solely to the fact that the documents had already been prepared and approved by the central committee of the Russian communist party acting in their party capacity and later acting as members of the presidium of the all-Russian central executive committee.

The declaration of union really adds nothing to soviet constitutional literature; it is merely a rehash of old polemics on the curse of capitalism contrasted to the benign blessings of socialism. According to it the soviet republics had beaten off the attacks of the imperialists, but only after much destruction of property in the civil wars. To restore national economy, to prevent new attacks from the outside, and to unite the laboring masses, the creation of a union was a necessary step. But the new federation, curiously enough, was to represent a "voluntary union of equal peoples" in which "each republic is secured the right of freely withdrawing".

The treaty of union is a more important document, being nothing less than a constitution for four soviet republics that, by its adoption, were to become a "single union state", the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

After the conclusion of the treaty of union, which was ratified by the first congress of soviets of the USSR on December 30, 1922, it still remained for the central executive committee of the USSR, dominated by the members of the all-Russian RSFSR central executive committee, to elaborate the final draft of the constitution. The first draft proposed did little more than repeat the provisions of the constitution of the RSFSR. The twelfth congress of the communist party now demonstrated again its ultimate power in important matters. Following the recommenda-

[11] See document I, this chapter.

[12] The treaty is incorporated with the constitution. An English translation is given in document II, this chapter.

tion of the central committee of the party, the presidium of the all-Russian central executive committee did not approve this draft. It considered that, by phraseology or otherwise, the theoretical rights of the smaller allied republics should be better protected as against the dominance of the RSFSR. To do this, the party recommended that the central executive committee of the USSR be separated into two chambers. One of these divisions would consist of representatives of the allied and autonomous republics.

The recommendations of the congress to the party were, in text form, as follows: [13]

a. To secure, during the establishment of the central organs of the union, the equality of rights and duties of the individual republics in their mutual relationship with each other, as well as in regard to the central authority of the union;

b. To establish in the system of supreme organs of the union a representation of all national republics and regions on principles of equality, with possible representation of all nationalities living in these republics;

c. To construct the executive organs of the union on principles which would secure a real participation therein of the representatives of these republics, and a real satisfaction of all needs of the peoples in the union;

d. To allow for the republics sufficiently liberal financial, and in particular budget, rights, which would enable them to show their own state-administrative, cultural, and economic initiative;

e. To man the organs of the national republics and regions chiefly from amongst the local population who would know local customs, language, etc.;

f. To issue special laws which would secure for them the right to use their native language in all state organs and institutions serving the local national minorities,—the laws which would prosecute and punish with full revolutionary severity all violators of national rights, and in particular of rights of national minorities;

[13] See the stenographic report of the twelfth congress of the communist party, 649; also, Stalin, *Natsional'nye momenty v partiinom i gosudarstvennom stroitel'stve*, 31-43.

g. To promote educational work in the red army in the sense of cultivating therein the ideas of brotherhood and solidarity of the peoples composing the union, and to take practical measures concerning the organization of national armies, at the same time taking care that the defensive structure of the republic shall always be kept adequate.

A special committee of twenty-five members of the central executive committee of the USSR was now formed to continue with the drafting of a constitution. There were fourteen members from the RSFSR, five from the Ukraine, three from Transcaucasia, and three from White Russia. The predominance of the RSFSR, always a majority, began with the drafting commission and has never been questioned since.

The new draft proposed by this committee was still founded on the constitution of the RSFSR. This time, however, the suggestion of the communist party in favor of a bi-cameral central executive committee was adopted. As a result, the central committee of the party now gave its approval. The next important step, following the perfunctory approval by the organs of authority in the capitals other than Moscow, was ratification of the constitution by the central executive committee of the USSR on July 6, 1923.[14] It entered into force immediately. The last phase was final approval by the second congress of soviets of the USSR on January 31, 1924.

It is to be presumed that the framers of the soviet constitution were familiar with the principles of the federal system as worked out in other countries. They could call upon newly-arrived persons at hand who came from nearly

[14] The participation of the central executive committees of the republics is usually stressed by soviet officials in tracing the origin of the constitution. It is a useful doctrine in addressing congresses of soviets or executive committees where delegates from over all of Russia are present. See, for example, the statement by Sapronov at the second session, tenth meeting, of the all-Russian central executive committee, in the stenographic report, 3-12. Also statement by Enukidze at the second congress of soviets of the USSR on January 31, 1924, in the same report.

every country that has contributed to modern principles of government. Furthermore, there existed in pre-war Russia several fundamental works dealing with the political structure of foreign states.[15] Lenin, who wrote the "declaration of rights of the laboring and exploited peoples" and who appears to have had no small part in the actual drafting of the constitution of 1918, was perhaps as familiar with these works as he was with the general literature in the field of political theory and philosophy.

From the time of the Decembrists in the early part of the nineteenth century, various plans had been proposed for a federal system in Russia under which the national minorities would possess certain rights.[16] One plan for a federal system, prepared by Muraviev, was directly modelled on the constitution of the United States. It proposed the division of Russia into thirteen states, each with its capital and its own independent legislative, executive, and judicial organs. The central legislature, like the American congress, would be divided into two chambers. The Emperor would retain over the acts of this body a right of suspensive veto analogous to the veto power of the American President.

The constitution of the USSR, as finally adopted, provided, like those of the United States, Switzerland, or Germany, for a federal system. It has analogies to the fundamental law of all these countries; the inspiration, however, came from none of them or from any source other than the fundamental law of the RSFSR. The background of that document has been given already.

[15] For example, the two volume work entitled *Politicheskii stroi sobremennykh gosudarstv,* by various Russian writers (St. Petersburg 1905-1906); *Konstitutsionnoe gosudarstvo,* also by various Russian writers (St. Petersburg 1905). Since 1920 considerable attention has been given to foreign constitutional law, for example: V. H. Durdenevskii, *Inostrannoe konstitutsionnoe pravo* (Leningrad 1925).

[16] See the comprehensive article by P. Gronskii, "L'idée fédérative chez les dékrabristes," in *Le Monde Slave,* June 1926, 368-382. Also, Sergius Swatikow, *Die entwürfe der aenderung der russischen staatsverfassung* (Heidelberg, Karl Rössler, 1904); B. B. Glinskii, *Bor'ba za konstitutsiiu* 1612-1861 (St. Petersburg, Izdanie N. P. Karbasnikova, 1908).

The original treaty of union of the various soviet socialist republics, as approved by the first congress of soviets of the USSR, was considerably supplemented before the final draft of the constitution was proclaimed. The revision that occurred brought about a more precise definition of the central organs of authority.[17] The competence of the central administration was extended beyond the limits set in the original draft.

Twenty-five specific categories of power are declared to fall within the exclusive purview of the Union. These conform very closely to section 8 of article 1 of the constitution of the United States in which eighteen fields of exclusive jurisdiction of the federal government are enumerated. Two striking differences from the constitution of the United States, however, are to be noted:

1. The supreme organs of authority in the USSR have among their duties "the establishment of the foundations and the general plan of the whole people's economy of the Union, the definition of branches of industry and separate industrial undertakings possessing general importance to the Union, the conclusion of concession agreements both for the whole Union and in behalf of the union republics". The framers of the constitution of the United States strictly eschewed the field of governmental participation in business of any sort.

2. In the USSR the supreme organs of authority may repeal the decrees of the separate congresses of soviets, central executive committees, and soviets of people's commissars of the union republics if they transgress the constitution. The congress of the United States can not rescind any act of a state legislature, though the supreme court could do so by due process of law. In the USSR, however, the judiciary is not a 'supreme organ'.

[17] Document II, this chapter, giving the superimposed text shows the differences between the original treaty of union and the final text of the constitution.

Unlike the constitution of the United States, that of the USSR denies no specific powers to the central authorities. A writ of habeas corpus is unknown, so that a constitutional provision against its suspension would hardly be in order. A capitation, direct, or any other tax may be levied if the federal officials so desire. Even the power to grant titles of nobility, a matter of so much concern to the Americans in 1789, is not denied to the supreme organs of the USSR!

The test of a federal system lies in the relation of the component parts of the federation to the center. Using this criterion, the section on the "sovereign rights of the union republics" in the fundamental law of the USSR appears on the surface to be exceedingly liberal.

To begin with, the constitution states that "the sovereignty of the union republics is restricted only within the limits stated in the present constitution, and only in respect of matters referred to the competence of the Union. Beyond these limits each union republic exercises its sovereign authority independently. The USSR protects the sovereign rights of the union republics." In the constitution of the United States the states are vested with all powers not delegated to the federal government or prohibited to the states. Similarly in Switzerland "the cantons are sovereign so far as their sovereignty is not limited by the federal constitution". In this respect the three federal systems present no striking difference—until other articles in the constitution are analyzed.

One other provision in the section of the constitution of the Soviet Union dealing with the union republics is unique in all such documents. It is provided that "each union republic retains the right of free withdrawal from the Union", but this article is followed by the qualification that no republic may exercise the right unless *all* republics forming the Union consent. Since the RSFSR would under no condition, unless for pressing reasons of propaganda, consent

to any such step by one of the smaller union republics, the practical value, or lack of value, of the article is not difficult to estimate. The whole field of communist theories of government as based on international objectives and extreme centralization is ample evidence that soviet draftsmen held their tongues in their cheeks when they formulated this provision.

After enumerating the principles of the rights of the union republics, the constitution of the USSR deals with the administrative structure. The system of a congress of soviets, a central executive committee, and a soviet of people's commissars is established as in the fundamental law of all the republics.

The congress of soviets of the USSR, when in session, is declared to be the supreme authority of the Union. That is about one week in a year. For the remaining fifty-one weeks the central executive committee of the Union or its presidium is the supreme authority. This provision and the manner of elections to the congress from the lower congresses of soviets are identical with the procedure in the case of the RSFSR. It was at first provided that a congress should be held yearly, but in 1927 this was changed to once in every two years, so this body is really 'supreme' only one week out of one hundred and two. There are no powers conferred upon this congress of soviets comparable to those granted to the American congress by the constitution of the United States. In only one matter in fact does the congress have exclusive jurisdiction: the confirmation and alteration of the *"fundamental principles"* of the constitution.

As in all other soviet constitutions, the apparent source of authority is the central executive committee, the only organ which, as a whole or in part, has fixed sessions; while the real source of power is the communist party.

It was, as already noted, upon the demand of the central committee of the communist party that the central execu-

tive committee of the USSR was divided into two chambers, one of which was intended to propitiate national feeling. Thus one of the chambers, the union soviet, is elected proportionately to the population of the republics entering the Union and, within those republics, in proportion to the representation from the provinces and regions.

The congress of soviets, by the resolutions it votes, is supposed to give the general direction and instructions to the activity of the central organs of authority and of the government. The executive organs are then to carry out those directions. Since the central executive committee is the organ which executes the general directions of the congress, for which it may have been responsible originally, and is the supreme organ during the interim between the congresses, the wide scope of its authority is evident. Constitutionally it is called upon to settle all important matters of foreign and domestic policy, and especially all economic problems of national importance.

An attempt was made in forming the central executive committee to bring into its composition non-partisan peasants and workers in order to secure the support of these groups in the local soviets. Further, many representatives from the autonomous republics and regions and various localities have been included on this body. Attempts in this direction have, however, in no sense weakened the control of the central authorities who are almost without exception members of the Russian communist party. The move is intended only to "further the activity of the soviets and soviet work in general".[18] In the same degree that the cen-

[18] See statement on the central executive committee by Enukidze, Secretary of that committee, at the third congress of soviets on May 19, 1925, in the stenographic report, 541-544. "The union republics", stated Enukidze, "as well as separate localities, provinces and regions, were recommended to nominate during the elections to the central executive committee principally those engaged in manual labor, or in other words to lower the per cent. of the persons occupying the administrative or party positions". The statement has a twofold significance: the republics and local areas are recommended [by the central committee of the communist

tral executive committee has been made representative, it has decreased in importance so far as actual legislation is concerned.

Originally the union soviet was composed of 371 members. This number was increased when two new republics, the Turkmen and the Uzbek, were added to the Union in 1925. At the third congress of soviets in 1925 there were 450 members distributed as follows among the union republics: 300 for the RSFSR, 75 for the Ukraine, 13 for White Russia, 30 for the Transcaucasian Federation, 4 for Turkmenistan, and 16 for Uzbekistan. Besides this, there are 12 members nominated to the union soviet from a central ballot list. These members represent the ten all-Union people's commissars and two representatives of the RSFSR in Berlin and in London. Finally, at the time of the third congress there were 199 candidates for the union soviet. These candidates were distributed as follows: RSFSR 134, Ukraine 36, White Russia 6, Transcaucasia 14, Turkmenistan 3, and Uzbekistan 6.[19]

The basis of representation in the union soviet may be compared to that of the American house of representatives. The state of New York has more representatives than four or five smaller states combined, because its population is correspondingly greater. So in the USSR the largest unit is the RSFSR. With a territory comprising four-fifths of the entire Union, it has a total population of 100,594,000 in comparison to 45,712,000 for the other five union republics combined. So among the members of the union soviet the RSFSR has 300 members to 138 for all other parts. In every matter that comes up, therefore, *the RSFSR is assured of a majority against all other parts of the Union.* That such was the intention from the beginning is evident. In

party] whom to nominate. Then it is apparently stated that administrative and party positions are synonymous.

[19] *Ibid.*

the words of Skrypnik, an Ukrainian, at the second congress of soviets of the USSR on January 31, 1924, "the RSFSR is the central shaft of our union. It constitutes the most substantial republic and the first one organized in the union of soviets. We are all interested that the RSFSR should become the most dependable support and basis of all our union".[20]

The second chamber of the central executive committee of the USSR appears to have little significance in the soviet system. It is the successor to the old soviet of nationalities of the RSFSR, a body likewise of no real importance. Created originally merely to camouflage the lack of representation of the various nationalities in the actual exercise of authority, this body, like the congress of soviets, is of importance principally from the point of view of propaganda.

The soviet of nationalities is composed of representatives of the union and autonomous republics on the basis of five delegates from each, and of one representative from each autonomous region. On this basis the present composition of this chamber would be as follows: 72 for the RSFSR, 5 for White Russia, 10 for the Ukraine, 32 for the Transcaucasian Federation, 11 for Uzbekistan, and 5 for Turkmenistan.

If the union soviet is compared to the American house of representatives, the soviet of nationalities could best be compared to the senate in one respect: the basis of representation. The number of representatives is fixed for each republic and region irrespective of population. But here again the RSFSR has a large majority. Containing as it does more autonomous republics and regions than any of the other republics, it has 72 representatives to 63 for all other republics. This predominance of the RSFSR in the organs of legislation is in striking contrast with the equality of states in the American senate.

[20] Stenographic report, 106-107.

As in the case of the RSFSR, the central executive committee of the Union is the supreme organ of authority only when it is in session. It assembles three times a year in sessions lasting not over one week. If there is a congress of soviets, that is the "supreme authority", of the Union for one week every two years and a central executive committee for three weeks a year, there still must remain somewhere a supreme source of authority for forty-eight weeks. This source is found in the presidium of the central executive committee, a select group now composed of twenty-seven members. Fourteen of these members make up the presidia of the union soviet and the soviet of nationalities, each presidium consisting of seven members. The duty of these members is to prepare for and direct the sessions of the central executive committee.

It is this central body of twenty-seven delegates, all of them likewise outstanding leaders in the Russian communist party, that is the principal source of constitutional authority in the Union. In the words of the constitution, the presidium of the central executive committee is the "supreme legislative, executive, and administrative organ of authority". It supervises the carrying out of its interpretation of the constitution; it may suspend and repeal resolutions of the regular administrative officials, the people's commissars, or of the higher organs of authority of the union republics; it issues its own decrees, resolutions, and ordinances; it settles conflicts between the central and local authorities: it is the real power under the constitution. The only check upon the power of the presidium provided in the constitution is the central executive committee. But since the presidia of both bodies of that committee, that is of the union soviet and the soviet of nationalities, form a majority on the central executive committee itself, there is in reality no constitutional check on the presidium. This does not apply to the extra-constitutional organs from which the presidium in turn takes its orders, that is the central

committee of the communist party and the centralized sources of authority within that committee.

After the congress of soviets and the central executive committee comes the soviet of people's commissars, a body comparable to the cabinet in the federal government in the United States or the ministry in European parliamentary governments. The soviet of people's commissars is the executive and administrative organ of the central executive committee, by which it is formed; it is dominated by the presidium of the central executive committee and the central committee of the communist party, to which it is really responsible for all its acts. The system of people's commissars both under the union constitution and under the fundamental laws of the various republics is given later.

As a third division of authority comes the judiciary. The constitution of the RSFSR, in all its drafts, provided for no separate judicial system. Even in this department of state life the central executive committee was given jurisdiction. On the other hand, despite a system of courts established outside of the constitution and despite the existence of a people's commissariat for justice, those powers usually conferred upon courts were in great measure exercised by the state police, called the cheka, or later the OGPU, a sort of state within a state. This division too is treated later.

The present centralization of power in the Soviet Union is a revival and exaggeration of the centralized bureaucratic government of the Tsars. The example of France in 1789 is instructive. From feudal times until the revolution, the sovereigns of France made it their constant aim to crush the local independence of the provinces and the nobility, and to centralize all power and authority in the royal administration at Paris. In France, as later in Russia, it was only through this excessive centralization of power that the revolution was made possible. In each case, after lofty professions of local autonomy, the indurated habit of

centralized government inherited from the monarchy and the inescapable logic of revolutionary necessity triumphed in the end, and the centralization of the revolution became even more all-embracing.

The problem to be faced in drafting a rigid constitution, alike for the RSFSR and for the USSR, was to provide a framework that would give legal recognition to the component elements. The existence of a qualified union could be guaranteed only by a rigid as contrasted to a flexible constitution. Meantime the existence of a rigid constitution made possible the application of the theories of centralization favored by the framers of the soviet constitutions of the RSFSR and the USSR.

The real concept of a soviet state had been stated by Lenin in 1917 when writing on the separation of the Ukraine from the RSFSR: "We are not in favor of small states. We are for the closest possible contact of the workers of all countries against the capitalists of their own country as well as against those of the entire world. But in order to have this union a voluntary one, the Russian worker, having no confidence even for a single moment in the Russian or Ukrainian bourgeoisie, now defends the right of the Ukrainians to separate and does not impose upon them his friendship, expecting to gain their friendship by treating them as allies and brothers in the common struggle for socialism." [21] The Ukrainians, in other words, were to be won over, if possible, by friendship rather than by force.

When the time came to draft a union constitution, soviet draftsmen seem not only to have been familiar with the doctrines of Lenin and the communist philosophy but also to have had a practical understanding of the principle, stated by Bryce, on the factors tending to strengthen the central government. "The best way of strengthening in the long run the centripetal tendencies," said Bryce, "has been to give so much recognition and play to the centrifugal as may dis-

[21] *Lenin o natsional'nom voprose*, 97.

arm them, and may allow the causes which made for unity to operate quietly without exciting antagonism." [22] There is, however, often a startling difference between the general statements that stand out in a document and other provisions, whether of law or practice, which nullify the general principle. In the case of the soviet constitutions the very considerable difference between theory and practice, the specious generality, and the actual significance, are to be found in the system of checks and balances.

Every constitution has and, indeed, must provide for a system of checks. In the Roman constitution there were various magistrates who could arrest one another's action. The popular assembly, though in theory supreme, was highly restricted in practice. It could be convoked only by a magistrate; after such convocation still another magistrate could suspend it; and, finally, its actions could be overruled by the Senate. The passage of Polybius on the advantages of the Roman system of checks and balances is classic.[23]

In England a system of checks enters in the division of parliament into two houses. In the United States the system of checks and balances between the three departments of government—the executive, legislative, and judicial—needs no comment.

In Russia, from the time of the adoption of the constitution of the RSFSR through the formation of a federal union, a system of checks or control has been established that has perhaps no equal. It is so absolute as to result in a complete negation of the usual conception of a system of checks and balances. The practices of ordinary life were transferred to the constitutional field. Communism, a doctrine of brotherly love according to its adherents, as a system of government is based upon suspicion of one's fellow

[22] J. Bryce, 1 *Studies in history and jurisprudence* (New York 1901), 220.

[23] Bk. vi, chs. 11-17.

men. Whether it be in a state enterprise, almost the only field of activity left for a non-communist in Russia after the revolution, or among the public authorities, *it is assumed that a man will be dishonest* unless he is controlled. In a bank, for example, the manager may be a reliable man; but he may be 'controlled' by a person who knows nothing of banking. A public official may talk with an outsider; were he able to speak without a controlling witness, he would perhaps not feel safe in doing so.

This principle of suspicion and distrust and the consequent system of checks and balances are the causes of much of the centralization in the soviet administration. They furnish a more accurate explanation of constitutional practices than the philosophy of revolutionists. Every one is distrusted and checked until a small group of men is reached who have no one above them to exercise control.

It is most instructive to observe how the system works out in practice. There is a more or less regular progression from the lower to the higher units, from the local to the central authorities. The fundamental law of the RSFSR, which is analogous in this respect to the constitutions of the other republics forming the USSR, may be referred to as an example.

A village soviet is the "supreme organ of authority within its own competence and within the boundaries of the localities it serves". The chairman of this soviet, who is in practice the supreme authority in the village, and who is a communist, is responsible to "the higher organs of soviet authority". Next comes the soviet of the rural district. It appoints an executive committee that is responsible not only to it but also "to the superior organs of authority". The chairman of this executive committee is responsible "for the prompt and exact execution of the orders of the superior soviet organs". The same system of responsibility runs through the county, provincial, and regional soviets. The regional and provincial congresses, together with their

executive committees, may cancel the decisions of the soviets within their respective areas, but they must notify the central soviet authority in 'important' cases. Thus it is only the lowest unit that can not serve as a check; while on the same progressive scale it is only the highest central authority that can not be controlled. Conflicts between the several soviet organs are not possible from a judicial point of view, because the inferior soviet is without power in relation to the immediately superior soviet. Also, it avoids complications by remaining inactive.[24]

Among the central organs of authority the soviet of people's commissars may be considered first. Check number one: this organ must inform the all-Russian central executive committee "of all its orders and decisions", which may be annulled or suspended by that committee or its presidium. Check number two: under the presidency of each people's commissar is a collegium which must be informed of every decision of the people's commissar. Furthermore, the collegium has the right to bring any decision of a people's commissar to the attention of the soviet of people's commissars or the all-Russian central executive committee. Check number three: the soviet of people's commissars is responsible to the all-Russian congress of soviets and central executive committee. Check number four: the people's commissars and the collegium attached to each commissariat are responsible to the soviet of people's commissars as a whole and to the all-Russian central executive committee. To sum up: each people's commissar is checked by the collegium, the soviet of people's commissars collectively, and by the all-Russian central executive committee. The collegium is responsible to the soviet

[24] An investigation of five hundred soviet nuclei by the central control commission of the communist party showed, according to a report by Kossior submitted to the fifteenth party congress in December 1927, that the "soviet nuclei . . . still fail to work independently enough, and wait for commands from the centre." *Report of the XV congress of the communist party of the Soviet Union* (London 1928), 93.

of people's commissars sitting in plenary session and to the all-Russian central executive committee. The soviet of people's commissars is checked by the all-Russian central executive committee and, theoretically, by the all-Russian congress of soviets. Still two bodies remain without any check on their power: the all-Russian congress of soviets and the all-Russian central executive committee.

The constitution provides that the all-Russian central executive committee is responsible to the all-Russian congress of soviets. The latter in turn is responsible constitutionally to no higher authority. But here there is a difference between theory and practice. In reality it is of little importance that there is no check on the congress. The yearly sessions of this body are of short duration. For at least fifty weeks out of the year the all-Russian central executive committee and/or its presidium are the supreme authority under the constitution. As a last resort there are nine members of the committee who are at the same time on the central committee of the communist party of the soviet union and who have absolutely no check on their power. The constitution gives specifically to the all-Russian central executive committee rights as the final court of appeal in election disputes; that body, or rather its inner circle of leaders, can regulate in general the tiniest detail as a result of the system of checks and responsibility to a higher authority characteristic of the soviet administration.

As the system works out down to the lowest local unit in the case of each republic, so it applies in the relations of the republics forming the USSR. Any decree, order, or resolution of a higher organ of authority of one of the republics forming the USSR may be repealed by the central executive committee of the union or its presidium.

The central executive committee of the USSR is, like the corresponding branch of authority in the RSFSR, the only body which, in reality, has no constitutional superior or

even equal. The soviet of people's commissars or individual commissars are responsible to it and its presidium. The individual commissar is checked by the soviet as a whole and by the collegium under it. The OGPU is theoretically responsible for the 'legality' of its actions to the public prosecutor of the supreme court "on the basis of a special resolution of the central executive committee of the USSR". But this body is signally free from any restriction on its activity, whether it be locally or in the instance of the highest central organs of authority. Above both the OGPU and the central executive committee of the Union, however, stands the organization of the communist party. Though in no wise mentioned in the soviet constitution, a small group of party leaders acting in a party capacity are the real source of constitutional and other authority. In his essay on *State and Revolution,* Lenin wrote that "the actual work of the state is done behind the scenes and is carried out by the departments, the chancelleries, the staffs. Parliament itself is given up to talk for the special purpose of fooling the common people." This may be so, but there has possibly never been a better illustration of the statement than is to be found in the theoretical and actual organs of authority in bolshevik Russia.

It is a principle of the constitution of the USSR that the union republics, as already mentioned, have a great amount of freedom, even to the extent of withdrawal from the Union. But the fiction of this point is evident in the nature of the checks placed on the republics forming the Union. As described above, the Ukraine could no more freely secede from the USSR than could Holmes county, Ohio, secede from that state in April 1926 when ten thousand petitioners, in a telegram to the lieutenant-governor of that state, asked that the assembly make the county a "free and independent state to be known hereafter as Holmes County, America, which shall for evermore be the home of liberty, geographical intelligence, and democrats".

Give Holmes county an irrevocable and indefeasible right of secession at its pleasure, and then provide that this right can be exercised only if every other county in the state of Ohio consents, and there is an accurate example of the principle of self-determination as now applied in Russia.

The congresses of soviets or executive committees of the union republics are declared to be supreme within their respective territories in questions not reserved to the federal authorities. Yet the constitution contains the general provision that the "presidium of the central executive committee of the USSR has the right to suspend and repeal the resolutions of the central executive committees and soviets of people's commissars of the union republics". It may also suspend resolutions of the congresses of soviets of the united republics and subsequently present them for examination and confirmation by the central executive committee of the USSR. A similar lack of state rights would exist in the United States if the President could repeal or suspend the acts of a governor of a state or if he could suspend the acts of a state legislature. In other words, an American state possesses an almost immeasurably greater autonomy than do the so-called union republics forming the USSR. The autonomous republics and regions need hardly be considered at all.

Under such a system of checks and balances and degrees of responsibility, it would appear that the original conception of the soviet system as a federal state has been lost from sight. Local autonomy is a theory; centralized administration and control is the practice. The USSR, despite the phraseology of its constitution, can not be called an example of the federal system: it must be classed as a bureaucratic-centralized state,[25] in which the constitutional organs of authority are but a camouflage for the actual direction exercised by an inner group of the Russian com-

[25] A similar conclusion has been stated by Timaschew, *Grundzüge des sovetrussischen staatsrechts*, 112.

munist party. That group, furthermore, is concerned less with constitutional forms than with the realization of "the final aims of the victorious proletariat of the soviet union, which are as follows: Abolition of all classes, creation of a classless society, establishment of real liberty and equality." [26] To conclude with the words of Lenin, "the soviet state is nothing but a tool of the proletariat in its class struggle. A special oak cudgel, nothing more." [27]

[26] M. Kalinin [President of the central executive committee of the soviet union] in article in *International Press Correspondence* (Vienna), July 12, 1928.

[27] Quoted by Kalinin in *ibid.*

DOCUMENTS TO CHAPTER V

I. Declaration on the Constitution of the Soviet Union.
II. Treaty of Union and Constitution of the USSR.

I

Declaration, Dated July 13, 1923, on the Constitution of the Soviet Union [1]

To all governments and to all the peoples of the earth:

From the first moment of their existence the soviet republics were united by the bonds of close coöperation and mutual assistance, which subsequently assumed the form of treaties of alliance. The power of the workers and peasants united them into a single unit, with common needs, in their struggle against the attacks of foreign capitalist states and against the internal counter-revolutionary attacks on the soviet form of society. The solidarity of the laboring masses united them in their common task of establishing fraternal coöperation between the liberated peoples. Together they emerged from the victorious proletarian revolution, having overthrown the power of their landowners and capitalists. Together they passed through the dire experiences of intervention and blockade, and emerged triumphant. Together they started the enormous task of restoring the national economy, on the basis of the new economic structure of society, after it had passed through unprecedented calamities.

Whilst rendering to one another constant fraternal assistance with all their strength and resources, they nevertheless for a long time remained separate states only united by treaties of alliance.

The further development of their mutual relations and the requirements of the international position have now led them to combine into one united state.

The strength of the world reaction and the aggressive aims of the imperialistic governments, with the consequent dangers

[1] 3 *Russian Information and Review* (London), July 28, 1923, 51-52. A few changes have been made in the quoted source.

of renewed attacks, make it imperative to unite the defensive forces of all the soviet republics in one central union government.

At the same time economic reconstruction in the soviet republics, ruined as they are by war, intervention, and blockade, is an impossible task unless they combine their forces, and can only be successfully realized by properly ordered guidance from one economic centre for the whole union.

The very nature of the workers' and peasants' state, in the gradual development and strengthening of the new structure of society in the soviet republics, is driving them increasingly towards union and towards the fusion of their forces for the realisation of their common aim.

At the soviet congresses held recently in the various soviet republics the peoples of these republics decided unanimously to form a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a single united state. This union of peoples with equal rights remains a purely voluntary union, which excludes all possibility of national oppression or the compulsion of any nation to remain within this united state, every republic enjoying the right to leave the union if it so desires. At the same time the door is left open for the voluntary entry into the union of other socialist republics that may be formed in the future.

The declaration and treaty of union accepted by the contracting soviet republics were ratified, and brought into operation on July 6 by the union central executive committee.

In view of the necessity to unite the defensive forces of the soviet republics against external attacks, an inter-union military and naval people's commissariat has been set up.

In view of the common needs and problems facing the soviet republics in their relations with the capitalist states, an inter-union commissariat for foreign affairs has been formed.

The necessity for complete centralisation in the conduct of foreign trade on the basis of the state's monopoly, and to defend the soviet republics against the attempts of the capitalist states to bring about their economic subjection, has made it necessary to set up a single inter-union commissariat for foreign trade.

Further, the proper regulation of their national economy demands a united transport and postal and telegraph system, that is to say, the formation of inter-union commissariats for transport and for posts and telegraphs.

Other branches of state activity in the separate republics forming the union are partly subordinated to the union central

institutions, while at the same time each republic retains its own corresponding central institution; and partly they remain exclusively in the hands of the separate republics.

The direct administration of national economy and finance, the organization of the food supply, the state defence of the rights and interests of hired labor, the control over the whole state apparatus of the workmen's and peasants' inspection, will be in the hands simultaneously of the inter-union centre, in so far as guidance from a single centre is required, and of the separate centres of each republic, in so far as special control in the territories of the latter is essential.

Commissariats dealing with special national questions of ordinary daily life such, for instance, as education, agriculture, internal affairs, justice, etc., will exist only in the separate republics, and will be under their sole control.

The unity of will of the laboring masses of the whole Union will be expressed in its supreme authority, the union congress of soviets, but at the same time each nationality will have special representation in the soviet of nationalities, which will coöperate on equal rights with the union soviet elected by the congress.

The union of soviet republics, thus established on the basis of the fraternal coöperation of peoples, will place before itself the aim of preserving the peace with all nations. All the nationalities, with equal rights, and working together in close coöperation, will together develop their culture and prosperity, and work out the problems facing the workers' government.

As the natural ally of oppressed peoples, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics seeks to live in peace and friendly relations with all peoples and to establish economic coöperation with them. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics places before itself the aim of furthering the interests of the laboring masses of the whole world. Over the enormous territory stretching from the Baltic, the Black and the White Seas to the Pacific Ocean, the Union is already realising the fraternity of nations and the triumph of labor, but it is striving at the same time to bring about friendly coöperation between the peoples of the whole world.

Chairmen of the union central executive committee: M. I. Kalinin, G. E. Petrovskii, N. N. Narimanov, A. G. Cherviakov. Members of the presidium of the union central executive committee: A. S. Enukidze, L. B. Kamenev, F. Y. Kon, D. I.

Kurskii, D. Z. Manuilskii, A. F. Miasnikam, K. G. Rakovskii, Y. I. Ruduzutak, A. I. Rykov, T. V. Sapronov, P. G. Smidovich, I. V. Stalin, M. P. Tomskii, M. G. Tskhakaiia, Khibir-Aliev.

Secretary of the union central executive committee:

A. Enukidze.

Kremlin, Moscow, July 13, 1923.

II

Treaty of Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), approved by the first congress of soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) on December 30, 1922; Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), passed at a meeting of the central executive committee (TsIK) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) on July 6, 1923; given final approval by the second congress of soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) on January 31, 1924; amended by the central executive committee (TsIK) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) at its second session on October 24, 1924; amended by the third congress of soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) on May 20, 1925; and by the fourth congress of soviets of the Union Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) on April 26, 1927.

Note: The supplementing of the original treaty of unification by the constitution as passed by the central executive committee (TsIK) on July 6, 1923, and as approved by the second congress of soviets is shown by means of square brackets. The later amendments are given in italics and/or other explanation immediately under the amended article.

Of the Ratification of the Fundamental Law (Constitution) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)

[Resolution of the second congress of soviets of the USSR on January 31, 1924. (1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov SSSR,* 3).]

Having heard the report of comrade A. S. Enukidze on the ratification of the fundamental law (constitution) of the USSR, the second congress of soviets of the USSR resolves:

To ratify the fundamental law (constitution) of the USSR submitted, in conformity with the resolution of the first congress of soviets of the USSR, for the final ratification by the second congress of soviets of the USSR.

Fundamental Law (Constitution) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)

[Adopted by the TsIK of the USSR at its second session on July 6, 1923. (1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov SSSR*, 3 and following). The translation follows closely that given in: Foreign Office. *Soviet Russia. A description of the various political units existing on Russian territory to which is appended the constitution of the USSR of July 6, 1923.* London 1924.]

The TsIK of the USSR, solemnly proclaiming the permanency of the foundations of soviet power, in execution of the resolution of the first congress of soviets of the USSR, and, likewise, on the basis of the agreement for the formation of the USSR, taken at the first congress of soviets of the USSR in Moscow on December 30, 1922, and, taking into consideration the corrections and amendments proposed by the central executive committee of each of the union republics, resolves: The declaration of the formation of the USSR and the agreement for the formation of the USSR shall form the fundamental law (constitution) of the USSR.

First Section.—*Declaration regarding the Formation of the USSR* [1]

Since the time of the formation of the soviet republics, the states of the world have divided into two camps: the camp of capitalism and the camp of socialism.

There—in the camp of capitalism—national enmity and inequality, colonial slavery and chauvinism, national oppression and pogroms, imperialist brutalities and wars.

Here—in the camp of socialism—mutual confidence and peace and the brotherly collaboration of peoples.

The attempts of the capitalist world over a number of decades to settle the question of nationality by the combination of the free development of peoples with the system of the exploitation of man by man have proved fruitless. On the contrary, the skein of national contradictions is becoming more and more tangled, threatening the very existence of capitalism. The bourgeoisie has been found impotent to organize the collaboration of peoples.

Only in the camp of the soviets, only under the conditions

[1] The treaty regarding the formation of the Union as adopted by the first congress of soviets of the USSR on December 30, 1922, began with this declaration.

of the dictatorship of the proletariat, mustering around itself the majority of the population, has it proved possible to destroy at the roots national oppression, to establish an atmosphere of mutual confidence and lay the foundations of the brotherly collaboration of peoples.

Only thanks to these circumstances have the soviet republics been able to beat off the attacks of the imperialists of the whole world, internal and external; only thanks to these circumstances have they been able successfully to liquidate the civil war, to secure their own existence and commence peaceful economic construction.

But the years of war have not passed without leaving traces. Desolated fields, closed-down factories, destroyed productive forces and the exhaustion of economic resources, remaining as a heritage from the war, render insufficient the separate efforts of separate republics in the field of economic reconstruction. The restoration of the national economy proved impossible under the condition of the separate existence of the republics.

On the other hand, the instability of the international situation and the danger of new attacks renders inevitable the creation of a united front of soviet republics in the face of capitalist surroundings.

Finally, the very construction of soviet authority, international by its class nature, impels the laboring masses of the soviet republics to the path of amalgamation in one socialist family.

All these circumstances insistently demand the amalgamation of the soviet republics in one united state able to secure both its external security and internal economic prosperity, and the freedom of the national development of peoples.

The will of the peoples of the soviet republics recently assembled at the congress of their soviets, and there unanimously accepting the decision to establish the USSR, serves as a reliable guarantee that this union is a voluntary union of equal peoples; that each republic is secured the right of freely withdrawing from the union; that entry into the union is open to all socialist soviet republics, both now existing and which may arise in the future; that the new united state is a worthy crown of the foundations laid in October [old style] 1917 of the peaceful dwelling together and the brotherly collaboration of peoples; that it serves as a trustworthy bulwark against world capitalism, and a new decisive step along the path of the union

of the workers of all countries in a World Socialist Soviet Republic.[1]

FIRST SECTION.—*Treaty*

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR); the Ukraine Socialist Soviet Republic (UkSSR); the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic (BSSR); the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (ZSFSR: the Socialist Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, the Socialist Soviet Republic of Georgia, and the Socialist Soviet Republic of Armenia); *the Turkmen Socialist Soviet Republic (TurkSSR); and the Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic (UzSSR)*, join in one union state—"The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

[The part in italics is as amended by the third congres of soviets of the USSR on May 20, 1925. 1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov,* 5.]

CHAPTER I.—*Competence of the Supreme Organs of Authority of the USSR*

1. Within the competence of the USSR in the person of its supreme organs fall—

a. The representation of the Union in international relations [the conduct of all diplomatic relations, the conclusion of political and other treaties with other states].

b. Alteration of the external frontiers of the Union [and also the regularization of questions of the alteration of the frontiers between union republics].

c. The conclusion of treaties for the acceptance of new republics into the Union.

d. The declaration of war and the conclusion of peace.

e. The conclusion of foreign state loans. [The conclusion of external and internal loans of the USSR, and the granting of permission for external and internal loans of the united republics.]

[1] The declaration as approved by the first congress of soviets on December 30, 1922, contained the following additional paragraph:

"Declaring this to the whole world, and affirming the unshakable foundation of soviet power as expressed in the constitutions of the socialist soviet republics in whose name we are empowered to act, we, the delegates of these republics, acting within the scope of the powers conferred upon us, resolve to affix our signatures to the treaty for the creation of the USSR." *Postanovleniia pervogo s'ezd sovetov SSSR. Stenograficheskii otchet,* 3-4.

f. The ratification of international agreements.

g. The establishment of regulations for internal and external trade. [The direction of foreign trade, and the establishment of the system of internal trade.]

h. The establishment of the foundations and the general plan of the whole national economy of the Union, [the definition of branches of industry and separate industrial undertakings possessing general importance to the Union], the conclusion of concession agreements [both for the whole Union and in behalf of the union republics].

i. The direction of transport, posts and telegraphs.

j. The establishment of the fundamental rules of organization of the armed forces of the USSR. [The organization and direction of the armed forces of the USSR.]

k. The approval of a single state budget of the USSR [in which are embodied the budgets of the union republics; the determination of taxes and revenues applying to the whole Union, and also deductions from and additions thereto forming parts of the budgets of the union republics; the authorization of additional taxes and dues forming part of the budgets of the union republics],[1] the establishment of a monetary, fiduciary and credit system, as well as a system of general taxation and of taxes appropriate for each of the republics and local taxes.

[*l*. The establishment of a single system of money and credit.]

l [*m*]. The establishment of general principles for the development and using of land, and also the use of mineral deposits, forests and waters throughout the territory of the USSR.

m [*n*]. Union legislation on migration [General legislation throughout the Union regarding migration from one republic to another, and the provision of a reserve of land for immigrants].

n [*o*]. The establishment of the bases of the courts of justice and legal procedure and also the civil and criminal legislation of the Union.

o [*p*]. The establishment of the fundamental labor laws.

p [*q*]. The establishment of the general principles in the province of popular education.

q [*r*]. The establishment of general measures in the matter of the protection of public health.

r [*s*]. The establishment of a system of weights and measures.

s [*t*]. The organization of the general statistics of the Union.

[1] The amended paragraph ends here.

t [*u*]. Fundamental legislation in the matter of citizenship of the Union in relation to the rights of foreigners.

u [*v*]. The right of general amnesty [The right of amnesty extending over the whole territory of the Union].

v [*w*]. The repeal of decrees of the congresses of soviets and the central executive committees [and of the soviets of people's commissars] of the union republics infringing the treaty of Union [present constitution].

[*x*. The settlement of points of disagreement arising between the union republics.

2. The confirmation and alteration of the fundamental principles of the present constitution come exclusively within the competence of the congress of soviets of the USSR.

CHAPTER II.—*Of the Sovereign Rights of the Union Republics and of Citizenship of the Union*

3. The sovereignty of the union republics is restricted only within the limits stated in the present constitution, and only in respect of matters referred to the competence of the Union. Beyond these limits each union republic exercises its sovereign authority independently. The USSR protects the sovereign rights of the union republics.

4. Each union republic retains the right of free withdrawal from the Union.

5. The union republics shall introduce alterations in their constitutions to correspond with the present constitution.

6. The territory of the union republics can not be altered without their consent, and for modification, limitation of article 4 above the agreement of all republics forming the USSR is required.

7. For citizens of the union republics there is established common citizenship of the Union].

CHAPTER III.—*Of the Congress of Soviets of the USSR*

2 [8]. The supreme organ of authority of the USSR is the congress of soviets of the USSR, and during the interim between congresses of soviets, the TsIK of the USSR [consisting of the union soviet and the soviet of nationalities].

3 [9]. The congress of soviets of the USSR is composed of representatives of city and township soviets on the basis of one deputy for each 25,000 electors and of representatives of

provincial *and district* congresses of soviets on the basis of one deputy for each 125,000 of the population.

[The part in italics is as amended by the fourth congress of soviets of the USSR on April 26, 1927. *Izvestiia,* April 29, 1927.]

4 [10]. Delegates to the congress of soviets of the USSR are elected at the provincial *and district* congresses of soviets. [In those republics where there are no provincial *or district* organizations, delegates are elected directly at the congress of soviets of the republic in question.]

[The part in italics is as amended by the fourth congress of soviets of the USSR on April 26, 1927. *Izvestiia,* April 29, 1927.]

5 [11]. Ordinary congresses of soviets of the USSR are called by the TsIK of the USSR [once a year *every two years;* extraordinary congresses are convoked by the TsIK of the USSR on its own decision, on the demand of the union soviet, the soviet of nationalities, or upon the demand of two union republics] [1] either on its own decision or upon the demand of at least two union republics.

[The part in italics is as amended by the third congress of soviets of the USSR on April 26, 1927. *Izvestiia,* April 29, 1927.]

[12. Should extraordinary circumstances prevent the summoning of the congress of soviets of the USSR at the proper time, the TsIK of the USSR is granted the right to postpone the summoning of the congress.

Chapter IV.—*Of the TsIK of the USSR*

13. The TsIK of the USSR consists of the union soviet and the soviet of nationalities.]

6 [14]. The congress of soviets of the USSR elects members of the TsIK [a union soviet] from representatives of union republics in proportion to the population of each, in all to a total of 371 members *in a number determined by a congress of soviets of the USSR.*

[The part in italics is as amended by the third congress of soviets of the USSR on May 20, 1925. 1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov,* 7.]

[15. The soviet of nationalities is formed of representatives of the allied and autonomous socialist soviet republics, five delegates from each, and of representatives of autonomous regions, one delegate from each. The composition of the soviet of nationalities is confirmed as a whole by the congress of soviets of the USSR.

1. The amended text ends here.

(NOTE.—The autonomous republics of Adzharia and Abkhazia and the autonomous region of Iugo-Osetiia send one representative each to the soviet of nationalities.)

[As amended by the third congress of soviets on May 20, 1925, the note no longer appears.]

16. The union soviet and the soviet of nationalities examine all decrees, codes, and resolutions reaching them from the presidium of the TsIK and the sovnarkom of the USSR, from individual people's commissariats of the Union, from the central executive committees of the union republics, and arising on the initiative of the union soviet and soviet of nationalities.

17. The TsIK of the USSR publishes codes, resolutions, and ordinances, unifies the legislative and administrative work of the USSR, and determines the field of action of the presidium of the TsIK and the sovnarkom of the USSR.

18. All decrees and resolutions determining general principles of the political and economic life of the USSR, and also introducing radical alterations in the existing practice of the state organs of the USSR must be presented for confirmation by the TsIK of the USSR.

19. All decrees, resolutions, and orders issued by the TsIK are to be carried out immediately throughout the territory of the USSR.

20. The TsIK of the USSR has the right to suspend or repeal decrees, resolutions, and orders of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR and also of congresses of soviets and central executive committees of the union republics and other organs of authority on the territory of the USSR.]

7 [21]. Ordinary sessions of the TsIK of the USSR are called [by the presidium of the TsIK] thrice annually. Extraordinary sessions are called by resolution of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR at the demand of the [presidium of the union soviet or the presidium of the soviet of nationalities] sovnarkom of the USSR,[1] and also at the demand of the TsIK of one of the union republics.

[22. Bills presented for examination by the TsIK of the USSR receive the force of law only if accepted both by the union soviet and by the soviet of nationalities, and are published in the name of the TsIK of the USSR.

23. In cases of disagreement between the union soviet and the soviet of nationalities the question is referred to a com-

[1] The sovnarkom does not appear in the revised text.

mittee for adjustment of differences, to be formed by these bodies.

24. If agreement is not reached in the said committee, the question is transferred for examination by a joint session of the union soviet and the soviet of nationalities, and in case a majority of votes of the union soviet and of the soviet of nationalities is not forthcoming the question may be transferred at the demand of one of these organs for settlement by an ordinary or extraordinary congress of soviets of the USSR.

25. The union soviet and the soviet of nationalities elect their presidia, each consisting of seven *nine* members, for preparing for the sessions and directing the work thereof.]

[The part in italics is as amended by the third congress of soviets on May 20, 1925. 1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov,* 8.]

9 [26]. The TsIK of the USSR elects a presidium which is the supreme organ of authority between the sessions of the TsIK of the Union. [Between sessions of the TsIK of the USSR, the supreme organ of authority is the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR formed by the central executive committees to the number of twenty-one *twenty-seven,* which includes the full membership of the presidia of the union soviet and the soviet of nationalities.

A joint session of the union soviet and of the soviet of nationalities is convoked in order to form the presidium of the TsIK and the sovnarkom of the USSR (articles 26 and 27 of the present constitution.]

[The part in italics is as amended by the third congress of soviets of the USSR on May 20, 1925. 1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov,* p. 9.]

10 [27]. The TsIK elects, according to the number of union republics, four presidents of the TsIK of the USSR from amongst members of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR which consists of 19 elected members.

[Note: The original text of the constitution omits the words "19 elected". The text as amended by the third congress of soviets on May 20, 1925, omits in addition the number "four".]

[28. The TsIK of the USSR is responsible to the congress of soviets of the USSR.]

[Chapter V.—*Of the Presidium of the TsIK of the USSR*

29. The presidium of the TsIK of the USSR, during the interval between sessions of the TsIK of the USSR, is the

supreme legislative, executive, and administrative organ of authority of the USSR.

30. The presidium of the TsIK supervises the carrying into effect of the constitution of the USSR and the execution of all resolutions of the congress of soviets and of the TsIK of the USSR by all organs of authority.

31. The presidium of the TsIK of the USSR has the right to suspend and repeal the resolutions of the sovnarkom and individual commissariats of the USSR and also of the central executive committees and soviets of people's commissars of the union republics.

32. The presidium of the TsIK of the Union has the right to suspend resolutions of the congresses of soviets of union republics and subsequently to present such resolutions for examination and confirmation by the TsIK of the USSR.

33. The presidium of the TsIK of the USSR issues decrees, resolutions, and ordinances, examines and confirms draft decrees and resolutions submitted by the Sovnarkom, separate departments of administration of the USSR, central executive committees of the union republics, their presidia, and other organs of authority.]

8 [34]. Decrees and resolutions of the TsIK, [its presidium] and the sovnarkom of the USSR are printed in the languages in general use in the union republics (Russian, Ukrainian, White Russian, Georgian, Armenian, Turko-Tatar).

[35. The presidium of the TsIK of the USSR settles questions of the mutual relations between the sovnarkom of the USSR and the people's commissars of the USSR on the one side, and the central executive committees of the union republics and their presidia on the other.

36. The presidium of the TsIK of the USSR is responsible to the TsIK of the USSR.

CHAPTER VI.—*Of the Sovnarkom of the USRR*]

11 [37]. The sovnarkom of the USSR is the executive organ of the TsIK of the Union and is formed by the TsIK of the Union for the duration of its powers; it consists of: [The sovnarkom of the USSR is the executive and administrative organ of the TsIK of the USSR, and is formed by the TsIK of the USSR as follows:]

President of the sovnarkom of the USSR.

Deputy presidents.
People's commissar for foreign affairs.
People's commissar for war and marine.
People's commissar for foreign *and internal* trade.
People's commissar for ways of communication.
People's commissar for posts and telegraphs.
People's commissar for workmen's and peasants' inspection.
President of the supreme soviet of people's economy.
People's commissar for labor.
People's commissar for food.
People's commissar for finance.
Director of the central statistical department.

[The part in italics is as amended by the fourth congress of soviets of the USSR on April 26, 1927. *Izvestiia,* April 29, 1927. At the second session of the TsIK of the USSR on October 24, 1924, a commissariat for internal trade was created; the text as amended in April 1927 combines this commissariat with that for foreign trade. The October 1924 text is given in 1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov,* 10.]

[38. The sovnarkom of the USSR, within the limits of the rights granted it by the TsIK of the USSR and on the basis of the statutes of the sovnarkom of the USSR, issues decrees and resolutions which must be executed throughout the territory of the USSR.

39. The sovnarkom of the USSR examines decrees and resolutions presented both by individual people's commissariats of the USSR and by central executive committees of union republics and their presidia.]

13.[1] The decrees and ordinances of the sovnarkom of the USSR shall be binding upon the union republics and shall be carried out forthwith throughout the territory of the Union.

[40. The sovnarkom of the USSR is in all its work responsible to the TsIK of the USSR and its presidium.

41. Decrees and ordinances of the sovnarkom of the USSR can be suspended and repealed by the TsIK of the USSR and its presidium.]

16. Decrees and ordinances of the sovnarkom of the USSR may be repealed only by the TsIK of the USSR and its presidium. The ordinances of individual people's commissars

[1] This article does not appear in the constitution but is covered by other provisions.

of the Union can be repealed only by the TsIK of the USSR, its presidium, or the sovnarkom of the Union.[1]

15 [42]. Central executive committees of the union republics and their presidia may protest against decrees and resolutions of the sovnarkom of the USSR to the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR without suspending their execution.

[CHAPTER VII.—*Of the Supreme Court of the USSR*]

12 [43]. In order to confirm revolutionary legality in the territory of the USSR and coördinating the efforts of the union republics in the struggle against counter-revolution, there is set up, attached to the TsIK of the USSR, a supreme court, exercising final judicial control. There shall likewise be attached to the sovnarkom a unified organ of the OGPU whose president shall form part of the sovnarkom in a consultative capacity.[2] [In order to confirm revolutionary legality in the territory of the USSR, there is set up, attached to the TsIK of the USSR, a supreme court to whose competence it shall appertain—

a. To give the supreme courts of the union republics guiding interpretations on questions of the general legislation of the Union.

b. To examine and protest against, before the TsIK of the USSR at the instance of the procuror of the supreme court of the USSR resolutions, decisions, and verdicts of the supreme courts of union republics on the ground of their being in contradiction to the general legislation of the Union, or in so far as they affect the interests of other republics.

c. To give opinions at the demand of the TsIK of the USSR as to the legality of resolutions of union republics from the point of view of the constitution.

d. To decide legal conflicts between union republics.

e. To examine cases of accusations against the highest officials of the USSR for offences committed in connection with their official duties.]

14 [44]. The supreme court of the USSR acts in the following composition:—

a. The plenary sessions of the supreme court of the USSR.

b. The civil and criminal collegia of the supreme court of the USSR.

[1] The first part of this article is covered in article 41; the second part is provided for in article 42.

[2] The latter part of this article is covered in article 61.

c. The military and military-transport collegia.

The military collegium.

[The part in italics is the form as amended by the fourth congress of soviets on April 26, 1927. *Izvestiia,* April 29, 1927.]

[45. The plenary session of the supreme court of the USSR consists of eleven *fifteen* members, including a president and his deputy, four presidents of plenary sessions of supreme courts of the union republics, and one representative of the OGPU of the USSR, the president and his deputy, and the remaining five *seven* members being appointed by the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR.

[The part in italics is as amended by the third congress of soviets of the USSR on May 20, 1925. The number 'four' no longer appears in the amended text. 1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov,* 11.]

46. The procuror of the supreme court of the USSR and his deputy are appointed by the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR. It lies with the procuror of the supreme court of the USSR to give opinions on all questions subject to the decision of the supreme court of the USSR, to support accusations at its session, and in case of non-agreement with the decision of the plenary session of the supreme court of the USSR, to protest before the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR.

47. The right of referring questions mentioned in article 43 for examination at the plenary session of the supreme court of the USSR, can come into being solely upon the initiative of the TsIK of the USSR, its presidium, the procuror of the supreme court of the USSR, the procurors of the union republics and the OGPU of the USSR.

48. Plenary sessions of the supreme court of the Union set up special legal tribunals (benches) to examine—

a. Criminal and civil cases of exceptional importance affecting by their nature two or more union republics; and

b. Cases of the personal legal liabilities of members of the TsIK and sovnarkom of the USSR.

The acceptance by the supreme court of the USSR of these cases in its procedure can take place solely by special resolution, in each case, of the TsIK of the Union or its presidium.]

[Chapter VIII.—*Of the People's Commissariats of the USSR*

49. For the direct guidance of separate branches of state administration included in the sphere of the sovnarkom of the USSR, ten people's commissariats are set up, enumerated in

article 37 of the present constitution, which shall act in accordance with statutes regarding people's commissariats, confirmed by the TsIK of the USSR.

50. People's commissariats of the USSR are divided into:—

a. People's commissariats of the whole Union, identical for all the USSR.

b. United people's commissariats of the USSR.

51. The following are people's commissariats of the whole Union:—

Foreign affairs.
War and marine.
Foreign *and internal* trade.
Ways of communication.
Posts and telegraphs.

NOTE: *In questions of internal trade regulations the commissariat for foreign and internal trade has the same prerogatives as a unified people's commissariat of the USSR.*

[The part in italics is as amended by the fourth congress of soviets of the USSR on April 26, 1927. *Izvestiia,* April 29, 1927.]

52. The following are the unified people's commissariats of the USSR:—

Supreme soviet of people's economy.
Food.
Labor.
Finance.
Workmen's and peasants' inspection.
Central statistical department.]

[The part in italics is as amended by the fourth congress of soviets of the USSR on April 26, 1927. *Izvestiia,* April 29, 1927. A commissariat for internal trade as created at the second session of the TsIK of the USSR on October 24, 1924, does not appear in the new amended text. The October 1924 text with the inclusion of this commissariat is given in 1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov,* 12.]

53. People's commissariats for the whole USSR have their own plenipotentiary representatives directly subordinate to them attached to the union republics.

54. The organs of the unified people's commissariats of the USSR which fulfil their duties in the territory of the union republics shall be the homonymous commissariats of these republics.

55. At the head of the people's commissariats of the USSR stand the members of the sovnarkom—the people's commissars of the USSR.

56. Attached to each people's commissar, and under his presidency, is set up a collegium, the members of which are appointed by the sovnarkom of the USSR.

57. The people's commissar has the right to take personal decisions on all questions within the competence of the corresponding commissariat, reporting them to the collegium. In case of non-agreement with one or other decision of the people's commissar, the collegium or individual members thereof, without suspending the execution of the decision, may lodge a complaint with the sovnarkom of the USSR.

58. Ordinances of individual people's commissariats of the USSR can be repealed by the presidium of the TsIK and by the sovnarkom of the USSR.]

17 [59]. Ordinances of the people's commissaries of the USSR may be suspended by the central executive committees or presidia of the central executive committees of the union republics in extraordinary [1] cases of a given ordinance clearly not corresponding to the [constitution of the union republic, to the legislation of the Union, or the legislation of a union republic] ordinances of the sovnarkom or of the TsIK of the USSR. The central executive committees or presidium of the central executive committees of the union republics shall immediately report such suspension to the sovnarkom of the USSR and to the corresponding people's commissar of the USSR.

[60. People's commissars of the USSR are responsible before the sovnarkom, the TsIK of the USSR, and the presidium of the TsIK.

Chapter IX.—*Of the Unified State Political Department (OGPU)*

61. In order to combine the revolutionary efforts of the united republics in the fight with political and economic counter-revolution, espionage, and banditism, the OGPU is created and attached to the sovnarkom of the USSR, the president of which enters the sovnarkom of the USSR with an advisory voice.

62. The OGPU of the USSR directs the work of the local organs of the OGPU through its agents attached to the sovnarkom of the union republics acting in accordance with a special statute to be confirmed by legislative act.

63. Supervision of the legality of the actions of the OGPU of

[1] This word does not appear in the constitution as adopted.

the USSR is carried out by the procuror of the supreme court of the USSR on the basis of a special resolution of the TsIK of the USSR.

CHAPTER X.—*Of the Union Republics*

64. Within the limits of the territory of each union republic, the supreme organ of authority of the latter is the congress of soviets of the republic, and, in the intervals between congresses, its central executive committee.

65. Relations between the supreme organs of authority of the union republics and the supreme organs of authority of the USSR are determined by the present constitution.

66. The central executive committees of the union republics elect from among their own number presidia which are the supreme organs of authority in the periods between sessions of the central executive committees.]

18 [67]. The soviets of people's commissars of the union republics are formed [The central executive committees of the union republics from their executive organs—soviets of people's commissars—] as follows:—

President of the sovnarkom.
Deputy presidents.
President of the supreme soviet of people's economy.
People's commissar for agriculture.
People's commissar for finance.
People's commissar for *trade.*
People's commissar for food.
People's commissar for labor.
People's commissar for interior.
People's commissar for justice.
People's commissar for workmen's and peasants' inspection.
People's commissar for education.
People's commissar for health.
People's commissar for social welfare.
People's commissar for nationalities.
Director of the central statistical department.

And, with an advisory or decisive voice [according to the decision of the central executive committees of the union republics] plenipotentiaries of the people's commissariats of the USSR for foreign affairs, war and marine, foreign *and internal* trade, ways of communication, posts and telegraphs.

[The part in italics is as amended by the fourth congress of soviets of the USSR on April 26, 1927. *Izvestiia,* April 29, 1927.

The people's commissariat for food no longer appears. The same is true of the people's commissariat for nationalities provided for in the original treaty of union. A commissariat for internal trade, created as noted in article 52, also no longer forms a separate part of the constitution.]

19 [68]. The supreme soviet of people's economy and the people's commissariats for food, *trade,* finance, labor, workmen's and peasants' inspection, *and the central statistical department* of the union republics, while subordinate to the central executive committees and soviets of people's commissars of the union republics, put into effect in their work the general directions of the corresponding people's commissariats of the USSR.

[The part in italics is as amended by the fourth congress of soviets on April 26, 1927. *Izvestiia,* April 29, 1927. As in preceding articles the commissariats for food and for internal trade are liquidated.]

[69. The right of amnesty and also the right of pardon and rehabilitation in regard to citizens condemned by the legal and administrative organs of the union republics is retained by the central executive committees of these republics.]

20.[1] The republics composing the Union have their own individual budgets, which form an integral part of the budget of the Union approved by the TsIK of the Union. The budgets of the republics as regards revenue and expenditure, are drawn up by the TsIK of the Union. An enumeration of revenues and the amount thereof that cover the budgets of the union republics, are determined by the TsIK of the USSR.

21. A common single nationality of the Union shall apply to all citizens of the union republics.

22. The USSR has its flag, its emblem, and its state seal.

23 [72]. The capital of the USSR is Moscow.

24. The republics of the Union shall amend their constitutions conformably to the present treaty.

25. Ratification, amendment, and supplements to the present treaty come within the exclusive jurisdiction of the congress of soviets of the USSR.

26. Each republic of the Union retains the right freely to leave the Union.

[Chapter XI.—*Of the Emblem, Flag, and Capital of the USSR*

70. The state emblem of the USSR consists of the sickle and hammer on a terrestrial globe *in the rays of the sun and* surrounded by ears of corn, *decorated with ribbons,* with an inscrip-

[1] Articles 20-26 do not appear as such in the constitution but are embodied in various detailed provisions.

tion in six languages *mentioned in article* 34: "Proletarians of all lands unite." Above the emblem a five-pointed star .

[The part in italics is as amended by the second congress of soviets of the USSR on January 31, 1924. 1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranic deistvuiushchikh zakonov,* 15.]

71. The state flag of the USSR consists of a red or scarlet cloth bearing, *in the upper corner, near the staff, a golden sickle and hammer with a red five-pointed star superimposed thereon and surrounded with a golden rim* [1] the state emblem. The ratio of width to length is 1:2.

[The part in italics is as amended by the third session of the TsIK of the USSR on November 12, 1923. 1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchiksh zakonov,* 15.]

72. Given with article 23 above.]

[1] The revised text ends here.

CHAPTER VI

CONSTITUTIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1923

The formation of the USSR immediately brought into existence several new problems of an administrative and constitutional character. The RSFSR was obliged to reconstruct its fundamental laws so that they might be brought into harmony with its new status as a member of the Union, now that it had become a federated republic. The other soviet republics also found it necessary to amend their constitutions to conform in practice with the new state of affairs which existed after July 1923, when the fundamental law of the Union entered into force. The changes did not stop here. Because of the system of all-Union, unified, and non-unified commissariats outlined in the federal constitution, it became necessary likewise to alter the relation of the various autonomous republics to the soviet republics within which they lay. In other words, the formation of the Union involved changes both in the outer and in the inner politics of the constituent republics.

The four union or constituent republics entered directly into the USSR; it was this very act which brought that federal entity into existence. The autonomous republics, on the other hand, enter the Union indirectly, that is through the federation of which they are a part. Thus the Bashkir republic is a part of the RSFSR and, by virtue of this, enters indirectly into the USSR. More complicated is the situation in the Caucasus. There the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic enters the USSR directly. The three component parts of that federation: Georgia,

Azerbaijan, and Armenia, enter the USSR indirectly, that is through the federation. On the other hand, Abkhazia, for example, an autonomous republic included in Georgia, would enter the USSR through three steps: first into Georgia, then into the Transcaucasian Federation, and then into the USSR.

Since this procedure applies only to unimportant areas, it may be passed over. It is then possible to make a threefold division to describe the nature of the USSR. First the soviet socialist republics, or union republics, which form directly the Union just as the American states form the United States. Second, the soviet socialist republics which enter the Transcaucasian Federation in a relation similar to that in which that federation enters the USSR. Third, there are the autonomous republics. This distinction between the three types of republics explains the differences in the structure of their administrative organs and in the extent of their jurisdiction, as well as their respective rights in determining the composition of the supreme organs of the federations which they form.

Both the union republics and the autonomous republics are to be kept distinct from still another unit which was discussed in a preceding chapter. That is the autonomous region, the lower limit of state structure within the union, as the union republic is the upper limit. Between the two come the autonomous republics which in structure and importance, sometimes approximate the former and sometimes the latter but which, as a general rule, never coincide with both of them.[1]

The autonomous regions as a feature of soviet structure may be passed over briefly. Their constitutional status as outlined by soviet legislation is no different from that of any province. Their organs of authority have no greater degree of autonomy than the provincial organs of authority.

[1] See Konst. Arkhipov, "Types of soviet autonomy", in *Vlast sovetov*, No. 10, October 1923, 36.

An autonomous region must carry out, therefore, all orders of the central administrative organs. Its so-called autonomy is of importance only as respects language and culture, and even there it has only a limited freedom of expression. A study of this type of autonomy, then, falls under the head of local administration and authority.

The Autonomous Republics

Unlike the autonomous regions, the autonomous republics occupy a special position in the soviet constitutional structure. A list of these areas has been given already, as well as a general account of their administrative structure.[2] It remains to outline the changes that were occasioned by the formation of the USSR and the present functions of the administrative organs of a typical autonomous republic.

While it provided for the creation of autonomous republics and regions, the constitution of 1918 of the RSFSR failed to define the nature of the administration in these areas. Even the decrees of the all-Russian central executive committee concerning the state authority in the republics formulated only a general outline of the organs of power.

In each autonomous republic a revolutionary committee assumed control during the period of transition. This committee, composed of the leading local communists, prepared the way for the establishment of a more regular system of authority comprising the congress of soviets, the central executive committee elected by that body, and the soviet of people's commissars elected by the central executive committee.

When the constitution of the RSFSR was amended in 1925, new provisions were introduced to clarify the status of the autonomous republics. It was intended to give a genuine legal basis to these areas by elaborating in some detail the relation of the autonomous republics and regions

[2] Page 125.

within the RSFSR. It was stipulated, accordingly, that the organs of state authority of these polities should be composed of "local soviets, their congresses, executive committees, and regional executive committees". The local congress of soviets should adopt the constitution for its republic, subject, however, to approval by the all-Russian central executive committee and to final ratification by the all-Russian congress of soviets. All local regulations were to be submitted to the all-Russian central executive committee for approval. Furthermore, the constitution of 1925 provided that the fundamental laws of the various republics must be approved by the all-Russian central executive committee and, finally, by the all-Russian congress of soviets. This provision was of special significance in view of the fact that the constitutions drawn up in the Crimea, Dagestan, the Kirgiz republic,[3] and in Turkestan had never entered into force. Control over local areas had become so firm and so well recognized as a practice that more detailed legislation defining the nature of authority in the autonomous republics could be enacted. Such definition of authority and classification of the bases and principles of administration represented an actual need in view of the degree of uncertainty which hovered around every act of the local officials.

It is reported that several republics immediately began to draft their own constitutions. Still, although between the date of entry into force of the new constitution of the RSFSR and the meeting of the congress of soviets of the RSFSR in April 1927 over two years had elapsed, there was no record of any constitution being proposed for approval by either the all-Russian central executive committee or the all-Russian congress of soviets.

In this period, however, one constitution was actually

[3] The proposed Kirgiz constitution was approved in 1924 by the fourth Kirgiz congress of soviets. It was then to be submitted to the all-Russian central executive committee, but that body never approved it. See *Vlast' sovetov,* No. 9, December 1924, 122-125.

drafted, namely, that of the Volga Germans, adopted by their own third congress of soviets in January 1926.[4] Like the draft of the fundamental law of Crimea in 1921, this document opened with a declaration of rights and a recital of local history.[5] Portraying the blessings of communism on the Volga as compared with the oppression of Germans in bourgeois Germany, it is rather surprising that the declaration caused any criticism by the central authorities in Moscow. Such, however, was the case as respects not only the preamble [6] but also the entire document.

The central authorities at Moscow reasoned that an autonomous republic should not incorporate a local declaration of rights of laboring people in its constitution at all. In a few cases it is reported that the proposed drafts of local constitutions repeated the original declaration in the constitution of 1918 of the RSFSR. This, too, the central authorities opposed on the ground that a part of a federation should not include in its local announcement general declarations which apply to the entire federation.

Similarly, in the case of other provisions, the central authorities feared the growth of local independence in administrative matters. As concerns relations between the autonomous republic on the one hand and the RSFSR and the USSR on the other, the draft constitution of the Volga Germans provided that the organs of the all-Union people's commissariats and departments, the nature of which is

[4] After undergoing six draftings the constitution contained the following divisions: (1) general provisions, (2) organization of the central authority, (3) budget, (4) civil rights, (5) representation of the RSFSR and USSR, (6) congress of soviets (election of delegates and order of convocation, (7) prerogatives and duties of the congress of soviets, (8) the central executive committee (general rules, presidium, and members), (9) the soviet of people's commissars, (10) organization of local authority, (11) electoral rights, (12) issuing and publication of the laws and orders of the republic, and (13) a section on the emblem and flag of the republic. See article by I. Lazovskii, "O konstitutsiiakh avtonomnykh respublik", in *Vlast' sovetov,* No. 15, April 11, 1926.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] See document I, this chapter.

explained later, should be subordinate in the republic to the immediately superior and corresponding organs of the central authorities on the basis of RSFSR or all-Union legislation. On the other hand, the local administration would have the right to coördinate the activity of the organs of the RSFSR with its own people's commissariats and departments and, further, could control them on the basis of existing laws. Even in the field of the all-Union commissariats the local authorities would retain the right to issue their own decisions. As concerns representation in Moscow, the Republic of Volga Germans would send delegates to the congress of soviets of the RSFSR and of the USSR and to the soviet of nationalities of the USSR. The five members sent by the local central executive committee to the latter would in turn, by virtue of their position, have the right to participate in the appointment of the personnel of the central organs of the Union.

Under the draft constitution of the Volga Germans, the unified people's commissariats of the republic were as follows: finance, labor, workmen's and peasants' inspection, people's economy, statistics, and archives. These branches of administration would be subordinate to the local congress of soviets, the central executive committee, its presidium, and soviet of people's commissars, carrying out all orders thereof, as well as the instructions issued by the *corresponding* people's commissars of the RSFSR. All problems of state or national importance affecting these organs would be carried out by the soviet of people's commissars of the autonomous republic. The people's commissars of these commissariats would be appointed and recalled by the government of the autonomous republic, while the corresponding organs of the RSFSR would have the right to protest against any appointment. The local unified people's commissariats could issue their own decrees.

Finally, the non-unified people's commissariats: of interior, justice, education, health, agriculture, and social

welfare, would be entirely autonomous in their activity so far as the organs of the RSFSR and the USSR were concerned. Within the republic, however, they would be subordinate to the central executive committee, the presidium of that body, and to the soviet of people's commissars as a whole. They would have the right to issue legislative acts within their respective fields.

The delay in establishing constitutions for the autonomous republics illustrates the fundamental opposition of the central authorities, whether acting in behalf of the RSFSR or of the USSR, to any concession to local independence.[7] Autonomous republics are set up, but means are found to dispose of local leaders who attempt to further local legislation or to assert the authority of their republic as opposed to the central authorities. The first allegiance of every communist, as shown later,[8] must be to the communist international. No person can be a communist and at the same time propose local autonomy unless he violates the statutes of the communist international, a body which has centralization as its motto.

How overshadowing the control of the RSFSR has been in practice is apparent in the capital of almost any one of the autonomous republics. The local officials are well versed in the constitution of the RSFSR and of the USSR, but they profess complete ignorance of a constitution or local legislation for their own republic. If a step toward autonomy has been taken, as was the case when the congress of soviets of the Volga Germans adopted a local constitution, the matter is not discussed, and there is an evident desire to forget that such a document ever existed.

In complete contrast to the pressure brought by the RSFSR on the autonomous republics against the establishment of constitutions is the policy of the Ukraine in the

[7] See the general survey given by A. S. Enukidze, "Konstitutsii avtonomnykh respublik", in *Sovetskoe stroitel'stvo,* No. 3-4, October-November 1926, 19-35.

[8] Chapter XIII.

case of its one autonomous republic, Moldavia. After the decree creating the republic, the Moldavian congress of soviets approved a constitution, which was confirmed soon thereafter by the all-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets.

The Moldavian constitution [9] covers in detail the character of local administration. Its divisions correspond to those in the constitution of the Ukraine, but it goes further than the latter document. It sets up a supreme court for the republic, a body with special local jurisdiction subject in certain cases to the corresponding organ in the Ukraine. The constitution of the Ukraine, however, does not provide for a supreme court. The same is true of the fundamental law of the RSFSR and of the proposed constitution of the German Volga republic. In these instances the judicial branch is established outside of the constitution itself.

In addition to its constitution and the regular system of authority, the Moldavian republic has drawn up detailed regulations concerning the functioning and prerogatives of its central executive committee.[10] Here again there is a sharp contrast to the badly defined status of that body in all the republics which compose the RSFSR. It may be that in practice Moldavia is just as closely bound to Kharkov, the capital of the Ukraine, as the Tatar republic, for example, is to Moscow. But there can not be the same uncertainty concerning how the local organs should function and what they should be permitted to consider as falling within their competence.

Now that there has been examined in a general way the position of the autonomous republics, an attempt may be made to define further the exact nature of local autonomy, taking one typical republic an illustration. The Tatar republic will serve as an example of the actual work of the various organs of administration beginning with the

[9] See document XII, this chapter.
[10] See document IV, chapter VIII.

congress of soviets, which is theoretically the highest organ in the structure.

The fifth Tatar congress of soviets assembled in Kazan on January 5-9, 1925.[11] In this congress there were 332 delegates with the right to vote and 104 with advisory powers, the latter being present, as in most soviet assemblies, apparently in order to impress by numbers. Of the former the Tatar element formed 55%, Russians 38%, and various other national elements 7%.[12] Of the total number 72.6 were members of the communist party in comparison with 94.8% in the first congress.[13] This merely means that more 'non-partisan' delegates have been chosen in an attempt to get the Tatars to participate in the local assemblies.

The president of the Tatar central executive committee opens the congress. His speech is given both in the Tatar and in the Russian language. He speaks of the principal developments since the last congress met; these have been traced in great detail in an official published report of the local central executive committee presented to the congress.[14] When he has concluded, the orchestra plays the "international" in the latest Moscow version.

The next speaker begins thus: "Comrades, may I submit, in the name of the communist fraction of the congress, for your attention [*sic*] the list of members of the presidium of the present congress, composed of forty-three members.

[11] The first congress met in September 1920. See *Sovetskoe stroitel'stvo v Tatrespublike za god (1920-1921)*. The second congress met in June 1921, the third in December 1922, and the fourth in December 1923.

[12] With this may be compared the sixth Bashkir congress of Soviets held March 15-23, 1927, and composed of 296 delegates, of whom Bashkirs comprised 29%, Tatars 24%, Russians 32%, while the remainder divided among nine different nationalities. *6-oi Vsebashkirskii s'ezd sovetov (rezoliutsii)* (Ufa, Izdanie Bashtsika, 1927).

[13] The figures are taken from the official report of the fifth congress: *Piatyi s'ezd sovetov Tatarskii SSR. Stenograficheskii otchet* (Kazan', Izdanie TsIK'a TSSR, 1925).

[14] *Otchet TsIK i SNK Tatarskoi SSR K V-mu s'ezdu sovetov* (Kazan', Izdanie TsIK i SSR, 1925).

The list is in accordance with the meetings of the non-partisan comrades and has been reported to the bureau of this fraction of the congress."

The congress approves the list unanimously and without discussion. The manner of presentation represents either confused phraseology or very careful drafting. It appears from other evidence, however, including the statutes of the communist party, that the party, in drawing up the list, admits of no real discussion of it by the non-partisan group. No matter how numerous the latter may be—and they are just as many, or as few, as the communist party has willed —under the present arrangement they can have any list 'reported' to them, but the matter ends there.

The rules of the meeting are next adopted without discussion. Each speaker is given ten minutes. Then begins a long speech by a representative from Moscow of the central committee of the all-Union communist party on the international relations of the USSR. It is deemed quite appropriate that a person acting in a party capacity should give this report instead of a representative of the constitutional 'government'.

From this point there is little to differentiate a Tatar congress of soviets, or that of any autonomous republic, from the corresponding body in the RSFSR. The reports by the president of the republic and the various people's commissars cover problems common to nearly the entire Union. The program of the congress has been carefully considered by the 'supreme authority' of the republic well in advance of the assembly date. Or, to use the words of a member of the congress, *"as a whole the present congress was carried out under the direct directions of and in complete conformity with the problems outlined by the tenth regional party conference"*.[15] As is the case throughout the various degrees of authority in the soviet system, it was the party conference preceding the congress of soviets

[15] Stenographic report, 178.

which had already prepared the matters to be discussed, if not the actual text of the resolutions to be approved. This fact stands in direct contrast to the emphasis now placed on non-partisan members. Originally devised to enable the central executive committee "to maintain a close relation with the large masses of peasants, workers, and other laboring masses",[16] the presence of non-partisan members has no significance so far as actual legislation or even representation is concerned.

Finally, it is of interest to note the extent to which the congress of soviets is imbued with revolutionary enthusiasm. A resolution of the Tatar congress telegraphed to Zinov'ev, the president of the communist international, is significant:

"The fifth congress of soviets of the Autonomous Tatar Socialist Soviet Republic greets in your person the communist international and its heroic revolutionary troops over all the world, who fight for the liberation of the workers of the east and west.

"The fifth congress of soviets of the Tatar republic is firmly convinced that the peoples of the Orient, animated for the revolutionary struggle, under the direction of the communist international and following the commandment of Lenin, will victoriously tear down oppressive imperialism.

"Long live the liberated east!

"Long live the communist international!"

This telegram was sent from the constitutionally supreme organ of authority of the Tatar republic to an organization of which mention is assiduously avoided in all soviet constitutions. And yet gaining a victory "over oppressive imperialism" would appear to be a matter of foreign policy. Such is the nature of the work of a congress of soviets in an autonomous republic. In a similar manner the activities of the other organs of authority may be mentioned. This

[16] *Ibid.* This and the preceding quotation, in fact, are taken from consecutive paragraphs. The logical deduction to be made was naturally not given by the speaker.

includes the central executive committee, according to the constitution the "supreme organ of authority" when the congress of soviets is not in session, the presidium of the central executive committee, which is supreme when the committee itself is not in session, and the soviet of people's commissars, which carries out the general administrative affairs.

The members of the central executive committee are about equally divided between Great Russians and the local nationality.[17] As elected by the fifth congress of soviets in 1925 the Tatar central executive committee included 112 members and 45 alternates. The more important body, the presidium elected by the central executive committee, usually contains a majority not belonging to the local nationality.

On the soviet of people's commissars the predominance of persons not of the local nationality is noticeable, particularly in the more responsible and important positions. Those commissariats which enjoy a degree of local autonomy but which are, nevertheless, responsible to the central authorities, are usually under the direction of a person from the local nationality. In the instance of the unified commissariats, that is those over which either the RSFSR or the USSR have jurisdiction, a person not of the local nationality is placed in control. An even numerical balance is usually maintained between the local and non-local nationality.[18]

[17] The central executive committee as elected by the third Tatar congress of soviets, for example, included 39 Tatars, 31 Russians, and 5 of divers nationalities. Of the 75 members, 92% belonged to the all-Union communist party.

[18] The term non-local nationality is used, for the closest representatives of Moscow are often neither Great Russian nor of the local folk. That the policy of a balance numerically between the nationalities is a conscious one is indicated by certain changes which occurred in the Tatar soviet of people's commissars. At first there was included on that body a people's commissar for veterinary and Kazan city respectively. Both positions, occupied by Russians, were abolished in the course of administrative changes. A person with a Slavic name was then nominated as

There is one organ of authority that is invariably *not* under the control of the local nationality. The same is true of its principal personnel. That is the cheka or OGPU, the police system representing a government within a system of authority.[19] When one organ is vested with what is, in practice, supreme power in cases of crime, counter revolution, and economic espionage—terms which have never been specifically defined by soviet law—, in addition to such matters as desertion from the army, abuse of official powers, speculation, and banditism,—when any one body has such a wide range of undefined powers, it is necessarily a prominent factor in the life of any people or country. Official statistics in the Tatar republic state that for a period of ten months ending April 1, 1921, there were 3,076 arrests under the above-mentioned categories.[20] In view of the fact that statistics on the activity of the OGPU are rarely given out, and certainly not exaggerated, the importance of this branch of the uncontrolled central authority in a so-called autonomous republic is apparent.

The work of the soviet of people's commissars in an autonomous republic is a reproduction on a smaller scale of the activity of the same body in the RSFSR. It is the organ through which the instructions of the presidium of the central executive committee are carried out. Mention need not be made of the so-called unified people's commissariats which are responsible directly to the USSR or the RSFSR. So far as local autonomy is concerned, the only commissariats to be considered are the non-unified ones: for agriculture, interior, justice, education, health,

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commissar for the important position of commissar for workmen's and peasant's inspection which had previously—this is rarely the case in an autonomous republic—been presided over by a Tatar.

[19] The central head of the cheka and its successor, the OGPU, has never been even a Great Russian. Dzerzhinskii was a Pole; Unschlickt and Menzhinskii are Jews.

[20] *Sovetskoe stroitel'stvo,* as cited, 162.

and social welfare. Only in these matters affecting purely local affairs is a vestige of autonomy exercised.

Even in these local problems the local commissariat is not free in its actions. It is, to begin with, responsible in the republic to the presidium of the central executive committee and to the plenary session of the committee. Simultaneously, there is direct responsibility to the all-Russian central executive committee and its presidium in Moscow, as well as to the soviet of people's commissars of the RSFSR.

As centralization has occurred in other organs of administration, so it has in the local soviets of people's commissars. In the early period this body had its presidium. A change was effected in 1925, *"in conformity with instructions from the center",*[21] whereby the presidium became a small soviet of people's commissars. Both bodies were composed of the president of the soviet of people's commissars—who is of the local nationality—the deputy president of the local central executive committee, and three other members.

The significance of this transformation lay in the inclusion in the small soviet of people's commissars of a deputy president of the central executive committee as a regular member. By this means a permanent and effective contact of the soviet of people's commissars with the presidium of the central executive committee was secured. At the same time the small soviet of people's commissars extended its powers. It assumed general direction over the inferior central executive committees of the canton and other local authority. Thus, as is naïvely remarked in the official report submitted by the central executive committee and soviet of people's commissars to the fifth Tatar congress of soviets in 1925, there "was almost abolished the necessity of submitting for ratification by the central executive committee questions which have been examined previously by the soviet of people's commissars, the deputy president

[21] *Otchet TsIK i SNK Tatarskoi SSR K V-mu s'ezdu sovetov,* 11.

of the committee himself taking part in the work of the small soviet of people's commissars. The cases of reëxamination of the decisions, once accepted by the soviet of people's commissars in the presidium of the central executive committee were very rare, and for the entire year only two or three could be mentioned." [22]

Two significant facts stand out in this change. First, Moscow demanded it. Second, while the president is of the local nationality, the deputy president of the local central executive committee is invariably not of that nationality. Thus a means has been found to make this deputy president more important than the president or any other member of the central executive committee or soviet of people's commissars. By this manœuvre Moscow found a way to get around the equality of representation on the presidium of the central executive committee and on the soviet of people's commissars as already mentioned.

In the central administration of the RSFSR and of the USSR the soviet of people's commissars has gradually diminished in importance in comparison with the central executive committee. The same trend was occurring in the autonomous republics, but it presented its inconveniences there. Though they controlled the most important positions, the Moscow authorities were still to some extent hampered by the principle of numerical equality. Thus arose the small soviet of people's commissars, dominated by the deputy president of the central executive committee, to settle not only matters that had formerly not come

[22] *Ibid.*, 56. At the fifth Tatar congress of soviets the president of the republic stated that the "reorganization of the presidium of the soviet of people's commissars into the small soviet of people's commissars has rather a nominal character and is caused mainly by the consideration of formality, although it must be mentioned, as a positive characteristic of the small soviet of people's commissars, that into its composition is included the deputy president of the central executive committee, by means of which change *a perfect coördination in the work of the central executive committee and the soviet of people's commissars is reached.* Stenographic report, 34. Italics not in original.

under the jurisdiction of the small soviet but also definitely to settle questions that had previously been discussed by the local central executive committee.

Mention remains to be made of the local central executive committee and its presidium. The nature of the activity of these organs is shown in the elaborate reports submitted to each congress of soviets. Special attention is given, of course, to the work of the non-unified people's commissariats, over which the central executive committee of the autonomous republic has general supervision.

The act organizing the central executive committee of the Tatar republic [23] sums up its general character and duties as follows:

"*a.* In the interim between sessions of the central executive committee of the Autonomous Tatar Socialist Soviet Republic the presidium thereof is the supreme organ of authority.

b. The presidium of the central executive committee supervises the carrying out and execution of all decisions of the congress of soviets and of the central executive committee of the Autonomous Tatar Socialist Soviet Republic by all organs of authority.

c. The presidium of the central executive committee has the right to suspend and repeal the decisions of the soviet of people's commissars, canton executive committees, and separate people's commissars.

d. The presidium of the central executive committee issues decrees, decisions, and ordinances, and examines and ratifies the projects of decrees and decisions, which are submitted by the soviet of people's commissars, of separate departments of the USSR.

[23] Article 8 of the statute as given in *Otchet TsIK i SNK Tatarskoi SSR K V-mu s'ezdu sovetov,* 8-9. All local legislation of this sort is usually unobtainable in the local capitals. It is, as a rule, denied that any collection of legislative acts, orders, or instructions is issued. Very rarely is mention made of any specific document, such as the one cited here, in the reports of the central executive committee of an autonomous republic.

e. The president of the central executive committee appoints the people's commissars upon the suggestion of the soviet of people's commissars [as a whole], and settles the questions and controversies that may arise between separate departments and canton executive committees.

f. Examines all appeals for amnesty and also settles various other questions."

The matters under the jurisdiction of the central executive committee are in great part carried out by its secretariat, a small presidium. This body meets as occasion demands but not oftener than once a week. In practice the secretariat of the central executive committee settles many questions, particularly those concerning the various commissions created by the central executive committee. Meeting twice as often as the presidium of the central executive committee, it has become a real source of power.[14]

Finally, in the system of administration in the autonomous republics, the numerous commissions created by the central executive committee require mention. Throughout the soviet system, in the center as well as in the provinces, there has been created a great variety of special commissions concerned with special questions. It is these bodies, often unnecessary and unrelated, that have occasioned the great amount of red tape and paper work for which the soviet system is justly famous. In fact Russia has long been famous for bureaucratic paper work.

To begin with, in the Tatar republic, there is a "central commission for the realization [*sic*] of the Tatar language". The work of this body is to establish the legal and practical equality of the Tatar and Russian languages in all official and social institutions throughout the Tatar republic and the use of the Tatar language where Tatars are principally concerned, retaining the Russian language where Russians are in the majority. The commission acts as a sort of

[14] No data are available on the relation between this secretariat and the small soviet of people's commissars. If the usual system of soviet administration prevails, the two form a kind of interlocking directorate.

bureau of propaganda to secure the participation of Tatars in the local soviet system. Despite attempts to further the local culture, the fact remains that Russians or non-Tatars predominate in the higher schools. In 1923 of all students 77.3 per cent. were Russian and only 9.7 per cent. Tatars.

Next in the list of commissions may be mentioned the "central commission for administrative unity". This body examines all questions concerning the territorial divisions of the republic, from the village soviets to the detailed determination of inter-cantonal and the state boundaries.

The "central commission for the improvement of conditions of children" concerns itself with taking care of homeless waifs, sending them when possible to various training schools, and with the general improvement of their conditions.

For the sick and wounded soldiers and those disabled by war a special committee supports veterans' homes and general rehabilitation work.

Among the other commissions may be mentioned: (1) a central commission for the memory of Lenin, a propaganda organization; (2) a committee for rural economy; (3) one for land questions; (4) one for a regional disciplinary code; (5) a commission for the betterment of conditions of the proletarian students. The chief duty of the last-named commission appears to be to assign annually ten scholarships of ten rubles (five dollars) each!

The complicated administrative system with the general congress of soviets, the executive committee with a small secretariat and presidium, and the soviet of people's commissars with its small soviet of people's commissars, and a network of commissions shows the division of authority in its general aspects. The central authorities, that is the higher organs of the RSFSR, which, in practice, means the presidium of the all-Russian central executive committee and, in certain cases, individual people's commissariats of

the RSFSR, have the unrestricted right of legislation in all matters which fall within the jurisdiction of the unified commissariats in the autonomous republics. So far as matters falling within the competence of the autonomous or non-unified commissariats are concerned, of the central authorities only the central executive committee of the RSFSR and its presidium have the right of legislation. On the other hand, the central executive committees of the autonomous republics may amend the acts of the central authorities in order to adapt them to local conditions, but all such measures must be confirmed by the central executive committee of the RSFSR or its presidium. When there is an evident conflict between measures adopted by the people's commissariats of the RSFSR on the one hand and the central executive committee and soviet of people's commissars of the autonomous republic on the other hand. the latter may suspend the given measure of the central authority on condition that the action is reported immediately to the central executive committee of the RSFSR. Final decision as to whether the measure shall then be enforced in the autonomous republic rests with the presidium of the central executive committee of the RSFSR. A representative of the republic is heard in such special instances. Also, local representatives present general reports to the supreme authorities of the RSFSR.

The foregoing examination shows that local autonomy in the Soviet Union is practically non-existent, unless it be in the case of the use of the native language. The autonomous republics are nothing more or less than administrative divisions determined on an ethnographical basis, having really no more independent authority than did the provinces under the Tsarist régime. Moreover, it can not be said that the republics were established purely from considerations of nationality. When the Moldavian republic was formed, the soviet press mentioned the value of the step as a propaganda measure, since it would cause Bessarabia,

an area under Rumanian occupation, to desire to enter the new Moldavian republic. When the Karelian republic was formed on the borders of Finland, neighboring people under Finnish rule were told of the freedom of nationalities in Russia. When a large area included in the RSFSR was transferred to White Russia in 1924,[25] the border folk under Polish rule were told of the independence of the various soviet republics, in a federal union of which the constitution appeared to state that the right of secession existed for each component part. The Tadzhik republic was formed to impress neighboring Afghanistan. The Kirgiz republic was a model for China. The policy of autonomy not only became a contradiction in terms because of the extreme centralization inherent in the soviet system; it was, furthermore, manipulated from a hardly disguised purpose of propaganda.[26]

Constitutional Amendments

The survey of developments in the autonomous republics following the formation of the Union mentioned a change in the constitution of the RSFSR. The amendments to that document and to the constitutions of the other Union republics may now be considered.

In a statement before the twelfth congress of the RSFSR on May 9, 1925, Kurskii gave a detailed explanation of the reasons amendments had to be made in the fundamental law of the RSFSR.[27] To begin with, the constitution of the USSR provided that all the union republics must bring

[25] See document II, this chapter.

[26] See "Soviet policy on the European border", by Robert F. Kelley, in *Foreign Affairs,* September 15, 1924, 90-98, with a map; and the note, "New Russian territorial divisions", in the same review, April 1925, 510-512, with two maps.

[27] *Stenographic report,* 136-156. See also the minutes of the third session of the all-Russian central executive committee which met on May 5-6, 1925; and V. I. Ignat'ev, "Konstitutsii Soiuza SSR i soiuznykh respublik za 4 goda" in *Sovetskoe stroitel'stvo,* No. 8-9 (13-14) August-September 1927, 50-61.

their constitutions into conformity with that of the Union. Another reason was the fact that the constitution of 1918 of the RSFSR contained several provisions which had come to have only historical value and which were no longer applicable.[28] Including material that belonged in no respect in a constitution but in ordinary legislation, all the soviet constitutions had to be completely revised. A third reason was that the all-Russian congresses, in particular, the seventh, eighth, and ninth, had adopted several amendments to which the constitution as a whole must be adjusted. The last reason was that "the soviet system at the present moment of peaceful development is increasing the sphere of its influence and is absorbing constantly new elements into the work of the soviets".

In the revised text of the constitution the structure of the state was regarded only as a transitory stage toward the communist society. The second article of the revised constitution states that the RSFSR is "a socialist state of workers and peasants, built up on the principles of federation of national soviet republics".

In brief, the matters which the RSFSR transferred to the Union are: foreign policy, the red army, ways of communication, posts and telegraphs, and foreign trade. As to the structure and prerogatives of the supreme organs, certain changes were made. Although it is obvious that the all-Russian congress of soviets may examine any questions falling within its competence, the constitution of 1925 stipulates definitely what questions are subject to the final decision of the congress. The only exclusive jurisdiction now concerns the amendment and supplementing of the fundamental principles of the constitution of the RSFSR. The former right of ratification of peace treaties now belongs to the organs of the USSR. Furthermore, the present constitution at the same time gives certain addi-

[28] The declaration of rights, containing principles of socialization of land, factories, etc. falls into this category.

tional rights to the USSR as, for example, all matters concerning the boundaries of the RSFSR.

In respect of representation in the all-Russian congresses of soviets, the present constitution makes no changes as compared with that of 1918. The ratio remains the same, in the city soviets one deputy for 25,000 electors, and in the rural districts, one for every 125,000 of the population. One alteration, however, must be mentioned. It is caused by the fact that the Union constitution does not provide for representation from the regional congresses of soviets. Consequently, in article 20 of the present constitution of the RSFSR the provision is made that the representation in the all-Russian congress must be from the provincial and circuit congresses of soviets. Another change affected the all-Russian central executive committee. While the constitution of 1918 provided for it a definite number of members, the present one leaves this question to the decision of the congress of soviets.

No changes have been made in the constitution of the RSFSR as respects the composition of the soviet of people's commissars. It is provided, however, that this body shall issue decrees and orders which shall be compulsory throughout the territory of the RSFSR. The power is of importance, for it means that the decision of the soviet of people's commissars may have a legislative character, though such decisions still may be annulled by the presidium of the all-Russian central executive committee.

Because of the transfer of all matters concerning foreign trade to the competence of the USSR, article 43 of the present constitution of the RSFSR provides that all decisions of the unified people's commissariats shall be subject to approval not only by the authorities of the RSFSR proper but also by the corresponding people's commissariats of the USSR.

As a whole, the new constitution, according to the statement made by Kurskii at the twelfth all-Russian congress

of soviets, will "fix the principles of our state structure, principles of the union of the peasants and workers, and principles of our workers'-peasants' state". It is accordingly not surprising that it should differ from the constitutions of the more usual type, which, according to Steklov, "are merely a screen of a lie, which the bourgeoisie uses in relation to the working class while aiming for its own class interest". In every serious constitutional discussion the soviet leaders have tried their best to convince themselves that they were original and thus unlike the capitalists.

The constitutions of the other union republics were amended in somewhat the same fashion as that of the RSFSR. In the constitution of the Ukraine, two differences may be mentioned between the text voted on March 14, 1919, and the final text adopted on March 5, 1925, which involved not only changes made in order to bring the document into conformity with the Union constitution but also those occasioned by the establishment of the Autonomous Moldavian Socialist Soviet Republic [AMSSR] as a part of the Ukraine. The essential provision dealing with the Moldavian republic runs thus:

". . . Striving to create a free and voluntary and, therefore, all the more complete and stable unity of the working masses of all nationalities inhabiting the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic [UkSSR], and fully recognizing the right of all nations to self-determination to the extent of separation, the UkSSR, recognizing the firmly expressed will of the Moldavian people to establish their own political existence within the composition of the UkSSR, unites with it on the basis of the formation within the composition of the UkSSR of the AMSSR, governing itself on the basis of a special constitution finally ratified by the all-Ukrainian congress upon the consent of the all-Moldavian congress of soviets of workers', peasants', and red army deputies."

A second amendment states in some detail the new position of the Ukraine occasioned by the formation of the

Union. It declares that the Ukraine enters the USSR "as an independent treaty republic, its sovereignty being restricted only within the limits indicated in the constitution of the USSR and only in matters remaining within the jurisdiction thereof". In other matters the Ukraine is independent, and, beyond this, "retains the right freely to secede from the USSR".

Another kind of constitutional change required after the formation of the USSR may be illustrated by the case of the Georgian Socialist Soviet Republic [SSRG]. Adopted by the first Georgian congress of soviets at the time soviet control was established, the original Georgian constitution was completely discarded in July 1926. Not only did the original draft require change in accordance with article five of the fundamental law of the USSR; it was also necessary to make the new constitution conform to the constitution of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic [ZSFSR].

The general provisions of both documents are similar in several respects to the principles included in the declaration of rights in the constitution of the RSFSR. The constitution of 1926 states in this section that: [29]

"Article 5. The sovereignty of the SSRG is restricted only in conformity with the treaties within the limits determined in the fundamental law of the USSR and the constitution of the ZSFSR, but only in questions falling within the jurisdiction of these state formations which, in turn, must respect the sovereign rights of the SSRG.

"Article 6. The SSRG has the right to secede from the ZSFSR and from the USSR in conformity with the provisions of the constitution of the ZSFSR."

That a desire for secession actually exists is shown by an armed uprising in 1924, which was, however, suppressed

[29] The text of the present Georgian constitution is given in document XVII, this chapter. See article 4, constitution of the ZSFSR, document XVI, this chapter.

with exceeding thoroughness by the red army directed from Moscow.

The chapter in the present constitution of Georgia dealing with the jurisdiction of the supreme organs of authority corresponds to Chapter I of the constitution of the USSR. The Georgian congress of soviets is given exclusive jurisdiction in three instances: constitutional changes, alteration of frontiers in accordance with the provision on this subject in the constitution of the USSR,[30] and the formation of autonomous republics or regions in Georgia, and ratification of the constitutions of such units.

The congress of soviets and the central executive committee are both given jurisdiction in questions of "general state importance" so far as they are not limited by the fundamental law of the USSR or of the Transcaucasian Federation. Nine special categories of power are enumerated under this heading: (1) general supervision over internal policy and people's economy; (2) administrative division of the territory of Georgia and delimitation of boundaries of autonomous republics and regions; (3) ratification of the constitution of such areas and settlement of conflicts between them, as well as between them and similar organs for Georgia; (4) establishment of a plan of people's economy in Georgia, the same to be in conformity with the plans of the USSR for the Transcaucasian Federation; (5) ratification of the budget; (6) ratification of legislative codes; (7) right to declare a general amnesty; (8) complete control over decisions of local regions or autonomous republics conflicting with the constitution of the SSRG or the orders of the supreme authorities; (9) all questions not reserved by the USSR or the ZSFSR to their jurisdiction. Questions of foreign affairs, treated specifically in the original constitution, no longer come under the jurisdiction of the Georgian government.

The structure of the organs of authority remains the

[30] Chapter I, article 1 (b).

same in both constitutions of Georgia. In the present constitution there is perhaps a clearer definition of the exact powers of the various organs of authority. Then there are such additions as the duty of the Georgian central executive committee to supervise the execution of the decrees both of the USSR and of the Transcaucasian Federation.

In addition to new provisions concerning the central organs of authority, the present constitution of Georgia defines in some detail the status of the local organs of authority, and the nature and competence of the central and local organs of the autonomous republics and regions, electoral procedure, and the budget. The provisions relating to the autonomous republics are entirely new and are in marked contrast to the very general mention made of those polities in the present constitution of the RSFSR.

Finally, a change which has been made in the constitution of the USSR itself may be mentioned. The first and only amendment of any importance, made by the third congress of soviets of the USSR on May 20, 1925, arose from the provision that "entry into the Union is open to all socialist soviet republics, both those now existing and those which may arise in the future". The system of authority provided for is thus not for a given territory alone but may apply to the entire world.

When the constitution of the USSR entered into force in 1923, it effected a federation of all the republics which the RSFSR had dominated through treaties of alliance, with two exceptions, Bukhara and Khorezm. These soviet republics—their constitutions recognized private property, so they could not be socialist—were not at first included in the Union.

The very fact of the formation of the Union, however, made an administrative rearrangement necessary. The relations of Bukhara and Khorezm with the federation on

the basis of existing treaties could be only through the RSFSR. This relation was no longer possible, for the RSFSR as an independent entity capable of fulfilling treaty obligations ceased from the moment the constitution of the USSR was proclaimed. It no longer had a commissariat for those branches of administration which formerly had exercised practical control over Bukhara and Khorezm. Treaties between Bukhara and Khorezm could not be carried out as before. The RSFSR had abandoned these commissariats to the Union; the Union in turn had no relation to Bukhara or Khorezm. To avoid this difficulty, one week after the federal constitution was proclaimed the central executive committee of the USSR issued a decree providing that all decrees of the central executive committee and soviet of people's commissars of the RSFSR, as well as all "conventional agreements" between the RSFSR and union republics, should be extended "throughout the RSFSR, the Union and union republics".[31] The USSR, therefore, became the successor to the RSFSR and recognized the entire legislation of the latter.

It is not to be supposed that the RSFSR, the dominant member of the newly-formed union, had any intention of loosening either political or economic control over Central Asia. On the contrary, an opportunity was sought to complete the reintegration of the regions which slipped away from the domination of Moscow during the period of civil war. The problem, however, was to find a means to bring these parts of the former empire into the new union not only as *soviet* but also as *socialist* republics. Both Bukhara and Khorezm, it will be recalled, had never pretended to be socialist. Now, following the formation of the USSR, an ingenious scheme was found for making Central Asia socialist. Availing themselves of the doctrine of national autonomy, the soviet authorities decided to effect a whole-

[31] 1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov SSSR,* 199.

sale territorial redistribution of the non-socialist republics.[32] By this means all inconvenient constitutions and practices of local independence and local social system, such as had sprung up in Bukhara, Khorezm, and even in Turkestan, an integral part of the RSFSR, would be abolished by one act. New soviet and socialist republics could be formed in the place of the old areas. Theories would be preserved.

The uniformity of procedure shows the guiding hand of Moscow. The communist party in Turkestan formally took the initiative in proposing a new territorial distribution along ethnic lines. The central executive committee of the Turkestan republic sent out a formal appeal in favor of this step on September 17, 1924. The same month the fifth all-Bukhara kurultai of soviets stated its conviction that the interests of the people of Bukhara would not be fully guaranteed until entrance into the union of all soviet republics was effected.

In conformity with ethnological principles, it was proposed to form five separate republics or regions representing respectively the Uzbeks, Turkmen, Tadzhik, Kara-Kalpaks, and Kara-Kirgiz. Final approval in the matter lay with the congress of soviets of the RSFSR, as far as the dismemberment of Turkestan was concerned, and with the Union congress of soviets which had been proclaimed in July 1923 of all socialist soviet republics.

The twelfth all-Russian congress of soviets which met in May 1925 approved the new territorial arrangement. It was followed a few days later at the third Union congress of soviets by the declarations[33] of the formation of two new *socialist* soviet republics in Central Asia, the Uzbek and Turkmen republics. Admission into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was effected at this time.

Composed now of six union republics, the different units

[32] See M. Nemchenko, *Natsional'noe razmezhevanie Srednei Aziia 1926 god.*

[33] See documents IX-XI, this chapter.

included in the USSR may be summarized in tabular form as follows:

Republic	*Area in square kilometers*	*Population in thousands*
RSFSR [34]	19,748,296	100,858
White Russia [35]	126,792	4,984
Ukraine [36]	451,730	29,020
Transcaucasia [37]	184,492	5,860
Uzbekistan [38]	340,346	5,275
Turkmen [39]	491,216	992
USSR [40] Total	20,851,656	146,989

Considered from the point of view of percentage of population and the number of inhabitants per square kilometer the USSR stands as in the following table: [40]

Republic	*Area*	*Population*	*Per square kl.*
RSFSR	92.4%	68.7%	5.4%
Ukraine	2.3	19.7	64.0
White Russia	0.6	3.4	39.6
Transcaucasia	0.8	4.0	34.8
Uzbek	1.6	3.5	15.8
Turkmen	2.3	0.7	2.2
USSR	100%	100%	7.3%

[34] Divided into 11 autonomous republics, 12 autonomous regions, 5 regions, 33 provinces, 68 circuits, 308 counties, 986 economic districts, 2,791 rural districts, 55,858 village soviets, and 519 cities.

[35] Divided into 8 circuits, 104 economic districts, 1,713 village soviets, and 29 cities.

[36] Divided into 1 autonomous republic, 40 circuits, 625 economic districts, 10,733 village soviets, and 80 cities.

[37] Divided into 3 republics (Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia), 2 autonomous republics, 2 autonomous regions, 49 counties, 733 rural districts, 2,181 village soviets, and 53 cities.

[38] Divided into 1 autonomous republic, 10 circuits, 7 counties, 866 economic districts, 40 rural districts, 2,136 village soviets, and 31 cities.

[39] Divided into 3 circuits, 33 economic districts, 376 village soviets, and 7 cities.

[40] Compiled by the people's commissariat for interior of the RSFSR in *Territorial'noe i administrativnoe delenie SSSR*, 15. Of the total population in the Union 20,743,840 is listed as city and 126,245,620 as rural.

DOCUMENTS TO CHAPTER VI

I. Proclamation on the Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of Volga Germans.
II. Resolution on the unification of all territories of the Soviet Union having a majority of White Russian population with White Russia.
III. Resolution on the creation of the Autonomous Moldavian Socialist Soviet Republic.
IV. Decree on the national-state union of the peoples of Central Asia.
V. Declaration on the formation of the Turkmen Socialist Soviet Republic.
VI. Decree on the delimitation of the boundaries of the Autonomous Turkestan Socialist Soviet Republic.
VII. Decree on the delimitation of the soviet republics of Central Asia and on the entrance of the Uzbek and Turkmen republics into the USSR.
VIII. Resolution on the secession of the Autonomous Turkestan Socialist Soviet Republic from the RSFSR.
IX. Declaration on the formation of the Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic.
X. Decree on the entrance of the Turkmen Socialist Soviet Republic into the USSR.
XI. Resolution on the admission of the Turkmen and Uzbek republics into the USSR.
XII. Constitution of the Autonomous Moldavian Socialist Soviet Republic.
XIII. Constitution of the RSFSR with all amendments.
XIV. Constitution of the Ukraine.
XV. Union treaty on the formation of the federal union of socialist soviet republics of Transcaucasia.
XVI. Constitution of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.
XVII. Constitution of Georgia.
XVIII. Constitution of Khorezm.

I

Proclamation, Dated January 6, 1924, of the Eleventh Regional Congress of Soviets of the Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of Volga Germans (ASSRNP) [1]

With the final determination of the boundaries, the region secured the possibility of establishing an economic order which would permit the creation of a compact economic unit of greatest importance for the whole soviet state. It became evident that the roads of economic, central, and political achievement require further measures for the practical development of the autonomous rights of the Germans in the Volga region. This was in accord not only with the internal problems and mature political consciousness of the population, but also with the extreme interest in the fate of the Volga-Germans, which was so openly manifested by Germany when the political development during the winter of 1923-24 seemed to be leading definitely toward the final victory of the proletarian revolution.

One of the said further measures was the proclamation by the eleventh regional congress of soviets, on January 6, 1924, on the ASSRNP. In the corresponding resolution of the congress, the proclamation was formulated as follows:

". . . five years of the existence of our region have passed under extremely difficult conditions. Banditism and the incomparable famine of 1920-21 which caused a complete destruction of our economic system, however, not only did not weaken the confidence in the soviet system, but on the contrary, increased it.

"With great satisfaction and joy we may state that the soviet system in our region became the best loved authority of our population, and that the communist party enjoys full authority over and confidence of all working masses.

"The difficult and uneasy task lies in the past. The administrative secession of individual German colonies into a single autonomous region and final determination of its boundaries, completed in 1922, had a desired effect upon the economic unit, the political and economic importance of which is of great value in the whole system of the USSR. For the last five years the region has produced and educated its own political and economic leaders. The nationalities at present inhabiting the region gradually are advancing on their way toward the real practical development of the rights on the basis of their

[1] E. Gross, *Avt. Sots. Sov. Resp. Nemtsev Povolzh'ia,* 33-34.

own customs, *i.e.*, on the way of their economic and cultural revival.

"All this shows that the objective conditions surrounding our life, in the sixth year of its development, have changed considerably, and subsequently the problems confronting the region at present, and the rôle which the region must play in the future, not only in regard to itself, but also in relation to the RSFSR have likewise changed.

"In consequence of this, and in virtue of the constitution of the RSFSR, part I, chapter IV, paragraph VIII, the eleventh regional congress of soviets of workers', peasants', and red army deputies in the Autonomous Region of Volga-Germans decrees: to proclaim the ASSRNP within the composition of the RSFSR.

"The congress again declares to the proletariat of the whole world that only on the basis of the soviet constitution can the question of nationalities be completely and unconditionally settled, and that the constitution of countries with soviets is effected by the working masses not in abstract theories but in actual practice.

"The congress calls the attention of the struggling German proletariat to our small autonomous formation, and again emphasizes the difference between the free democratic Germany, oppressed by domestic as well as by foreign capital, and the real freedom of nationalities united in the USSR."

II

Resolution, Dated March 7, 1924, of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee (TsIK) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) on the Unification of All Territories of the Soviet Union Having a Majority of White Russian Population in the Body of the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic (BSSR) [1]

"Only in the camp of the soviets, only under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, mustering around itself the majority of the population, has it proved possible to destroy at the roots national oppression, to establish an atmosphere of mutual confidence and lay the foundations of the brotherly collaboration of peoples."

Such is the phraseology of the constitution of the USSR, the

[1] *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov SSSR,* 205-206.

constitution of peoples vested with equal rights and voluntarily united.

The fundamental aim of the Union is to support by all available means these conditions of mutual confidence between the peoples of the republics composing the USSR.

The TsIK of the USSR recognizes that the agreement reached by the TsIK of the RSFSR on the one hand and the BSSR on the other, by virtue of which all territories having a majority of White Russian population are united into the body of the White Russian Republic—that this is a new and effective evidence of practical achievement in the field of mutual, friendly, and brotherly relations among the peoples composing the Union.

White Russia, which, in the days of the Tsars, was an area of struggles between the Russian, Polish, German, and Lithuanian bourgeoisie, has now, with the creation of soviets, entered on the road to liberation; already in the very first days of her freedom in the proclamation of her first workers' and peasants' government, she has categorically rejected all attempts of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie to promote her development on the basis of compromise with the capitalistic world. On the contrary, the present agreement between the workers' and peasants' government of the RSFSR and of the BSSR secures for White Russia a real possibility for further progress on the basis of general economic, national, and cultural development.

Therefore, the TsIK of the USSR announces with complete satisfaction the agreement reached, in conformity with article 6 of the constitution of the USSR, between the RSFSR and the BSSR, which is of historical importance for Soviet White Russia.

The TsIK of the USSR has no doubt that this great act of mutual confidence among the peoples inhabiting the Union and the respect for self-determination of each one of them will serve as a call for all working masses of White Russia to unite under the colors of White Russia and to work in behalf of economic and cultural reconstruction and progress, as well as in order to promote and fortify Soviet White Russia and all the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The united front of the soviet socialist republics is continuously growing stronger in the face of capitalistic opposition.

The TsIK of the USSR appeals to the workers and peasants of White Russia to support firmly and categorically, together with the workers and peasants of the Union, the brotherly union of the peoples united under the colors of the soviets.

III

The Autonomous Moldavian Socialist Soviet Republic (AMSSR) [Created by a Resolution of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee (UkTsIK) Dated October 12, 1924] [1]

The proletarian revolution, having destroyed the power of capital, and having established the power of the workers and peasants, simultaneously laid a solid foundation for the national freedom of all peoples oppressed by the tsarist régime, and by the landowners and capitalists.

The formation of the USSR secured peace and amicable fellowship for all workers and peasants freed from the power of capital, and gave to every people inhabiting territories of the soviet republics the opportunity for their cultural development. The soviet system has for its aims all possible assistance and brotherly help in behalf of the cultural and economic development of each one of the peoples inhabiting the territory of the soviet republics, and in behalf of attaining their national aims.

Only since the soviets has the Moldavian population, which was oppressed and exploited by the landowners under the Tsars, been given the possibility of unification and recognition of its own interests.

After the imperialistic war, the greater part of the Moldavian people found itself oppressed by the Rumanian bourgeoisie who had occupied Bessarabia. The greater part of the Moldavian people, even at present, is severely oppressed by the Rumanian nobility; robbing taxes and military terror, cruel punishments and persecutions, arrests, executions, and punitive expeditions have fallen upon the Moldavian workers and peasants of Bessarabia.

Only those of the Moldavian workers and peasants who live under the free conditions of the soviet republic were given by the soviet power a true and dependable means for furthering their economic and national development. The laboring masses of soviet Moldavia through their soviets have received the possibility of continuing their struggle against Tsarism and illiteracy by means of establishing schools and the free exercise of activities in behalf of their national existence. The long intervention of foreign imperialists and bloody activities of

[1] Published in "Vistiah UkTsIK i XGUV", October 31, 1924, No. 249, *Sobr. uzak. UkSSR,* 1924, No. 47, article 280.

bandits bribed by capitalistic gold delayed the development of the Moldavian population.

Nevertheless, with the common efforts of all workers and peasants of our soviet republic and of our USSR, the advance of imperialism was checked. Now, with the victory of workers and peasants on all the external and interior fronts, and with the creation of the socialist soviet republics, together with other peoples inhabiting the territory of the USSR, the Moldavians also have been given the opportunity to realize their national aims. In numerous conferences and meetings the Moldavians have expressed their firm decision to organize their cultural and economic life, and to reach its national unification in amicable relationship with all peoples composing the USSR on the common basis of a socialist soviet republic.

Taking into consideration this firmly expressed will of the workers and peasants of soviet Moldavia, and deriving from the firm principles of the constitution of the USSR, the third session of the UkTsIK, eighth meeting, decides:

1. To form the AMSSR within the body of the UkSSR.

2. To establish the boundaries of the Moldavian republic as follows:

[Here follows a description of the boundaries.]

3. To charge the mixed commission formed by the presidium of the UkTsIK from the representatives of the AMSSR and the executive committees of the provinces of Odessa and Podolsk, with the exact determination of the boundaries of the AMSSR, submitting them for final ratification by the presidium of the UkTsIK.

4. The provisional drafting of fundamental principles of the structure of the state and of constitutional relations of the AMSSR and UkSSR is to be determined by the presidium of the UkTsIK; the latter shall be charged also with submitting its draft for ratification by the first congress of the soviets of the AMSSR, and upon approval by the same, to final ratification by the all-Ukrainian congress of soviets.

5. The provisional revolutionary committee shall be formed to establish the organs of authority within the territory of the AMSSR, and to convoke the all-Moldavian congress of soviets of workers', peasants', and red army deputies; in this committee shall be vested all authority throughout the AMSSR prior to the convocation of the first congress of soviets.

Ratification of the personnel of the provisional revkom

[revolutionary committee] falls within the authority of the presidium of the UkTsIK.

Kharkov, October 12, 1924.

President of the UkTsIK: G. Petrovskii.
Secretary of the UkTsIK: A. Butsenko.

IV

Decree, Dated September 20, 1924, of the Fifth All-Bukhara Kurultai of Soviets on the National-State Union of the Peoples of Central Asia [1]

The October [old style] revolt of the proletariat has destroyed the domination of capital in Russia. In the world of fighting humanity the first workers' state has appeared.

The September revolution of the laboring masses has broken the power of the Emirate in Bukhara. The People's Soviet Republic has been given to the eastern countries.

The liberation of labor, the fight for socialist structure, entail the end of national oppression. The soviet power opens to all nationalities the road to complete self-determination, unification, and fraternal collaboration with other nations.

Capitalists of the entire world, with English imperialists at their head, have sent their armed forces against the soviet order. The malice and rage of the exploiters and their hirelings have turned on the laboring people who dared to overthrow the power of capital and who were able to build a new life without a bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie consider laboring humanity as destined to be their slaves. It devours the forces of the proletariat, crumbles the household of the peasant, produces hostility among peoples, and brings with it national oppression. The only fighter feared by the bourgeoisie is the proletariat forged into revolutionary force under the banner of communism.

But horror of death and insanity seize the capitalistic world as soon as its sovereigns see that, in addition to the workers, innumerable detachments of the peasantry unite and strive for happiness and freedom, national independence, and liberation.

The peoples of Bukhara, opposing their enemies, building the people's economy on soviet principles and the new state, firmly realize that the victory of the workers' and peasants' cause demands implicitly an exact settlement of national questions.

[1] F. Ksenofontov, *Uzbekistan i Turkmenistan,* 31-33.

The individual nationalities—Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Turkmen, Kirgiz—are dispersed in different states which, although soviet, are divided by frontiers.

National development on soviet principles demands the union of the laboring class of nations on a united soviet territory in order to secure there the economic and political development and to promote the cultural-national construction.

The national movement with this spirit and for such purposes has spread throughout Bukhara, embracing the largest part of the laboring masses. A single will is manifest here: to unite the separate parts into one national unit, to give to the nations the soviet state formation.

These aims are expressed also by the fraternal peoples outside of the frontiers of the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic. A united general impulse embraces the laboring population of Bukhara, Turkestan, and Khorezm.

The will of the laboring people is the law of the soviet state. By virtue of this, the fifth all-Bukhara kurultai of soviets solemnly declares:

(1) The supreme will of the peoples of Bukhara—the Uzbeks and Tadzhiks—is the creation by them, together with the Uzbeks of Turkestan and Khorezm, of the Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic, a part of which is formed by the Autonomous Region of Tadzhiks.

(2) Fraternal agreement on the entering of the Turkmen people of Bukhara into the composition of the Turkmen Socialist Soviet Republic.

(3) States the absolute necessity for socialist Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the purpose of socialist construction, protection against imperialism, and in virtue of international fraternity of the laboring masses.

Go ahead, brothers and comrades, against the national hostility and subjugation by the bourgeoisie, for the liberation of western peoples, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and for communism!

For the kurultai: Presidium of the fifth all-Bukhara kurultai of soviets.

V

Declaration by the First All-Turkmen Congress of Soviets on the Formation of the Turkmen Socialist Soviet Republic (TurkSSR)[1]

The peoples of Central Asia, although for centuries under the oppression of the Khans, Emirs, and Tsarism, have always been politically and economically enslaved and nationally disunited.

The great November revolution, having destroyed the power of capital and of the exploiters, and having broken the chains of political and economic enslavement, in the "declaration of the rights of the people of Russia", dated November 2, 1917, has now initiated the principles of equality and sovereignty of all peoples of Russia, as well as their rights of self-determination, securing in this manner the possibility of a new life for all peoples of the former tsarist possessions.

To the present, the objective condition of civil war has not permitted the complete carrying out of the principles proclaimed.

The formation of the USSR, while representing a new definite step toward the unification of all countries into a World Socialist Soviet Republic, has united the USSR into a single union-state capable of securing external safety and internal economic prosperity, as well as freedom of national development of the peoples on the basis of their free, equal, and peaceful collaboration and fraternal relations in the process of the creation of a true wedge against world capitalism.

Now, having removed the conditions that hindered the execution of the great principles of state life laid down as the basis of the "declaration of the rights of the people", the working masses of the Turkmen people, through their first congress of soviets, solemnly declare the formation of an independent socialist soviet republic in the territory which has long been inhabited by the Turkmen peoples, which territory is composed of the regions of Poltoratsk, Morv, Kerkinsk, Leninsk and Tashaus.

Loyal to the desires of the workers' and dekkan masses for solidarity and fraternal unification, the toiling masses of the Turkmen people before the whole working mankind solemnly declare their desire to enter, for the purpose of the formation of a single front against world capital, into the composition of the USSR as a member thereof and with all the rights appertaining thereto.

[1] F. Ksenofontov, *Uzbekistan i Turkmenistan*, 36-39.

Constantly aiming for the destruction of any kind of exploitation of man by man, for the complete abolition of any class division, and for the establishment of a socialist organization of society,—the first congress of soviets of the TurkSSR indorses the "declaration of the rights" of the working and exploited people adopted by the third all-Russian congress of soviets, and charges the government of the Turkmen republic, in conformity with the legislation of the USSR, with the carrying into practice and execution of all basic principles of the declaration.

The workers of the Turkmen people declare that the following principles shall be the basis for the work of all organs of the Turkmen Socialist Soviet Republic:

1. For the purpose of the complete destruction of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, and the attainment of socialism,—the main purpose of the TurkSSR shall be the establishment of the dictatorship of the city and aul proletariat and of the poorest dekkan masses, in the form of a powerful soviet authority.

2. The TurkSSR is a free socialist state of all the toiling masses of Turkmenistan.

3. All authority throughout the TurkSSR shall belong to the entire working population of the country united in the city, aul, village and kishlak soviets.

4. The TurkSSR recognizes that labor is a duty of all citizens of the republic.

5-6. [Correspond to chapter V, articles 13-14, of the constitution of the RSFSR.]

7. In order to secure for the working class genuine freedom of association, the TurkSSR lends to the working masses and poorest dekkans all kinds of material and other assistance to help them to unite and to organize themselves.

8. In order to secure for the working masses genuine freedom of assembly, the TurkSSR hands over to the working class and poorest dekkans all buildings suitable for popular assemblies.

9-10. [Correspond to chapter V, articles 17 and 21, of the constitution of the RSFSR.]

11. The TurkSSR, recognizing the equality of the rights of all citizens, irrespective of race or nationality, declare it contrary to the fundamental laws of the republic to permit any privileges whatsoever, as well as any oppression of national minorities, or restriction of their equality and indisputable right to the use of their native tongue.

12. The official language of the TurkSSR shall be the Turkmen and Russian languages.

13. [Corresponds to chapter V, article 23, of the constitution of the RSFSR.]

14. The supreme organ of authority of the TurkSSR is the congress of soviets of dekkan, workers', and red army deputies of the Turkmeniia, and, during the interim between the congresses of soviets, the Turkmen central executive committee.

15. Recognizing the possession by women of all equal rights, the TurkSSR shall take all measures to abolish all customary conditions which, by their character, tend to restrict women's rights.

16. The TurkSSR, entering into the USSR as a member with full rights, shall exercise its state authority independently, its sovereignty being limited only within the limits as determined by the constitution of the USSR in regard to the matters subject to the competence of the Union.

17. The TurkSSR has the right of free secession from the Union.

18. The territory of the TurkSSR can not be modified without its consent.

VI

Decree Dated October 14, 1924, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) on the Delimitation of the Boundaries of the Autonomous Turkestan Socialist Soviet Republic (ATSSR)[1]

The VTsIK decides to ratify the following decision of the central executive committee of the ATSSR.

The October [old style] revolution of workers and peasants has liberated all those who have been oppressed and enslaved by the feudals, the nobility, the landowners, and capitalists. The heavy chains of centuries of slavery of the laboring masses have been broken. The oppressed peoples of the former Tsarist Empire have obtained full freedom and have been given in the revolution their right of national self-determination including that of separation.

Seven years of gigantic revolutionary struggle and the construction of a new society of laboring masses have resulted in the greatest gains. The USSR is the greatest union of free, equal peoples of all soviet republics. The USSR is at present the sole

[1] *Postanovleniia II sesii VTsIK, XI sozyva*, 7-8.

country in the world where all traces of national inequality and slavery have been annihilated at the roots.

The peoples of Turkestan, who, during tsarism, were in the position of colonial slaves with no rights, now being free and equal, are building their own state by the efforts of the laboring masses. The peoples of Turkestan, having attained national liberation, having firmly established the bases of the authority of the workers and dekkans, inflexibly developing and enlarging the cultural and economic building, have attained results which secure for them full possibility to reconstruct the ATSSR into a national homogeneous state.

The central executive committee of the ATSSR, deriving from the principles directing national relations and material development of the peoples of the Soviet Union, and desirous of fulfilling the general will of the masses of workers and dekkans of the ATSSR, decrees:

1. In order to carry out the general wish expressed by the masses of workers and dekkans of the Uzbek people, to grant to the Uzbek people the right to secede from the composition of the ATSSR and form an independent Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic (UzSSR).

2. In order to carry out the general wish expressed by the masses of workers and dekkans of the Turkmen people, to grant to the Turkmen people the right to secede from the composition of the UzSSR and to form an independent Turkmen Socialist Soviet Republic (TurkSSR).

3. In order to carry out the general wish expressed by the masses of workers and dekkans of the Kirgiz people, to grant to the Kirgiz people the right to secede from the composition of the ATSSR for the purpose of uniting the Kirgiz regions of the ATSSR with the Kirgiz Socialist Soviet Republic.

4. In order to carry out the general wish expressed by the masses of workers and dekkans of the Kara-Kirgiz people, to grant to the Kara-Kirgiz people the right to secede from the composition of the ATSSR and to form the Kara-Kirgiz autonomous region within the composition of the RSFSR.

5. In order to carry out the general wish expressed by the masses of workers and dekkans of the Tadzhik people, to grant to the Tadzhik people the right to secede from the composition of the ATSSR and to form an autonomous Tadzhik region within the composition of the Union Uzbek Republic.

President of the VTsIK: M. Kalinin.
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. Kiselev.

VII

Decree, Dated October 27, 1925, of the Second Session of the Central Executive Committee, of the Union of Soviet Republics (TsIK USSR) on the Delimitation of Soviet Republics in Central Asia and on the Entrance of the Uzbek and Turkmen Republics into the USSR [1]

Having heard: (1) the decision of the fifth all-Bukhara kurultai and of the central executive committee of the Khorezm People's Republic which expressed the will of the population of Bukhara and Khorezm to unite with their kinsmen residing in the Turkestan ASSR, and on entrance of the newly formed states, on the principles of the agreement, as union republics into the USSR; and (2) the decision of the central executive committee of the Turkestan ASSR and the VTsIK on the division of the Turkestan ASSR, on the principles of self-determination by nationalities, into the republics: UzSSR with the Autonomous Tadzhik SSR, TurkSSR, Kara-Kirgiz autonomous region included in the RFSR, and on the attachment of the Kirgiz part of Turkestan to the Kirgiz ASSR included in the RSFR,—the TsIK of the USSR confirms that the free expression of the will of toiling peoples is the supreme law and charges the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR to carry out the formation of the newly-proposed republics in Central Asia in conformity with the decisions of the congresses of soviets thereof.

VIII

Resolution on the Secession of the Autonomous Turkestan Socialist Soviet Republic (ATSSR) from the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR) Adopted by the Twelfth All-Russian Congress of Soviets on May 11, 1925 [2]

1. To approve the decision of the second session, eleventh meeting, of the VTsIK on granting to the Uzbek, Turkmen, Kirgiz, Kara-Kirgiz, and Tadzhik peoples inhabiting Turkestan the right to secede from the ATSSR and to form new socialist soviet republics and regions in accordance with their national characteristics.

2. To approve, in conformity with the general will of the working and dekkan masses of the Kirgiz, Kara-Kirgiz, and Kara-

[1] 1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov SSSR,* 206-207.
[2] *XII Vserossiiskii s'ezd sovetov,* 245-246.

Kalpak peoples, expressed at their congresses of soviets, the unification of the parts of the territory of Turkestan inhabited by the Kirgiz with the Autonomous Kirgiz Socialist Soviet Republic, and to approve the formation of the Kara-Kirgiz region within the composition of the RSFSR and of the Kara-Kalpak autonomous region within the composition of the Autonomous Kirgiz Socialist Soviet Republic. . . .

IX

Declaration, Read on May 13, 1925, Before the Third Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) on the Formation of the Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic (UzSSR)[1]

The entire capitalistic world is divided into two hostile camps; the camp of the subjugating minority (the capitalists, landowners, and merchants), and the camp of the subjugated majority (the workers, peasants, and small producers).

The attempts made by the capitalistic world during tens of years to settle the question of nationalities by way of combining the free development of peoples with the system of exploitation of man by man have proved fruitless. On the contrary, the labyrinth of national contradictions became more and more entangled, menacing even the existence of capitalism.

The bourgeoisie considers laboring humanity as slaves destined for it. It devours the forces of the proletarians, destroys peasant economy; it rouses hostility among peoples, thus furthering national oppression. The only fighter whom the bourgeoisie fears is the proletariat forged into a revolutionary force under the banner of communism.

The bourgeoisie has proved powerless to establish a collaboration of peoples. Moreover, world capitalism is imminently drawn, year by year, in a greater and greater degree, into the fatal whirlpool of absolutely insoluble imperialistic contradictions threatening with destructive wars, with destruction of tens of millions of human lives and great wealth.

Only by means of universal socialist revolution, by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, can humanity find a way out

[1] *Tretii s'ezd sovetov SSSR stenograficheskii otchet,* 14-16. This text does not give the signatories to the declaration as originally issued. It was signed by the president of the central executive committee of the UzSSR, the president of the sovnarkom, and the responsible secretary of the central executive committee of the UzSSR.

of this historical blind alley. History shows that imperialism, being the supreme form of capitalism, is the last stage in its development. Imperialism is the eve of socialism.

That is the reason horror of death and madness overcomes the capitalistic world when its rulers see that along with the workers, and under their direct guidance, the peasantry are increasing and striving for land and freedom, for national independence and liberation from the power of imperialism.

The great October [old style] 1917 is the first stage of the socialist reconstruction of the world; it is the beginning of a new era—the era of proletarian revolution throughout the whole world. It is October 1917 which, after having liberated the laboring masses from the class oppression of capitalism and landowners, has liberated subject peoples of the former Tsarist Empire by granting them the right of self-determination including the right of separation from the state. Only in the camp of soviets, only under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat which has grouped around itself the majority of the population, has it proved possible to destroy at the roots national oppression, to create an atmosphere of mutual confidence, and to lay the bases of fraternal collaboration of peoples.

That is the reason the capitalists, the rulers of the world, with the British imperialists at their head, are using and will continue to use all political, economic, and military forces against the soviet order. The malice and rage of the exploiters, the fury of their hirelings are turned against the laboring people who dared to replace the power of capital and who knew how to build a new life without bourgeoisie.

The peoples of Central Asia, who for centuries suffered from the unrestrainable subjugation of the tsarist régime, the power of the Khans and the Emirate, being in complete economic and spiritual servitude for the *bais*, priests, and functionaries, were deprived of the most elementary of human rights.

From the first days of its existence in the "declaration of the rights of the people of Russia" of November 2, 1917, the great October revolution solemnly proclaimed the equality and sovereignty of all peoples dwelling in the former empire.

The laboring masses of the kishlaks and auls of the Uzbek territories solemnly and firmly declare through their first congress of soviets of the territory of the former Turkestan, Bukhara, and Khorezm republics that for the realization of national self-determination in the outpost of soviet power in the Orient—

in Central Asia—after the liquidation of all obstacles in the way of full realization of the fundamental ideas of national self-determination are henceforth established on the territory of the Uzbek people, which includes the regions of Tashkent, Samarkand, Fergan, Kashka-Dar'ia, Zeravshan, Surkhan-Dar'ia, and Khorezm, for the first time in the history of this people, the Union Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic of workers and peasants, into which enters the Autonomous Tadzhik Socialist Soviet Republic.

The first all-Uzbek congress of soviets of workers', dekkans', and red army deputies, on the basis of the expression of the will of the laboring masses of the former TSSR, BSSR, and KhSSR, in accordance with the decrees of the third extraordinary session of the Turkestan central executive committee of September 16, 1924, of the all-Bukhara kurultai, and Khorezm kurultai of September and October 1924, respectively, on the delimitation, in accordance with national characteristics, of the soviet republics of Central Asia, and on the entering into the USSR of the UzSSR—decrees that:

All central and local authority within the boundaries of the UzSSR belongs to the entire population of workers and laboring dekkans of the country, united in the person of town and kishlak soviets.

The laboring masses of Uzbek people—for the purpose of universal solidarity of workers and peasants, directed to the protection of their socialist fatherland from external and internal dangers, for the purpose of uniting all efforts of the peoples of the USSR for a quick recovery and full development of economy, and for the purpose of increasing the productive forces of the country on the basis of fraternal collaboration of peoples—declare before the whole world their inviolable decision voluntarily to enter into the USSR with the rights of an equal member and on the basis of the declaration of the first congress of the USSR which guarantees the safety of the united republics, as well as complete internal economic growth and freedom of national development of the peoples.

Long live the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics!

Long live the World Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics!

X

Decree, Read on May 13, 1925, Before the Third Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), of the First Congress of Soviets of Workers', Dekkans', and Red Army Deputies of the Turkmen Socialist Soviet Republic (TurkSSR) on Entrance into the USSR [1]

The great workers' and peasants' revolution which has destroyed the power of capital, exploitation, and oppression, and which has broken the chains of centuries long slavery, proclaimed in its great act of November 2 (15), 1917, the "declaration of the rights of the people of Russia", the fundamental principles of equality, of sovereignty, and their right of self-determination.

Until the present time, the period of civil war has prevented the full realization of the principles proclaimed.

The peoples of Central Asia, after the restoration of general peace in the country, have manifested their will in their numerous assemblies, congresses, and conferences, to create in Central Asia independent national republics.

At present the first congress of soviets of workers', dekkans', and red army deputies of the TurkSSR, in accordance with the general aim of the masses of workers and dekkans for solidarity and fraternal association, and in order to create a united front for the common fight against world capital, as well as taking into consideration the fact that only the USSR is able to secure external safety and freedom of economic growth and national development of the people—decrees:

To enter the USSR in conformity with the principles stated in the constitution of the Union and to charge the plenipotentiary delegate of the TurkSSR to submit the present decree to the next all-Union congress of soviets.

XI

Resolution on the Admission of the Turkmen Socialist Soviet Republic (TurkSSR) and the Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic (UzSSR) into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republcs (USSR), Read on May 13, 1925, Before the Third Congress of Soviets of the USSR [2]

The third congress of soviets of the USSR welcomes with

[1] *Tretii s'ezd sovetov SSSR. Stenograficheskii otchet,* 20.

[2] *Tretii s'ezd sovetov SSSR. Stenograficheskii otchet,* 22-23. The amendment to the constitution was ratified seven days later, May 20, 1925.

great satisfaction the free expression of the will of the people's of the TurkSSR and the UzSSR on their entrance into the composition of the USSR.

The third congress of soviets of the USSR calls attention to the fact that, in conformity with the "declaration of the formation of the USSR", admission into the Union is open to all socialist soviet republics already in existence, as well as of those which may be formed in the near future.

The entrance of the above-mentioned republics into the USSR is a new proof that the USSR is actually a free union of peoples on a basis of equality and a true support for oppressed peoples.

The third congress of soviets of the USSR decrees:

1. To extend, in conformity with paragraph "c", article 1, of the constitution of the USSR, the application of the agreements on the formation of the USSR also to the TurkSSR and the UzSSR.

2. To charge the presidium of the third congress of soviets of the USSR with the drafting of a project of amendments of the constitution of the USSR necessarily resulting from the fact of the entrance into the composition of the USSR of two new union republics, and with submitting this project for ratification by the present congress of soviets.

XII

Constitution, Dated April 23, 1925, of the Autonomous Moldavian Socialist Soviet Republic (AMSSR)[1]

I. *General Principles*

1. The AMSSR, entering into the composition of the UkSSR, represents in its territory the supreme power of the working masses of the Moldavian people established on the principles determined by this constitution.

2. The authority of the working masses of the Moldavian people throughout the AMSSR is exercised through their soviets of workers', people's, and red army deputies, their congresses and executive organs.

3. The AMSSR, through its deputies in the congresses of soviets of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (UkSSR), participates in exercising the supreme authority in the UkSSR, and through its plenipotentiaries in the soviet of nationalities of the TsIK of the USSR.

[1] *Konstitutsiia USSR ta AMSSR*, 22-32.

4. The legislative acts of the central organs of the USSR and of the UkSSR: congresses of soviets, central executive committees (their presidia), sovnarkoms of the USSR and of the UkSSR, as well as of the commissariat for war and defense, and the Ukrainian economic conference, are applicable also to the AMSSR, with the exceptions:

a. When there is a specific stipulation that the decree is not applicable to the AMSSR, and

b. When the legislative acts of the UkSSR shall affect the rights of the supreme organs of the AMSSR, as provided in the constitution.

5. The supreme organs of the AMSSR have the right:

A. To issue their legislative acts concerning:

a. The organization of the non-unified people's commissariat of the AMSSR, and also of local executive committees and their departments in conformity with the general principles of the corresponding organs in the UkSSR:

b. The determination of the staffs and functions of the non-unified people's commissariats provided for in general and local budgets;

c. Freedom of speech as determined by the constitution;

d. Regulation of education in conformity with the principles laid down in the code of laws relating to education in the UkSSR;

Note 1: In all other cases, save those mentioned in this article, the approval of the central executive committee of the Ukraine (UkTsIK) is necessary.

Note 2: The organs of justice in the AMSSR, including the supreme court of the AMSSR and the organization of the procurature, in virtue of special laws, are subject to the jurisdiction of the UkTsIK, in conformity with part V of this constitution.

B. In addition to the legislation of the UkSSR, to issue decrees and decisions concerning all branches of the administration of all non-unified people's commissariats of the AMSSR (interior, health, education, social welfare, justice, agriculture).

6. The supreme authority of the AMSSR has the right of partial amnesty in questions concerning the statutes of the court and administration of the AMSSR in conformity with the laws promulgated by the UkTsIK.

7. In addition to the above-mentioned rights, the supreme central organs of the AMSSR, within the jurisdiction of local administration and local finances, have all rights similar to those given by the legislation of the USSR and the UkSSR to

the provincial congresses of soviets and provincial executive committees.

8. The AMSSR has its permanent plenipotentiary in the UkSSR with the right of deciding (*reshaiushchego*) vote in all central organs of the UkSSR.

9. The Moldavian, Ukrainian, and Russian languages shall be the official languages in the AMSSR.

10. The languages of all other nationalities inhabiting Moldavia shall enjoy equal rights. Each citizen in the AMSSR has the right to use his native tongue in all communications with the supreme organs of authority, as well as in sessions of the congresses of soviets, and in all other congresses, meetings, and other public gatherings.

II. *Supreme Organs of Authority of the AMSSR*

11. The supreme organs of authority in the AMSSR are:

a. The Moldavian congress of workers', peasants', and red army deputies;

b. The Moldavian central executive committee (MTsIK) and its presidium.

12. The Moldavian congress of soviets is the supreme authority in the AMSSR, and its decisions may be rescinded only by the all-Ukrainian congress of soviets, or by the UkTsIK.

13. There shall be ordinary and extraordinary Moldavian congresses of soviets.

The ordinary congresses of soviets of the AMSSR are convoked by the MTsIK once a year.

The extraordinary sessions are convoked upon the decision of the UkTsIK, and by the presidium of the MTsIK upon the request of the local soviets having not less than one-third of the whole population of the AMSSR.

14. The norms of representation and the regulations of the elections to the congress of soviets are determined by the MTsIK subject to approval by the UkTsIK.

15. The Moldavian congress of soviets directs the activity of the workers' and peasants' government and of all organs of authority in the AMSSR, whereby all amendments and additions to the constitution of the AMSSR, alterations of boundaries, and approval of the annual budget of the AMSSR must be submitted for examination by the Moldavian congress of soviets.

NOTE: In case the budget of the AMSSR is not approved by the Moldavian congress of soviets, the MTsIK submits this

project directly to the corresponding organs of the UkSSR, reporting then to the next Moldavian congress of soviets on the action taken.

16. The MTsIK is elected by ordinary Moldavian congresses of soviets from amongst the members nominated by the Moldavian congress of soviets, for the period until the next congress.

17. In the interim between the Moldavian congresses of soviets, the MTsIK is the supreme authority in the AMSSR.

18. The MTsIK discusses either in its plenary sessions or in its presidium all matters falling within its jurisdiction.

19. There shall be ordinary and extraordinary meetings of the MTsIK.

The ordinary sessions of the MTsIK are convoked by the presidium thereof not less than three times a year.

The extraordinary sessions of the MTsIK are convoked either upon the suggestion of the presidium of the UkTsIK, upon the initiative of the presidium of the MTsIK, or upon the request of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

20. For the examination and approval of the sessions of the MTsIK fall:

a. All amendments and supplements to the constitution of the AMSSR.

b. Alteration of the boundaries of the AMSSR.

c. All drafting of the codes and all regulations concerning general standards of the political and economic life of the AMSSR, which involve fundamental changes in the existing practice of the supreme organs of the republic;

d. The annual budget of the AMSSR.

e. All regulations concerning local finances which, in conformity with the general legislation on local finance, are subject to examination and approval by the provincial congresses of soviets, but in the AMSSR are examined and approved by the Moldavian congress of soviets.

Note: In exceptional cases, the questions enumerated in paragraph "c" of this article may be carried out by the presidium of the MTsIK, but in every case subject to approval by the MTsIK.

21. The MTsIK is responsible for its activity to the Moldavian congress of soviets and to the UkTsIK. Its decisions may be repealed by the MTsIK and the UkTsIK.

22. The MTsIK elects from amongst its members the presidium, the number of members of which is determined by the

congress of soviets of the AMSSR. During the interim between the sessions of the MTsIK, its presidium is the supreme authority of the AMSSR and acts in the name of the MTsIK.

III. *Of the Sovnarkom and People's Commissariats of the AMSSR*

23. The MTsIK appoints the sovnarkom, composed of:
The people's commissar for interior;
The people's commissar for justice;
The people's commissar for education;
The people's commissar for social welfare;
The people's commissar for health;
The people's commissar for agriculture;
The people's commissar for finance;
The people's commissar for internal trade;
The people's commissar for workmen's and peasants' inspection;
The people's commissar for war;
The supreme soviet of people's economy.

NOTE: Such of the above-mentioned people's commissariats as may be approved by the UkTsIK may be united in a single organization upon the decision of the MTsIK.

24. The commissars of the people's commissariats of the UkSSR have their representatives, who are directly subordinate to them, in the AMSSR. These representatives enter into the sovnarkom of the AMSSR with the right of deciding (*reshaiushchego*) vote.

25. In the sovnarkom of the AMSSR are formed, with the prerogatives of unified people's commissariats, the statistical administration and the state political administration; the heads of these organs of authority enter into the sovnarkom of the AMSSR with the right of deciding (*reshaiushchego*) vote.

26. The MTsIK has the right to appoint also other officials as members of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR with the right of advisory (*soveshchatel'nogo*) or deciding (*reshaiushchego*) vote.

27. The sovnarkom of the AMSSR is responsible to the MTsIK and to the UkTsIK, and carries out its work under the supervision of the MTsIK, the UkTsIK, the sovnarkom of the UkSSR, and of the Ukrainian economic conference.

28. The decisions of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR may be repealed by the MTsIK and by the UkTsIK.

NOTE: The sovnarkom of the UkSSR has the right to suspend

the decisions of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR, but must report its action to the presidium of the UkTsIK.

29. The people's commissariats of the AMSSR are:

a. Non-unified, which include the people's commissariats for: interior, health, agriculture, education, social welfare, and justice.

b. Unified with the corresponding people's commissariats of the UkSSR, which include the people's commissariats for: interior, trade, war, workmen's and peasants' inspection, finance, soviet of people's economy, and, with the prerogatives of the people's commissariats, the statistical administration and the state political administration.

30. The people's commissars of the non-unified people's commissariats of the AMSSR for interior, health, agriculture, education, social welfare and justice are appointed by the MTsIK, though the appointment of the commissar for justice and of the procuror are subject to the approval of the people's commissariat for justice of the UkSSR.

31. The non-unified people's commissariats of the AMSSR are subordinate directly to the central executive committee and to the sovnarkom of the AMSSR, and carry out their work under the direction thereof.

The non-unified people's commissariats of the AMSSR, while not subordinate to the corresponding non-unified people's commissariats of the UkSSR, are obliged to execute all orders thereof which do not interfere with the internal autonomy of the AMSSR, and also to give all necessary information and assistance.

NOTE: The nature and order of subordination of the procuror of the AMSSR to the procuror of the UkSSR shall be determined by special regulations of the UkTsIK.

32. Instructions issued by the non-unified people's commissariats of the UkSSR for interpretation of the laws thereof which are likewise in force on the territory of the AMSSR (article 4 of this constitution) are compulsory for the non-unified commissariats of the AMSSR but may be suspended by the MTsIK (or its presidium) in case of an obvious contravention. In case of such suspension, the MTsIK shall inform immediately the people's commissar of the UkSSR concerned, as well as the sovnarkom thereof.

33. The people's commissars of the unified people's commissariats of the AMSSR for: interior, trade, war, workmen's and peasants' inspection, finance, supreme soviet of people's economy,

statistical administration, and for the state political administration are appointed by the MTsIK subject to the approval of the corresponding people's commissariats of the UkSSR.

34. The unified people's commissariats of the AMSSR, while subordinate to the central executive committee and sovnarkom of the AMSSR, in their work carry out all directions and orders of the corresponding unified people's commissariats of the UkSSR, and are subject to the control thereof.

35. All decrees, decisions, and orders of the unified people's commissariats of the UkSSR are obligatory for the unified commissariats of the AMSSR.

These decrees, decisions, and orders may be repealed by the MTsIK (or its presidium) in case of a given measure clearly not corresponding to the laws of the USSR or the UkSSR. The MTsIK shall inform the sovnarkom of the UkSSR and the corresponding people's commissariat of the UkSSR of such action.

Note: All orders and decisions of the unified people's commissariats of the UkSSR must be executed through the corresponding unified people's commissariat of the AMSSR.

36. The title of people's commissar of the AMSSR belongs exclusively to the members of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR enumerated in article 23 of the constitution, and can not be adopted by any other representative of the authority in the AMSSR.

IV. *Of the Organization of Local Authority in the AMSSR*

37. The local organs of authority in the AMSSR are:

a. Soviets of workers', peasants', and red army deputies (city and village);

b. Congresses of soviets (circuits) and the executive committees elected by the former.

38. The elections to the local organs of authority are carried out in conformity with the general electoral laws of the UkSSR.

39. The administrative-territorial division of the AMSSR is determined by the MTsIK, subject to approval by the UkTsIK.

V. *Of the Organization of the Judicial Organs in the AMSSR*

40. The courts of the AMSSR are established and function on the basis determined by the laws of the USSR and of the UkSSR, as well as by the regulations of this constitution.

41. In the AMSSR there shall be a supreme court functioning

on the basis of a statute specially provided for and subject to ratification by the UkTsIK.

42. Within the jurisdiction of the supreme court of the AMSSR fall:

a. General interpretation (in plenary sessions) of the local laws within the limits of court practice;

b. Decisions on the revision of laws interpreted by the courts of the AMSSR in accordance with newly developed conditions.

c. Repeal of the decisions and sentences of the people's judges of the AMSSR;

d. Examination of the appeals from the decisions and opinions of the people's judges of the AMSSR, with the right of repeal and dismissal thereof, within the limits determined by the statute of the supreme court of the AMSSR.

e. Handing down decisions, as a court of last instance, on all matters of special importance, as well as on the recall of higher officials of the AMSSR accused of offenses committed in connection with official duties, with the exception of the cases where the offenses, by special decrees of the UkTsIK, have been transferred to the supreme court of the UkSSR for its decision.

f. Handing down decisions on these matters in conformity with the statutes of the supreme court of the UkSSR.

43. In matters of appeal, the supreme court of the AMSSR is subject to control by the supreme court of the UkSSR.

44. The people's commissariat for justice of the AMSSR is charged with the administrative organization of the judicial organs throughout the AMSSR.

VI. *Of the Budget of the AMSSR*

45. The state revenue and expenditure of the AMSSR are included in the state budget, forming part of the budget of the UkSSR.

46. The state budget of the AMSSR, after examination and approval by the Moldavian congress of soviets, in conformity with article 15 of this constitution, is submitted by the MTsIK for approval by the UkTsIK, and then included in the state budget of the UkSSR.

NOTE: The budget regulations in the AMSSR, as well as the method of drafting, approval, and execution thereof, are determined by special laws worked out by the UkTsIK.

47. The local budget of the AMSSR is regulated by the corresponding statute on local finance.

VII. *Of the Emblem and Flag of the AMSSR*

48. The AMSSR has its own emblem and flag as adopted by the MTsIK and ratified by the UkTsIK.

Balta, April 23, 1925.

President of the first Moldavian congress of soviets:
STARII.

Secretary of the first Moldavian congress of soviets:
BOCHACHER.

Kharkov, May 10, 1925.

President of the ninth all-Ukrainian congress of soviets:
PETROVSKII.

Secretary of the ninth all-Ukrainian congress of soviets:
A. BUTSENKO.

XIII

CONSTITUTION (FUNDAMENTAL LAW) OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC (RSFSR), WITH ALL AMENDMENTS AND ADDITIONS THERETO MADE UP TO AND INCLUDING THOSE INTRODUCED BY THE THIRTEENTH ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ON APRIL 15, 1927 [1]

FIRST SECTION

CHAPTER I.—*General Principles*

1. The present constitution (fundamental law) of the RSFSR is based upon the fundamental principles of the declaration of the rights of the laboring and exploited people adopted by the third all-Russian congress of soviets and on the fundamental principles of the constitution (fundamental law) of the RSFSR adopted by the fifth all-Russian congress of soviets, and has for its purpose the guarantee of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to ward off the bourgeoisie, the exploitation of man by man, and the realization of communism under which there shall exist neither class division nor state authority.

2. The Russian Republic is a socialist state of the workers and peasants constructed on the basis of a federation of national soviet republics. All authority in the RSFSR is vested in the soviets of workers', peasants', kazaks', and red army deputies.

3. Supreme authority in the RSFSR is vested in the all-Rus-

[1] *Konstitutsiia (Osnovnoi Zakon) Rossiiskoi Sotsialisticheskoi Federativnoi Sovetskoi Respubliki.* 5-e dopolnennoe izdanie, 4-30. The amendments of the thirteenth all-Russian congress of soviets appeared in the *Izvestiia,* April 30, 1927, and have been incorporated in the text cited.

sian congress of soviets, and, in the interim between the congresses, in the all-Russian central executive committee (VTsIK).

According to the will of the peoples of the RSFSR who, at the tenth all-Russian congress of soviets, adopted a resolution on the formation of the USSR, the RSFSR, entering into the composition of the USSR, hands over to the latter all prerogatives which, in conformity with article 1 of the constitution of the USSR, have been transferred to the jurisdiction of the organs of the USSR.

4-8. [Correspond to articles 13-17 of the original text.]

9. The RSFSR declares that work is the duty of all citizens of the republic.

10. [Corresponds to article 19 of the original text.]

11. The RSFSR grants all rights established by the constitution and legislation of the republic for citizens of the RSFSR also to citizens of other union soviet republics residing in the territory of the RSFSR.

[The second paragraph of this article corresponds to article 20 of the original text.]

12. [Corresponds to article 21 of the original text.]

13. The RSFSR, recognizing the equality of all citizens, irrespective of race or nationality, declares contrary to the fundamental laws of the republic any kind of oppression of national minorities or limitation of their equality, and in addition the establishment or grant of any privileges (direct or indirect) whatsoever for individual nationalities; it recognizes the right of individual nationalities to separate, upon the decision of their congresses of soviets and upon the approval of the supreme organs of the RSFSR, into autonomous socialist soviet republics and regions.

Citizens of the RSFSR have the right of free use of their native language in the congresses, courts, administration, and social life. The national minorities shall have the right of instruction in their native tongue in the schools.

14. [Corresponds to article 23 of the original text.]

15. All land, forests, mineral wealth, waters, as well as factories and works, railways, fluvial and aerial transport and means of communication are the property of the workers' and peasants' state on the basis determined by special laws of the USSR and by the supreme organs of the RSFSR.

SECOND SECTION

CHAPTER II.—*Of the Jurisdiction of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK)*

16. Within the exclusive jurisdiction of the all-Russian congress of soviets fall:

a. The drafting, supplementing, and amending of the fundamental principles of the constitution (fundamental law) of the RSFSR, and final ratification of provisional amendments of the constitution of the RSFSR adopted by the VTsIK in the interim between the all-Russian congresses of soviets.

b. Final ratification of the constitutions of autonomous socialist soviet republics.

17. Within the jurisdiction of the all-Russian congress of soviets and the VTsIK fall all questions of general state importance, such as:

a. General supervision of all policy and national economy of the RSFSR.

b. Determination of the boundaries of autonomous socialist soviet republics entering into the composition of the RSFSR, ratification of their constitutions, as well as settlement of disputes between autonomous socialist soviet republics and between them and other parts of the federation.

c. The general administrative division of the RSFSR and ratification of circuit and regional units.

d. The establishment, in conformity with the legislation of the USSR, of the plan of all people's economy, as well as of individual branches thereof throughout the RSFSR.

e. The approval of the budget of the RSFSR as a part of a common state budget of the USSR.

f. The establishment, in conformity with the constitution and legislation of the USSR, of state and local taxes, duties, and non-taxable income, as well as the conclusion of foreign and domestic loans of the RSFSR.

g. The supreme control of state revenue and expenditure of the RSFSR.

h. The ratification of the codes of law of the RSFSR in conformity with the constitution of the USSR.

i. The right of amnesty, general and partial, throughout the RSFSR.

j. The repeal of decisions of congresses of soviets of autono-

mous socialist soviet republics and regions, as well as of other local congresses of soviets in contravention of the present constitution, or the decisions of the supreme organs of the RSFSR.

18. In addition to the above-enumerated questions, within the jurisdiction of the all-Russian congress of soviets and the VTsIK fall other questions in conformity with the constitution of the USSR.

19. Within the boundaries determined in the fundamental law (constitution) of the USSR, and in matters placed within the competence of the Union, all decisions of the supreme organs of the USSR shall be compulsory throughout the RSFSR. Only the all-Russian congress of soviets, the VTsIK, its presidium, and the soviet of people's commissars (sovnarkom) shall have the right to issue legislative acts of general state importance throughout the RSFSR.

Third Section

THE STRUCTURE OF SOVIET AUTHORITY

Chapter III.—*Of the Central Authority*

A. *Of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets*

20. The all-Russian congress of soviets is composed, in accordance with article 25 of the constitution (fundamental law) of the RSFSR adopted by the fifth all-Russian congress of soviets, of representatives of city and township soviets on the basis of one deputy for each 25,000 electors and of representatives of provincial and county congresses of soviets on the basis of one deputy for each 125,000 of the population.

Note. If a provincial congress of soviets has not been held before the all-Russian congress, delegates to the latter are sent direct from the county congresses of soviets.

21. The all-Russian congress of soviets elects the VTsIK, the number of members being determined by the congress of soviets.

22. The all-Russian congress of soviets convokes the VTsIK once a year.

[As amended by the ninth all-Russian congress of soviets on December 27, 1921.]

23. [Corresponds to article 27 of the original text.]

B. *Of the VTsIK*

24. The VTsIK, within the sphere determined in articles 3,

17, and 18 of the present constitution, is the supreme legislative, administrative, and controlling organ of the RSFSR.

25. The VTsIK issues codes, decrees, and decisions upon its own initiative, and also examines and ratifies the legislative bills submitted by the sovnarkom.

26. All decrees and decisions determining the general standards of political and economic life of the RSFSR, as well as those introducing fundamental changes in the existing practice of the state organs of the RSFSR, and also the budget thereof, must be submitted for examination and ratification by the VTsIK.

27. In the interim between sessions of the VTsIK the presidium of the VTsIK elected by the latter shall be the supreme legislative, administrative, and controlling organ of the RSFSR.

28. The VTsIK has general direction of the activity of the workers'-peasants' government and of all organs of soviet authority of the RSFSR, unites legislative and administrative work, determines the sphere of jurisdiction of the presidium of the VTsIK and sovnarkom and supervises the execution of the constitution of the RSFSR and of all decisions of the all-Russian congress of soviets and of the supreme organs of the USSR.

29. The VTsIK is convoked by its presidium. Extraordinary sessions are convoked upon the decision of the presidium of the VTsIK, upon the suggestion of the sovnarkom, upon the demand of one-third of the members of the VTsIK, or upon the request of the central executive committees of not less than 6 autonomous socialist soviet republics.

30-31. [Correspond to articles 35 and 34 respectively of the original text.]

C. *Of the Sovnarkom*

32. Into the composition of the sovnarkom of the RSFSR, with full rights of members thereof, enter: the president of the sovnarkom, his deputy, and the people's commissars enumerated in article 37 of the constitution of the RSFSR, as well as plenipotentiaries of the unified people's commissariats appointed in a fixed order determined by all-Union legislation and having, in conformity with the decisions of the VTsIK or its presidium, the right of advisory (*soveshchatel'nogo*) and deciding (*reshaiushchego*) vote.

33. [Corresponds to article 37 of the original text.]

34. The sovnarkom of the RSFSR, within the jurisdiction granted it by the VTsIK and in conformity with the statute of

the sovnarkom issued in extension of the present article, issues decrees and decisions which shall be compulsory throughout the RSFSR.

35. The sovnarkom is responsible to the all-Russian congress of soviets and to the VTsIK.

36. Every decision of the sovnarkom may be repealed or suspended by the VTsIK or its presidium.

G. *Of the People's Commissars of the RSFSR*

37. For immediate administration of separate branches of the governmental apparatus, and falling within the jurisdiction of the sovnarkom of the RSFSR, there shall be created twelve people's commissariats: supreme soviet of people's economy, trade, labor, finance, workmen's and peasants' inspection, central statistical administration, interior, justice, education, health, agriculture, social welfare.

[Text as amended by the thirteenth all-Russian congress of soviets on April 15, 1927. Under this amendment the central statistical administration was created and the commissariat for internal trade became the commissariat for trade.]

38. The supreme soviet of people's economy and the people's commissariats for: trade, finance, labor, workmen's and peasants' inspection, and the central statistical administration of the RSFSR, while subordinate to the VTsIK, its presidium, and to the sovnarkom of the RSFSR, in their work carry out all instructions of the corresponding people's commissariats of the USSR.

39. The members of the sovnarkom (people's commissars) are in charge of each individual people's commissariat.

40-41. [Correspond to articles 44-45 of the original text.]

42. The people's commissars are responsible in their work to the sovnarkom and to the VTsIK and its presidium.

43. The orders of the sovnarkom of the RSFSR may be repeated by the VTsIK, its presidium, and by the sovnarkom of the RSFSR, while in relation to the orders of unified people's commissariats of the RSFSR—by the same people's commissariats of the USSR, in the last case under the condition that they are not based on the exact instructions of the VTsIK, its presidium, or of the sovnarkom of the RSFSR.

Chapter IV.—*Of the Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republics and Regions*

44. The organs of state authority in the autonomous socialist

soviet republics and regions are constituted, in conformity with the constitution of the RSFSR, of local soviets, their congresses, executive committees, and of regional and central executive committees.

The fundamental laws (constitutions) of the autonomous socialist soviet republics are adopted by their congresses of soviets subject to approval of the VTsIK and to submission for final ratification of the all-Russian congress of soviets.

NOTE: The statutes of autonomous regions are adopted by their congresses of soviets subject to ratification by the VTsIK.

45. The supreme organ of state authority in each autonomous socialist soviet republic is the congress of soviets of the republic, and during the interim between congresses, the central executive committee elected by the former, the prerogatives of which committee are determined by the constitution of each autonomous socialist soviet republic.

46. The central executive committees of the autonomous socialist soviet republics and regional executive committees of the autonomous regions elect from amongst their members the presidia which, during the interim between the sessions of the central and regional executive committees, are the supreme organs of authority throughout the given republic.

47. The central executive committees of the autonomous socialist soviet republics create their executive organs—the sovnarkoms composed of: the president of the sovnarkom and people's commissars for: interior, justice, education, health, agriculture, and social welfare, and of people's commissars of the unified people's commissariats of the RSFSR for: finance, labor, trade, workmen's and peasants' inspection, supreme soviet of people's economy, and the central statistical administration.

[Text as amended by the thirteenth all-Russian congress of soviets, on April 15, 1927, the words "central statistical administration" being added.]

In accordance with local customs the central executive committees of the autonomous socialist soviet republics have the right to reduce the number of people's commissariats and correspondingly to change the composition of the sovnarkom.

48. Within the jurisdiction granted to the autonomous socialist soviet republics, the central executive committees of these republics issue the legislative acts which shall be compulsory throughout the given autonomous socialist soviet republic.

CHAPTER V.—*Of the Local Authority*

A. *Of the Congresses of Soviets*

49. The supreme authority within the given territory—territory (*krai*), region (*oblast*), province (*gubernia*), circuit (*okrug*), county (*uezd*), economic district (*raion*), and rural district (*volost'*)—and within its jurisdiction is vested in the congresses of soviets.

50. In the congresses of soviets: territorial, regional, provincial, circuit, county, economic district, and rural district, participate the representatives of all soviets which exist through the territory of the given administrative unit.

51. The congresses of soviets are composed, in conformity with the constitution (fundamental law) of the RSFSR of 1918 and with the decision of the seventh all-Russian congress of soviets as follows:

a. The territorial and regional—of representatives of the soviets of city, township, factories, and works situated outside of urban settlements and of regional soviets on the following basis: one deputy for each 5,000 electors in the case of city soviets, and one deputy for each 25,000 of the population in the case of regional congresses of soviets.

b. The provincial—of representatives of the soviets of city, township, factories, and works situated outside the urban settlements on the following basis: one deputy for each 2,000 electors in the case of city soviets and one deputy for each 10,000 of the population in the case of county congresses of soviets.

c. The circuit—of representatives of the soviets of city, township, factories, and works situated outside of urban settlements on the following basis: one deputy for each 1,000 electors in the case of city soviets, and one deputy for each 5,000 of the population in the case of district congresses of soviets.

d. The county—of representatives of the soviets of city, township, factories, and works situated within the territory of the county and of the village soviets on the following basis: one deputy for each 200 electors in the case of city soviets and one deputy for each 1,000 of the population in the case of rural district congresses of soviets, but not over 300 deputies for a county.

e. The economic district and rural district—of representatives of all soviets existing throughout the economic district or rural district on the following basis: one deputy for each 300 of the

population, but not over 150 deputies for the economic district or rural district.

NOTE: In exceptional cases the VTsIK has the right to amend the standards of representation provided for by this article for the separate localities in accordance with local additions therein.

52. There shall be ordinary and extraordinary congresses of soviets. The ordinary congresses of soviets are convoked once a year; the extraordinary congresses of soviets are convoked:

a. Upon the suggestion of the immediately superior congress of soviets or their executive committees.

b. By the corresponding executive organs of soviet authority (executive committees) in their territory either upon the initiative of the latter or upon the request of the soviets having not less than one-third of the population of the given district.

53. The congresses of soviets elect their executive organs—the executive committees, the number of members of which for the congresses of soviets of each territorial administrative unit should be determined by the VTsIK or its presidium.

B. *Of the Executive Committees*

54. The executive committees are elected by the congresses of soviets and, during the interim between the sessions thereof, are the supreme organ of soviet authority in the given territory; they are responsible to the congresses which elected them, and are subordinate to the immediately superior executive committees, the VTsIK, and to the sovnarkom of the RSFSR.

55. For the direction of all current affairs relating to the administration of the given territory and to the execution of all decisions and decrees of the central authority, the executive committees elect their presidia, the number of members of which, for each territorial administrative unit, shall be determined by the VTsIK or its presidium.

56. During the interim between the sessions of the executive committees the presidia thereof enjoy the prerogatives of the same and are responsible to them.

57. For carrying out all affairs subject to the jurisdiction of the local authority and for the execution of all decisions of the immediately superior executive committees and of the central authority, the territorial, regional, provincial, circuit, and county executive committees form their branches in conformity with the decisions of the VTsIK or its presidium.

The abolition or unification of the existing branches of the

executive committees, as well as the creation of new ones, is carried out by the decision of the sovnarkom of the RSFSR subject to approval by the VTsIK or its presidium.

NOTE: Within the economic district or rural district executive committees may be created branches of departments subject to the permission of the corresponding provincial executive committee or its presidium.

58. Branches of the executive committees are subordinate to the executive committees and their presidia and must carry out all orders and instructions thereof, as well as of the corresponding department of the immediately superior executive committee, while the branches of the territorial, regional, and provincial executive committees in addition must carry the orders and instructions of the corresponding people's commissariats of the RSFSR.

C. *Of Soviets of Deputies*

59. Soviets of deputies are elected as follows:

a. In the cities, one deputy for each 1,000 of the population, with a minimum of 50 and a maximum of 1,000 members.

b. In the townships (farms, hamlets, villages, encampments, small towns with a population of less than 10,000, mountain valleys, etc.) one deputy for each 100 of the population, with a minimum of 3 and a maximum of 50 deputies for each township soviet.

NOTE: The standards of representation, fixed by this article, may be amended by decisions of the VTsIK.

60. For the transaction of current affairs the town soviets of deputies elect from amongst their members the executive organ in conformity with the principles determined by the VTsIK or its presidium.

61. Within the township soviet may be formed its executive committee in conformity with the principles determined by the VTsIK or its presidium.

62. The soviets of deputies are convoked by the executive committees or by the president of the soviet either upon their own decision or upon the demand of not less than half of the members of the soviet.

63. The members of the soviets of deputies must report regularly to their electors.

D. Of the Competence of the Local Organs of Authority

64. Territorial, regional, provincial, circuit, county, economic

district, and rural district organs of soviet authority—the executive committees and their presidia, as well as the soviets of deputies, have the following functions within their jurisdiction:

a. Taking all measures to promote the cultural and economic development of the given territory.

b. Drafting and ratification of local budgets.

c. Settling of questions having local territorial importance.

d. Unifying of soviet activity throughout the given territory.

e. Securing throughout the given territory the revolutionary justice and safeguarding of the state order and general safety.

f. Discussing either upon their own decision or upon the suggestion of the immediately superior executive committee of all questions having state importance.

65. The congresses of soviets and their executive committees control the activity of the immediately inferior local soviets and their executive organs.

The decisions of the local congresses may be repealed only by the immediately superior congresses and their executive committees, and by the VTsIK or its presidium.

The decisions of the executive committees or their presidia may be repealed by the congresses which elected them as well as by immediately superior congresses, executive committees, their presidia, the VTsIK, its presidium, and by the sovnarkom of the RSFSR.

66. Territorial and regional executive committees or their presidia, as well as the provincial executive committees, have the right to suspend on their own responsibility the execution of orders issued by the people's commissariats of the RSFSR, only in exceptional cases and in a manner determined by the VTsIK.

67. The regional and county executive committees may suspend the execution of the decisions of departments or corresponding organs of the territorial, regional, or provincial executive committees only in extraordinary cases of a given decision clearly not corresponding to the decisions of the VTsIK, its presidium, the sovnarkom of the RSFSR, or of the territorial, regional, or provincial executive committee whereby an immediate report must be submitted to the latter and to the director of the corresponding department.

FOURTH SECTION

CHAPTER VI.—*Of Elections to the Soviets*

A. *Of Electoral Rights*

68. [First paragraph corresponds to article 64 of the original text.]

a. All citizens gaining their livelihood by productive work useful to society, as well as persons engaged in domestic pursuits which enable the former to follow their callings.

b. Red soldiers and red sailors of the workers'-peasants' red army and navy.

c. [Corresponds to article 64, paragraph c, of the original text.]

NOTE: In addition to citizens of the RSFSR persons mentioned in article 11 of the present constitution also enjoy electoral rights.

69. [Article 65, paragraphs a, b, c, d, and g, of the original text remain unamended. Paragraph e is supplemented by the words "as well as persons who directed the activity of the police, gendarmes, and punitive expeditions". In paragraph f are omitted the words "as well as those under guardianship".]

B. *Of the Electoral Procedure*

70. Elections are conducted on the days fixed by the local soviets or their executive committees.

71. [Corresponds to article 69 of the original text with omission of the words "and by the representative of the local soviet".]

72. Details of electoral procedure, as well as the participation of trade unions or other labor organizations therein, are determined by the VTsIK or its presidium.

C. *Of the Verification and Annulment of the Validity of Elections and the Recall of Deputies*

73. The examination of the validity of elections to the soviets is carried out by the electoral commissions, and examinations of the credentials of the deputies elected to the congresses of soviets,—by the credentials commissions.

74-75. [Correspond to articles 76-78 of the original text with the exception: to article 77 of the original text are added the words "and its presidium".]

Fifth Section

Chapter VII.—*Of the Budget Law*

76. All state income and expenditure of the RSFSR, including that of the autonomous republics entering into the composition of the RSFSR are united in a single state budget.

77. The budget of the RSFSR is included as an integral part of the single state budget of the USSR, in conformity with the constitution thereof and the regulations issued in the form of all-Union legislation.

78. The distribution of expenditures, as well as classification of income collected throughout the RSFSR, included in the all-Union estimates of the RSFSR, is determined also in the form of all-Union legislation.

79. The budget of the RSFSR is first examined by the sovnarkom of the RSFSR subject to approval by the VTsIK, and then forwarded to the legislative organs of the USSR in order to include it, in conformity with the constitution of the USSR, in the state budget thereof.

80. State income and expenditure of the autonomous socialist soviet republics entering into the composition of the RSFSR, after approval by the central executive committees of these republics and after examination in the sovnarkom of the RSFSR, are approved by the VTsIK as integral parts of the budget of the RSFSR.

81. No expenditure shall be made from the state funds without an authorized credit in the estimate of the state income and expenditure, or without a corresponding special order of the legislative organs of the RSFSR.

82. All expenditures according to the estimates of RSFSR are effected within the budget appropriations according to their direct assignments.

83. All local income and expenditure are united in local budgets in the form of all-Union and republican legislation.

84. Local budgets are examined and ratified by corresponding congresses of soviets, or, in certain cases, by the executive committees under the general control of the corresponding central organs of the RSFSR.

85. The report on the execution of the budget of the RSFSR is subject to approval by the VTsIK.

86. By means of legislation of the USSR and of the RSFSR, sources of income—taxable or non-taxable—are granted to the

local budgets in order to meet the expenditures provided for the local funds by such legislation.

Sixth Section

Chapter VIII.—*Of the Emblem, Flag, and Capital of the RSFSR*

87. [Corresponds to article 89 of the original text save that the word 'flag' is preceded by the word 'state' and in paragraph (a) the abbreviation RSFSR is used.]

88. The state flag of the RSFSR consists of red (scarlet) cloth on the upper left corner of which, near the staff, are placed the golden letters: RSFSR.

89. The seat of the government of the RSFSR is the city of Moscow.

XIV

Constitution of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (UkSSR) [1]

[Ratified March 10, 1919, by the third all-Ukrainian congress of soviets; passed and adopted in its final form on March 14, 1919, by the all-Ukrainian central executive committee (UkTsIK); amended by the ninth all-Ukrainian congress of soviets on March 5, 1925, in order to bring it into conformity with the constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The amendments are shown by means of square brackets.]

[The constitution of the UkSSR, ratified by the third all-Ukrainian congress of soviets of workers', peasants', and red army deputies on March 10, 1919, and adopted in its final form by the UkTsIK on March 14, 1919, for more than the six years of its existence has been the fundamental law upon which the building of the workers'-peasants' power in the Ukraine has progressed and matured.

With the creation of the USSR, the UkSSR is confronting the problem, in virtue of article 5 of the fundamental law (constitution) of the USSR, of amending its constitution in conformity with the constitution of the USSR.

Also, in consequence of the fulfillment of revolutionary aims outlined by the constitution for the immediate establishment of

[1] *1 Deistvuiushchee zakonodatel'stvo po sovetskomu upravleniiu*, 303-307 for original text and 692-696 for the amended text. The Ukrainian text, published by the people's commissariat for justice at Kharkov in 1927, is entitled: *Konstitutsiia USSR ta AMSSR* (or, translated, constitution of the UkSSR and the AMSSR).

fundamental legislation by the means of resolutions of the UkSSR in the field of state soviet construction and national-cultural life, as well as with the creation within the UkSSR of the Autonomous Moldavian Socialist Soviet Republic (AMSSR) and with the adoption of the three-step system of organization, —it is necessary to introduce corresponding alterations in the present constitution of the UkSSR.

In consequence thereof, the ninth all-Ukrainian congress of soviets decides:

To charge the UkTsIK with the preparation of the revision of the constitution of the UkSSR for the next all-Ukrainian congress of soviets.

Pending the revision of the constitution, the ninth all-Ukrainian congress of soviets decides:

To ratify the following amendments to the present constitution of the UkSSR.]

I. *Fundamental Statutes*

1. The UkSSR is an organization of the dictatorship of the toiling and exploited masses of the proletariat and of the poorer peasantry over their congenital oppressors and exploiters, the capitalists and landowners.

2. The task of this dictatorship is to effect the transition from the bourgeois régime to socialism by carrying out socialist reorganization and systematic suppression of all counter-revolutionary attempts on the part of the possessing classes; these tasks achieved, the dictatorship will disappear and, after a definitive formation of the future communist order, the state will disappear also, leaving place to free forms of communal life based upon principles of organization of communal labor for the mutual benefit, and on fraternal solidarity of mankind.

3. In order to realize her fundamental task, the UkSSR:

a. Carries out measures aimed directly at destroying the existing economic order by eliminating private ownership of land and of all other means of production.

b. In building state life, assures the power to the workers' class and establishes exclusively for toiling masses the right to participate in the realization of state power, removing completely the ruling classes from this participation.

c. Creates for the laboring masses an exclusive possibility to make use of their political rights (freedom of spoken and printed

word, of meetings and unions), excluding the ruling classes and affiliated social groups from the exercise of these rights.

d. Organizes armed protection of the conquests of the socialist revolution by calling upon all laboring elements of the country for this purpose.

4. The UkSSR, decisively breaking with the [landlord and bourgeois] past, striving to destroy, together with the division of society into classes, national oppression and national disunion, declares its firm decision to enter into the composition of one International Socialist Soviet Republic as soon as the conditions for its formation shall have been created; simultaneously, the UkSSR declares its complete solidarity with all existing soviet republics, and [forms with them on the basis of voluntary union and equality the USSR which is the basis of the world structure and brotherly coöperation of peoples, a safe defence against world capitalism and a new decisive step on the road to the unification of the working masses of all countries into a World Socialist Soviet Republic] its decision to enter with them into the closest political union for the common fight for the triumph of the world communist revolution, and with the closest collaboration in the domain of communist construction which can be thought of only on an international scale.

[At the same time, striving to create a free and voluntary and, therefore, all the more complete and stable unity of the working masses of all nationalities inhabiting the UkSSR, and fully recognizing the right of all nations to self-determination to the extent of separation, the UkSSR, recognizing the firmly expressed will of the Moldavian people to establish their own political existence within the composition of the UkSSR, unites with it on the basis of the formation within the composition of the UkSSR of the AMSSR, governing itself on the basis of a special constitution finally ratified by the all-Ukrainian congress upon the consent of the all-Moldavian congress of soviets of workers', peasants', and red army deputies.]

5. The power of the laboring masses throughout the UkSSR is executed by the soviets of workers', peasants', and red army deputies and by other organs of power chosen by the soviets.

II. *Constitution of the Central Authority*

A. ORGANIZATION OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY

6. Within the competence of the central authority in the Ukraine belongs:

[The UkSSR enters into the composition of the USSR as an independent treaty republic, its sovereignty being restricted only within the limits indicated in the constitution of the USSR and only in matters remaining within the jurisdiction of the USSR. Beyond these limits the UkSSR exercises its political authority independently.

While entering into the composition of the USSR, the UkSSR at the same time retains the right freely to secede from the USSR.

In accordance with this, within the jurisdiction of the UkSSR as represented by its supreme organs fall:

A. All administrative matters not included within the jurisdiction of the USSR but decided independently by the union republics in conformity with the constitution of the USSR, particularly the following:]

I. All questions of national significance,[1] in particular:

a. Ratification, amendment, and supplementing of the constitution [of the UkSSR, and the ratification of the constitution of the AMSSR, as well as its amendments and supplements].

b.[2] Determination and alteration of the frontiers of the republic.

[*b.* Elimination, in virtue of par. *b*, article 1 and article 6 of the constitution of the USSR, of the questions relating to the alteration of boundaries of the UkSSR, and deciding, according to the constitution of the USSR, all questions relating to the problems of alteration of the boundaries between the UkSSR and other union republics composing the USSR.

c. Decisions relating to the matters of boundaries of the AMSSR and settling the differences between the AMSSR and other parts of the UkSSR.]

c. Relations with foreign powers, in particular, declaration of war and conclusion of peace.

d. Establishment of the basis of the organization of the armed forces.

e. [*d.*] General direction of domestic policy [of the UKSSR].

[*e.* Administrative-territorial division of the republic.]

[*f.* Organization of the central and local organs of the UkSSR and general direction of their activities.]

f. [*g.*] Civil, criminal, [material,] and processional legislation [on the basis determined by the USSR.]

[1] Not included in the amended text but covered by point *a*.

[2] Articles *b, c, d, g, h,* and *i* do not appear in the amended text.

g. Establishment of principles of socialist construction in the domain of people's economy:

[*h.* Legislation relating to the land problems and the using of land, subsoil, forests, and waterways within the territory of the UkSSR in accordance with general provisions determined by the USSR, as well as supervision of all rural economy and forests of the UkSSR.]

h. Management of the monetary system and of the organization of financial economy of the republic.

[*i.* Legislation relating to popular education in the USSR in accordance with the general statutes relating thereto and determined by the USSR.]

i. State control over the activity of soviet authority, in particular over the correctness, legality, and reasonableness of expenses;

[*j.* Legislation relating to public health and social welfare.

k. Legislation relating to Ukrainian citizenship and naturalization in accordance with the fundamental legislation of the USSR on union citizenship.

l. Right of amnesty, individual and collective, throughout the UkSSR.

m. Right of repeal of decisions of the congresses of soviets of the AMSSR, as well as other regional and local congresses of soviets.

n. Election of delegates from the UkSSR to the soviet of nationalities of the TsIK of the USSR.]

II. All questions of no general state significance which are submitted for examination by the organs of central soviet authority.

[B. All questions falling within the scope of the administration centered in the USSR, in conformity with the legislation of the same, and instructions and ordinances of the respective central organs of the USSR, and in particular:

a. The establishment of the general plan of the whole people's economy and individual branches of the same throughout the territory of the UkSSR in conformity with the provisions determined in par. *z*, article 1, of the constitution of the USSR, and the general plan of the whole people's economy of the USSR;

b. The approval of the budget of the UkSSR, included in a common state budget of the USSR;

c. The determination of national and local taxes, duties, and

other revenues in conformity with the constitution and legislation of the USSR;

d. The conclusion of external and internal loans of the UkSSR in conformity with par. *g,* article 1, of the constitution of the USSR; [1]

e. The examination and participation in the conclusion of concessionary agreements provided for in par. *z,* article 1, of the constitution of the USSR, in conformity with the constitution and legislation of the USSR;

f. The supervision of the monetary system, and organization and direction of economy and finance in the UkSSR;

g. The organization and supervision of manufacturing in the UkSSR;

h. The organization and regulation of domestic commerce of the UkSSR;

i. The regulation of labor;

j. The supreme control over the state income and expenditure of the UkSSR, and also organization and supervision of the workmen's and peasants' inspection and control over the activities of all the organs of the soviet administration throughout the UkSSR;

k. Legislation over matters enumerated in article B of this chapter, in conformity with the constitution and legislation of the USSR;

C. Examination and participation in settling questions in conformity with the constitution and legislation of the USSR, which, according to the constitution, fall within the scope of immediate supervision of the USSR, and in particular:

a. The examination of questions relating to participation of the UkSSR in representation of the USSR in international relations;

b. The participation, together with the USSR, in the examination of questions relating to the conclusion of political and other treaties with foreign states, their ratification, and other questions of diplomatic intercourse;

c. The examination of questions of foreign trade of the USSR, and also of participation in such trade of the USSR within the limits determined by the legislation of the USSR;

d. Participation in discussion of questions relating to the conclusion of agreements concerning the admission of new soviet republics into the USSR;

[1] Par. *d* is similar to par. *c* of art. 1, ch. I of the constitution of the USSR.

e. Participation, within the limits determined by the legislation of the USSR, in the organization of the armed forces, and also in supervision of transport and communication.]

7.[1] [The supreme organ of authority in the UkSSR is the all-Ukrainian congress of soviets of workers', peasants', and red army deputies, and in the period between the congresses—the UkTsIK. In the period between the sessions of the UkTsIK, the presidium of the UkTsIK, elected by the UkTsIK, is the supreme legislative, executive, and administrative organ of the UkSSR.

Within the exclusive jurisdiction of the congress of soviets falls: ratification, amendment, and supplementing the constitution of the UkSSR and the constitution of the AMSSR; confirmation and alteration of the boundaries of the UkSSR in conformity with par. *b*, art. 1 and art. 6 of the constitution of the USSR; final decision in questions relating to withdrawal of the UkSSR from the USSR; election of deputies to the UkTsIK and election of the members of the soviet of nationalities in the TsIK of the USSR.]

The organs of the central soviet authority are:

a. The all-Ukrainian congress of soviets of workers', peasants', and red army deputies;

b. The UkTsIK;

c. The sovnarkom;

8.[2] [The mutual relations between the supreme organs of authority in the UkSSR and the USSR, and also the mutual relations between the central organs of the UkSSR and the USSR are determined by the constitution of the USSR.

Note. The UkSSR has its permanent representative accredited to the USSR.]

The congress of soviets is convoked by the UkTsIK not less than twice a year, and may be convoked oftener, upon the decision of the UkTsIK.

9.[3] [Within the limits determined by the fundamental law (constitution) of the USSR, and in matters falling within the competence of the Union, the resolutions of the supreme organs of the USSR are compulsory throughout the territory of the UkSSR.]

[1] The original form no longer appears in the amended text.

[2] Articles 8 and 9 of the original constitution are combined in one article (10) in the amended text; however, articles 8 and 9 have been amended as noted. The original article 10 no longer appears, being in part covered by article 7 of the amended text.

[3] The amended text ends here.

The order of election to the congress is determined by the UkTsIK.

10. [The UkTsIK convokes the ordinary all-Ukrainian congress of soviets once a year; extraordinary congresses of soviets may be convoked by special decree of the UkTsIK.

The UkTsIK determines the order of elections for the congresses of soviets.]

The congress of soviets is the supreme authority of the UkSSR; in the period between the congresses the UkTsIK is the supreme authority. Of the questions enumerated in article 6, within the exclusive jurisdiction of the congress belong: questions enumerated in par. *a*, as well as those concerning the declaration of war and conclusion of peace, save those mentioned in the note to article 13.

11. The UkTsIK and [the all-Ukrainian] congress [of workers', peasants' and red army deputies] have the general direction of the activity of the workers' and peasants' government and of all government organs throughout the [UkSSR in conformity with the constitution of the UkSSR and of the USSR] country. Within the jurisdiction of the UkTsIK fall in particular: [approval of the budget of the UkSSR, the publication of laws, election and recall of the chairman of the sovnarkom, their deputies, and people's commissars, as well as the formation of the sovnarkom of the UkSSR] [1] appointment and recall of the people's commissars and the president of the sovnarkom, distribution of state income and revenue between the central and local power, as well as the settlement of questions mentioned in article 19 of the constitution; the questions mentioned in pars. *b*, *c*, *d*, and *e*, as well as approval of the yearly budget, are settled by the congress or by the UkTsIK.

12. The UkTsIK is responsible to the all-Ukrainian congress of soviets [of workers', peasants', and red army deputies] and is elected by the latter in a number fixed [the number of delegates and candidates being determined] by the congress [2] for a period extending to the next congress; the sovnarkom is responsible to the all-Ukrainian congress of soviets and the UkTsIK.

NOTE. The members of the TsIK leaving office are replaced by order of the TsIK.

13. [The sovnarkom of the UkSSR is the administrative and

[1] The amended text ends here.

[2] The amended text ends here.

executive organ of the UkTsIK, and within the limits of the rights granted to it by the UkTsIK, and by virtue of the statutes of the sovnarkom of the UkSSR issues decrees and resolutions which are compulsory throughout the UkSSR, and is responsible to the UkTsIK, and to the all-Ukrainian congress of soviets of workers', peasants', and red army deputies.]

Likewise within the jurisdiction of the UkTsIK fall other questions concerning legislation and the general administration of the country, with exception of those enumerated in article 16.

NOTE. Questions of declaration of war and conclusion of peace are decided by the UkTsIK in case of urgency when the congress of soviets can not be convoked in proper time.

14.[1] [The sovnarkom of the UkSSR is composed of:

The president of the sovnarkom and his deputies, the number of the latter being determined by the UkTsIK;

The president of the supreme soviet of people's economy;

The people's commissar for agriculture;

The people's commissar for finance;

The people's commissar for domestic trade;

The people's commissar for labor;

The people's commissar for interior;

The people's commissar for justice and the general procuror of the republic;

The people's commissar for workmen's-peasants' inspection;

The people's commissar for education;

The people's commissar for health;

The people's commissar for social welfare.

The plenipotentiaries of people's commissars of the USSR accredited to the UkSSR are included in the sovnarkom of the UkSSR with the right of deciding vote according to the decision of the UkTsIK. Likewise, by the decision of this committee, other persons may also be included in the sovnarkom of the UkSSR.]

With the direction of separate branches of administration of the country are charged special sections of the UkTsIK—the people's commissariats, at the head of which stand directors elected by the UkTsIK. The UkTsIK determines the number, the matters of jurisdiction of the sections, and their internal organization.

15.[2] [The immediate supervision over individual departments

[1] Replaced entirely by the new amended text.

[2] Replaced entirely by the new amended text.

of the administration of the UkSSR is vested in the people's commissariats of the UkSSR, at the head of which stand people's commissars elected and recalled by the UkTsIK.

The immediate supervision over state statistics is vested in the central statistical department of the UkSSR.

The direction of the struggle against the political and economic counter-revolution is vested in the state political department of the UkSSR, which is headed by the plenipotentiary appointed by the OGPU of the USSR.

The matters concerning administration and organization of the people's commissariats and central institutions of the USSR are determined by special respective statutes ratified by the UkTsIK. The direction over matters concerning the army and navy, foreign affairs, foreign trade, ways of communication and popular communications within the territory of the UkSSR is vested in the plenipotentiary representatives of people's commissariats of the USSR accredited to the UkSSR.] [1]

The sovnarkom consists of a president and of people's commissars, who include: (a) all directors of special sections of the UkTsIK (article 14, *b*) other persons, especially elected by the UkTsIK at its own discretion. The members of the sovnarkom may be dismissed by the UkTsIK at any time.

16.[2] [The supreme soviet of people's economy and the people's commissariats for: interior, finance, labor, workmen's and peasants' inspection of the UkSSR are subordinate to the UkTsIK and to the sovnarkom of the UkSSR, and simultaneously with their duties execute also the directions of the respective united people's commissariats of the USSR.]

The sovnarkom has the right to examine all questions and matters concerning legislation and administration of the country, the right of decision at its own discretion being extended only to questions and matters where a general or special grant of such right has been given by the UkTsIK; without such grant, the decisions of the sovnarkom are subject to the approval of the UkTsIK.

NOTE. The TsIK can not transfer the questions enumerated in articles 10 and 11 to the sovnarkom for definitive settlement.

17.[3] [The AMSSR has its permanent plenipotentiary

[1] The first paragraph of the amended text is an alteration of art. 14 of the original constitution of the UkSSR.

[2] Art. 16 is replaced entirely by amended text.

[3] Art. 17 is replaced entirely by amended text.

accredited to the UkSSR with the right of advisory vote in all central organs of the UkSSR.]

The title of a people's commissar belongs exclusively to members of the sovnarkom of the UkSSR and can not be adopted by any other representatives of the central or local authorities.[1]

B. ORGANIZATION OF LOCAL SOVIET AUTHORITY

18. The local soviet organs are:

a. Soviets of workers', peasants', and red army deputies (city and village) and the executive committees which they elect;

b. Congresses of soviets [regional and sectional] (provincial, district, and rural) as well as executive committees which they elect.

19. The time and order of the election of the local soviet organs, the norms of representation and the general statute concerning the internal organization of these organs, the definition of matters of jurisdiction and of power between them, as well as definition of the same between them and the organs of central soviet authorities,—are established by the UkTsIK.

20.[2] The right to vote and to be elected into the soviets belongs to the following citizens of both sexes of the UkSSR irrespective of religion, nationality, or residential qualifications who, on the day of elections, have reached the age of eighteen:

a. All persons who gain their livelihood by productive and socially useful labor, as well as persons occupied in domestic pursuits enabling the first category to perform such productive labor, *i.e.*, workers and employees of all kinds and categories occupied in industry, trade, agriculture, etc., peasants, kazaks-agriculturists;

b. Soldiers in the red army and sailors in the red fleet;

c. Citizens not included in the categories enumerated in paragraphs *a* and *b*, as incapacitated for work, upon duly certified evidence.

NOTE 1. The local soviets may, upon the approval of the central authorities, reduce the age established in the present article.

NOTE 2. Foreigners belonging to the workers' class and to the laboring peasantry have also the right of suffrage.

[1] Similar to article 48 of the constitution of the RSFSR.

[2] Article 20 of the constitution of the UkSSR corresponds to article 64 of the constitution of the RSFSR.

21. The following persons do not vote and can not be elected even if they are included within one of the above-enumerated categories:

a. Persons using hired labor for profit;

b. Persons living on an income not derived from labor, such as: interest on capital, income from enterprises, receipts from property, etc.;

c. Private business men, trade and commercial agents;

d. Monks and clergy of the churches and religious cults;

e. Members and agents of the former police, or the special gendarme-corps and of the secret service, as well as members of the former ruling house of Russia;

f. Persons recognized in a proper manner as insane or mentally deranged, as well as persons under guardianship;

g. Persons condemned for infamous and mercenary crimes for a period fixed by law or by judicial organ.

III. *Declaration of the Rights and Duties of the Laboring and Exploited People of the Ukraine*

22. In order to carry out fully the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorer peasantry, the UkSSR grants to the laboring masses a plenitude of rights and possibilities in the domain of social and political life.

23. In conformity with these general provisions, and for the purpose of securing for the laboring masses a real freedom of conscience, as well as to avoid the possibility of using the religion and church in the interests of preservation of the class order,—the church is detached from the state, and all citizens are recognized as having the right of propaganda of religious doctrines which do not have social or political ends, as well as that of anti-religious doctrines which, by their spirit, stand in no opposition to the communist conception of life.

24.[1] In order to secure for the laboring masses a real freedom of expressing their opinions, the UkSSR annuls the dependency of the press upon capital and transfers to the workers' class and the poor peasants all the technical and material resources for the publication of newspapers, pamphlets, books, and all other kinds of printed matter, and guarantees their free circulation throughout the country.

25. In order to secure for the laboring masses a real freedom

[1] Articles 24-33 of the constitution of the UkSSR correspond to articles 14-23 of the constitution of the RSFSR.

of assembly, the UkSSR, recognizing the rights of the laboring masses of the soviet republic freely to organize assemblies, meetings, processions, etc., places at the disposal of the workers and poor peasantry all premises fit for the organization of public gatherings, including their furniture, lighting, and heating.

26. In order to insure for the laboring masses a real freedom of unions, the UkSSR, having destroyed the economic and political power of the possessing classes, and having thus removed all obstacles which, in the capitalist society, hitherto prevented the workers and peasants from enjoying freedom of organization and action, grants to the workers and poorer peasants all its material and other assistance for their union and organization.

27. In order to secure for the laboring masses effective access to education, the UkSSR undertakes to provide for the workers and poorer peasants universal and free education.

28. The UkSSR declares labor to be the duty of all citizens of the republic and proclaims the watch-word: "He who does not work shall not eat."

29. In order to assure a thorough protection of the conquests of the great workers' and peasants' revolution, the UkSSR declares the defence of the socialist fatherland to be the duty of all laboring masses of the republic and establishes universal military service. The honorary right to defend the revolution with arms in hand is granted only to the laboring masses; the non-laboring elements shall be charged with other military duties.

30. Recognizing the solidarity of all nations, the UkSSR grants all political rights of the Ukrainian laboring citizens to the foreigners living within and laboring on the territory of the Ukrainian republic provided that they belong to the workers' class or to peasantry and do not use hired labor.

31. The UkSSR grants the right of asylum to all foreigners who are persecuted for their religious convictions, as well as for political offenses against the governments defending the interests of the bourgeois classes.

32. The UkSSR, recognizing the equality of laboring people, irrespective of race and nationality, declares it contrary to the fundamental laws of the republic to institute or tolerate any privilege or prerogatives whatsoever founded on such grounds, or to repress national minorities, or in any way to restrict their right of equality.

33. Guided by the interests of the workers' class as a whole,

the UkSSR deprives of political rights individuals and separate groups who use these rights to the detriment of the communist revolution.

IV. *Of the Emblem and Flag of the UkSSR*

34. The emblem of the UkSSR consists of the reproduction on a red background, in the rays of the sun, of a golden sickle and hammer surrounded by a wreath of ears of corn, with an inscription in the Russian and Ukrainian languages:

(1) "UkSSR".

(2) Proletarians of all lands, unite.

35. The commercial, naval, and military flag of the UkSSR consists of breadths of red (scarlet) color, in the left corner of which—above, near the staff—are inscribed in golden letters: "UkSSR" or placed an inscription: "Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic".

Kharkov, March 10-14, 1919.

Presidium of the third all-Ukrainian congress of soviets:

Kh. Rakovskii, G. Piatakov, A. Bubnov, E. Kviring.

Presidium of the UkTsIK: V. Zatonskii, A. Khmelnitskii.

XV

Union Treaty on the Formation of the Federal Union of Socialist Soviet Republics of Transcaucasia [1]

[Adopted by the plenipotentiary conference of the central executive committees of the Transcaucasian republics on March 12, 1922.]

The plenipotentiary conference of representatives of the socialist soviet republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia, recognizing the right of self-determination of the peoples as proclaimed by the great proletarian revolution, further recognizing the independence and sovereignty of each of the contracting parties, and being conscious of the necessity to unite their forces for the purpose of defence and in the interests of economic development, decrees: that henceforth the socialist soviet republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia enter into a close military, political, and economic alliance on the principles stated herewith:

1. The supreme authority in the union of the republics is the plenipotentiary conference of representatives—twenty-five

[1] Translated from Al. Malitskii, *Sovetskaia konstitutsiia*, 372-378.

from each republic—delegated by the central executive committees of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia.

2. The executive organ of the plenipotentiary conference is the union soviet whose members are elected and recalled by the conference.

3. Within the jurisdiction of the union soviet fall: war, finance, foreign policy, foreign trade, ways of communication, national liaison, regulation of labor, fight against counter-revolution, and the direction of economic policy throughout the territories of the contracting republics.

4. The union soviet consists of a presidium and members, *i.e.*, people's commissars for: (1) war, (2) finance, (3) posts and telegraphs, (4) foreign trade, (5) labor, (6) workmen's and peasants' inspection, (7) chief of the administration of the ways of communication, (8) president of the extraordinary commission for the fight against counter-revolution.

5. At the head of the union soviet is a presidium composed of three persons who fulfil alternatively the duties of president of the union soviet.

Note 1: The order and term of presidency are determined by the union soviet.

Note 2: In the contracting republics the corresponding people's commissariats are abolished save the people's commissariat for war and marine, the extraordinary commission for the fight against counter-revolution, and workmen's and peasants' inspection, all of which shall remain in the republics and shall be subordinate to the corresponding union organs.

Note 3: The people's commissars for labor, finance, and posts and telegraphs have their plenipotentiaries in the contracting republics; they enter into the government of these republics with the right of members thereof.

6. The union soviet issues, on all questions which fall within its jurisdiction, decrees, orders, instructions, and in general takes all measures necessary for the execution of duties incumbent upon it.

7. In order to unite the activity of all economic organs throughout the territory of the contracting republics, the supreme economic conference is formed; it acts with the rights of a permanent commission of the union soviet.

8. One of the members of the presidium of the union soviet enters the supreme economic conference with the rights of its president; while the people's commissars for war and marine,

finance, foreign trade, the representatives of the economic soviets of the contracting republics, the representatives of the Transcaucasian bureau of trade unions, and the people's commissar of the union workmen's and peasants' inspection, enter therein with the rights of full members.

9. The supreme economic conference establishes a uniform economic plan of the union of republics; it submits the plan for approval by the union soviet, directs the work of the economic commissars in conformity with this plan, supervises its execution, and orders, in case of necessity, exceptions from it.

10. The orders of the supreme economic conference are absolutely compulsory for all union departments and institutions, as well as for the economic conferences of the contracting republics.

11. In such cases, when the orders of the supreme economic conference concern non-unified departments and institutions, the supreme economic conference carries them out by means of the economic conferences of the corresponding republics.

12. The union soviet and the organs subordinate to it are responsible in all matters to the plenipotentiary conference of representatives composing the union of republics. The plenipotentiary conference has the right to repeal or to suspend any order or decision of the union soviet, of the supreme economic conference, and of other organs, arising from the protest of the republican governments, as well as upon its own decision.

13. The union of republics establishes the mutual relations with the RSFSR on the basis of the union agreement.

Statute on the Supreme Economic Conference

In order to unify the activity of all economic organs throughout the territory of the socialist soviet republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia, the supreme economic conference, which acts with the rights of a permanent commission of the union soviet, is formed. The supreme economic conference is an organ which regulates, supervises, and directs the work of separate people's commissariats of general regional importance.

A. *The Functions of the Supreme Economic Conference*

1. Within the competence of the supreme economic conference fall:

(*a*) Examination and coördination of the economic plans of the republics submitted by the economic conferences, and the drafting, on this basis, of a uniform economic plan of the fed-

eration, as well as the supervision over its execution; the practical execution of the principles of the new, common all-Caucasian economic policy.

(*b*) Drafting of general legislation in the field of regulation and development of industry, as well as examination and settlement of the principal questions related thereto, which have general regional significance. Initiative in the matter of the development of already existing industrial enterprises, and in the organization of new ones. Drafting of common rules of statistics. Drafting of common forms of economic budgeting of state enterprises.

(*c*) General direction and coördination of the commercial policy of the union republics, in particular: examination and settlement of general questions concerning the regulation of private trade and the activity of coöperative organizations throughout the territory of the union; establishment of rules for commercial operations of the soviet organizations; questions regarding the regulation of foreign trade, including customs policy; preparation of economic agreements with soviet republics and with other countries; general supervision over supplying by the state of raw materials of exchange value; and examination of questions regarding the establishment of a monopoly.

(*d*) General direction of financial policy, examination of the all-union budget, drafting of principles for the creation of a sound budget, regulation of all kinds of taxation and duties, organization of banking institutions, establishment of the forms and the rules for mutual settling of accounts between state institutions within each republic and between the republics, and questions of note issue.

(*e*) Examination and coördination of planned supplying of foodstuffs and articles of necessity for the union republics. Examination and drafting of principles relating to distribution within the separate republics, as well as between the republics. The issuing of orders for the above-mentioned supplies on the foreign market.

(*f*) General direction of works on the improvement of the railway, fluvial, and other kinds of transport; establishment of transportation plans, and the general regulation of freight and passenger traffic, as well as transportation rates and questions of communication.

(*g*) Development of agriculture. Amelioration. Questions of nomad life. Forestry.

(*h*) Account of all resources of all republics. Establishment of the principles and order of the formation of general federal funds; distribution of these funds among all republics in conformity with the common economic plan of the federation. Distribution of other resources of the republic on the principles of economic settlement of accounts among the republics in general and the enterprises in particular. The account of all individual republics in the import of goods, and the assignment of orders to the unified commissariat for foreign trade.

(*i*) Elaboration of conditions for concessionary enterprises, and examination of proposals for concessions. Drafting of concessionary agreements.

(*j*) Regulation of the labor market of all Transcaucasian republics. Projecting of the necessary transfer of workers, in connection with the carrying out of economic undertakings of general regional importance. Supervision over the correct employment of the working forces in state enterprises and institutions (determining of staff, etc.), through the republican supreme economic soviets.

(*k*) Establishment of principles for carrying out the labor taxes in the republics.

Establishment of principles and the coördination of social insurance of the laboring masses of the Transcaucasian republics.

Settlement of labor conflicts in concessionary enterprises of general regional importance.

Uniting of statistics on labor in the Transcaucasian republics in order to establish uniformity of forms and concentration of the results derived from the work done in the republic.

(*l*) Creation of a central fund for wages, the fund to be derived from foodstuffs, articles of necessity, goods of exchange value, and currency.

Account and distribution of all income from the RSFSR and from abroad passing through the unified commissariat for foreign trade and destined to cover wages.

Account of all available resources of the separate republics, appropriated by the republics for the payment of wages, and determination of the per cent. to be included in the general Transcaucasian wage fund.

Examination and confirmation of the list of enterprises (institutions) left by the republics for maintenance by the state, and which shall not be transferred into the class of self-supporting ones. Fixing of the funds for the separate republics in

accordance with the number of enterprises (institutions) which shall continue to be maintained by the state.

Supervision and control over the proper distribution of corresponding funds appropriated for each republic.

Supervision over the reduction of the number of workers (employees) in state enterprises and institutions to the established standard.

Confirmation of the budgeted funds estimated by the fund commissions of the corresponding republics.

Investigation of new means and sources to supply the central fund.

The assignment of the central fund to the separate industries takes place in accordance with the estimates submitted by the central administrations and departments and verified by the fund commission of the corresponding republics.

The staff of the central fund is confirmed by the supreme economic conference of the Transcaucasian republics. The central fund commission has the same relationship to the supreme economic conference as the other commissions thereof.

B. *Organization of the Apparatus of the Supreme Economic Conference*

2. The supreme organ of the supreme economic conference is, according to the union agreement, the plenum.

3. For the closer direction of the work of the supreme economic conference is organized a presidium consisting of the president of the supreme economic conference, his deputy appointed by the union soviet, and one member elected by the plenum from amongst its members. Attached to the supreme economic conference is a responsible secretary of the plenum and the presidium.

4. For the practical realization of the problems enumerated in division "A" of the present statute, the following commissions are attached to the supreme economic conference: (1) industrial, (2) trade, (3) for the formation of the wage fund, (4) food, (5) agriculture, (6) transport, (7) auditors and distribution, (8) concessions, (9) regulation of labor questions. These commissions, of which the enumeration is not final, shall be provisional.

5. Each commission is composed of three persons: the president appointed by the supreme economic conference, and two members whom he invites from amongst the persons competent

in the field of a given commission, and who are confirmed for their post by the supreme economic conference.

6. Questions subject to the decision of the supreme economic conference may be handed over by the supreme economic conference or by its presidium for preliminary examination and drafting either to the separate commissions or to the united conference of several commissions, or to the conference of the presidents of all commissions.

C. *Statute on the Transcaucasian Fund Commission*

7. For the purpose of a uniform regulation of wages in the Transcaucasian republics and of a planned utilization and distribution of the corresponding available resources entering the wage fund, the central fund commission is organized and attached to the Caucasian bureau of the all-Russian central soviet of trade unions.

8. The central fund commission consists of one representative from each of the following institutions: Caucasian bureau of the all-Russian central soviet of trade unions, the unified people's commissariats for finance, and the food and industrial commissions of the supreme economic soviet of the unified Transcaucasian republics under the presidency of the representative of the Caucasian bureau of the all-Russian central soviet of trade unions.

NOTE: The central fund commission of the Transcaucasian republics is an interdepartmental organ of the supreme economic soviet.

D. *Relations between the Supreme Economic Conference and other Supreme State Institutions*

9. The relationship between the union soviet and the supreme economic conference: the union soviet is the supreme organ to which the supreme economic conference is subordinate; all legislative projects of economic character must be examined by the supreme economic conference prior to submission for ratification by the union soviet.

10. Relationship between the supreme economic soviet and the unified people's commissars: the resolutions of the supreme economic conference are absolutely compulsory for all unified departments of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia.

The plenipotentiaries of the unified economic people's com-

missariats in each of the republics, while subordinate directly to its people's commissar, are at the same time responsible to the republican economic conference. The latter is charged with the coördination of the activity of the plenipotentiaries of the economic people's commissariats with that of the other people's commissariats of the republic.

11. The relationship between the supreme economic conference and the republican economic conferences: the republican economic conference, being the supreme economic organ throughout the territory of the given republic, is subordinate to its sovnarkom and central executive committee, and is responsible to the supreme economic conference.

The resolutions of the supreme economic conference are absolutely compulsory for the republican economic conferences.

12. Relationship between the republican economic conferences and the non-unified people's commissariats and soviets of people's economy: the activity of the republican economic conferences includes all non-unified economic commissariats.

13. The competence of the presidium of the supreme economic conference: the presidium of the supreme economic conference settles independently all matters concerning the internal organization of the supreme economic conference and its organs, as well as those questions for which the instructions of the supreme economic conference have been issued.

14. On the working apparatus of the supreme economic conference: the working apparatus of the supreme economic conference is composed of corresponding departments of which the staff and statutes are confirmed by the supreme economic conference.

Taking into consideration that with the supreme economic conference appertains only the supreme supervision and that all materials are submitted to it from the corresponding institutions in properly prepared form, the whole working apparatus of the supreme economic conference must be the least cumbersome possible, and its staff must be reduced to a minimum.

Presidium of the plenipotentiary conference of the central executive committees of the Transcaucasian republics:

F. Makharadze, S. Ambartsumian, M. Gadzhiev.

XVI

Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (ZSFSR) [the Socialist Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, the Socialist Soviet Republic of Georgia, and the Socialist Soviet Republic of Armenia] [1]

[Approved by the first Transcaucasian congress of soviets of workers', peasants', red army, and sailor deputies, on December 13, 1922; amended at the second session of the Transcaucasian central executive committee (ZakTsIK) on September 4, 1924; ratified by the third Transcaucasian congress of soviets on April 14, 1925; and supplemented at the second session of the Transcaucasian central executive committee (ZakTsIK) on January 29, 1926. Promulgated at Tiflis, February 15, 1926.[2] Amended by the fourth Transcaucasian congress of soviets on April 9, 1927.]

First Section

Chapter I.—*Declaration on the Formation of the ZSFSR.*

1.[3] The October [old style] revolution of the Russian proletariat, having liberated the toiling masses from class oppression by capitalists and landowners, brought freedom also to the oppressed peoples of the former Tsarist Empire by granting them the right to self-determination, including political separation. The ruling classes of Transcaucasia, in the person of their bourgeois-landowners' parties, availed themselves of this right in order to strengthen their political and economic domination, and, under dictation of German-Turkish imperialism, separated Transcaucasia from the workers' and peasants' Russia, forming the Transcaucasian Republic with the *seim* at its head. Then they cut Transcaucasia, a unit, into three parts. [Having done this, the ruling classes] [4] went their way to their national republics. The bourgeois and landowning ruling parties of Azerbaijan,

[1] For original text: Al. Malitskii, *Sovetskaia konstitutsiia,* 378-386. For amended text: *Osnovnoi zakon (konstitutsiia) Zakavkazskoi Sotsialisticheskoi Federativnoi Sovetskoi Respubliki* (Izdanie ZakTsIK'a Tiflis, 1926). A similar official edition has been printed in the Armenian, Georgian, and Azerbaijan (new alphabet) languages. The latest amendments to the text are given in the *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporiazhenii raboche—krest'ianskogo pravitel'stva ZSFSR,* No. 12, July 16, 1927, 220-221.

[2] The amendments to the original text are shown in square brackets. The amendments to the final text are shown by means of footnotes.

[3] The first section is not numbered in the amended text.

[4] This parenthetical element is inserted for clarity, not to show a difference in texts.

Georgia, and Armenia, continuing, in contact with the Russian counter-revolution and the imperialistic entente, their implacable struggle against soviet power, threw the masses of these countries into a bloody strife, instigating them against each other and provoking national hatred and disunion.

2. Only the soviet revolution in the republics of Transcaucasia, which overthrew the domination of the oppressors and established the power of the workers and peasants, brought national peace to the peoples of Transcaucasia and created a basis for fraternal collaboration and common fight against the common enemy. On this basis, for the purpose of harmonious and systematic work with regard to economic restoration and defence against external and internal enemies, the toiling masses of the Transcaucasian republics and autonomous formations which enter into these republics created the Federal Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics of Transcaucasia.

3. This union, continuing the task of strengthening national peace and further union of the peoples of Transcaucasia on the basis of fraternal solidarity, effected positive results in the sphere of economic and political structure. But taking into consideration the situation of the soviet republics of Transcaucasia, which had been under the economic boycott of the international bourgeoisie, and confronted by the threat of a possible intervention of imperialist powers, the toiling people of the Transcaucasian republics recognized the necessity and timeliness of a further political, economic, and military union. For these purposes, the plenipotentiary representatives of all republics of Transcaucasia, assembled for the first Transcaucasian congress of soviets, decided to form the ZSFSR.

4. The Transcaucasian toiling people, true to the traditions and the striving of the workers' masses for solidarity and fraternal union, at the same time solemnly declare before all laboring mankind their complete readiness to create, together with the workers and peasants of the soviet republics, a single soviet front for the common struggle against world capital. Deriving from this, the ZSFSR [Azerbaijan Socialist Soviet Republic (ASSR), the Socialist Soviet Republic of Armenia (SSRA), the Socialist Soviet Republic of Georgia (SSRG) unite with the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR), the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (UkSSR), and the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic (BSSR) in one union state—the "Union

of Soviet Socialist Republics"] [1] finds absolutely irrevocable the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—this prototype of the universal mighty union of all soviet countries.

Second Section

[*Treaty on the Formation of the ZSFSR*

The ASSR, the SSRA, and the SSRG unite into one ZSFSR.

Chapter I.—*Of the Competence of the Supreme Organs of Authority of the ZSFSR*

1. Within the competence of the ZSFSR in the person of its supreme organs, namely: the Transcaucasian congress of soviets of workers', peasants', red army and sailor deputies and the Transcaucasian central executive committee (ZakTsIK), fall:

a. The ratification, amendment, and supplementing of the constitution of the ZSFSR.

b. Admission into the Transcaucasian Federation of other soviet republics and the granting of permission to the several parts to secede from the federation.

c. The establishment [2] of the foundations and the general plan of all people's economy and of its separate branches on the territory of the ZSFSR and the preliminary examination of concessionary contracts concluded by the USSR in behalf of the ZSFSR.

d. Ratification of a common budget for the ZSFSR.

e. Establishment, with the permission of the united authority of the USSR, of supplementary taxes and imposts for the formation of the budget of the ZSFSR.

f. The organization of the supreme court of the ZSFSR.

g. The establishment of principles for the development and using of land, and also the use of the mineral deposits throughout the territory of the ZSFSR.[3]

h. The right to set aside decrees of the congress of soviets,

[1] This article of the amended constitution naturally stops here, the remainder of the sentence being no longer applicable.

[2] In the amended text the words "in conformity with chapter 1, paragraph h, of the fundamental law (constitution) of the USSR" are inserted.

[3] The amended text reads thus: "the establishment in conformity with chapter 1, paragraph *m*, of the fundamental law (constitution) of the USSR, of principles for the development and using of land, and also the use of the mineral deposits, forests, and waters throughout the territory of the ZSFSR".

the central executive committee and the sovnarkom of the republics conflicting with the present constitution of the ZSFSR.

i. The right of amnesty on the territory of the ZSFSR, and also the right of pardon and restoration for citizens condemned by the judicial and administrative organs of the ZSFSR.

j. The organization of statistics of the ZSFSR.

k. The establishment of the bases of judicial organization and legal procedure and of civil and of criminal law.[1]

l. The conclusion of external and internal loans with the permission of the central authority of the USSR.

m. The establishment of a system of weights and measures on the territory of the ZSFSR.

n. The direction of internal trade.[2]

o. Labor legislation.

p. The establishment of general principles in the sphere of popular education on the territory of the ZSFSR.

q. The establishment of general measures for the protection of health on the territory of the ZSFSR.

r. The solution of conflicts between the republics entering into the formation of the ZSFSR.

2. To the exclusive competence of the Transcaucasian congress of soviets fall the establishment, completion, and alteration of the fundamental bases of the constitution of the ZSFSR.

CHAPTER II.—*Of the Sovereign Rights of the Republics Entering Into the Formation of the ZSFSR*

3. The sovereignty of the republics entering into the formation of the ZSFSR is limited only by the constitution of the USSR and by the present constitution, and only in matters left to the competence of the USSR or the ZSFSR.

Outside of these limits each of the republics entering into

[1] The amended text reads thus: "the establishment in conformity with chapter 1, paragraph *o*, of the fundamental law (constitution) of the USSR, of the bases of the courts of justice and legal procedure and also the civil and criminal legislation".

[2] The amended text reads thus: the direction, in conformity with chapter 1, paragraph *g*, of the fundamental law (constitution) of the USSR, of internal trade on the territory of the ZSFSR". Article 2 of the amended text provides: [The fourth Transcaucasian congress of soviets decides to] "ratify the decisions of the ZakTsIK on the transformation of the people's commissariat for internal trade of the ZSFSR into the people's commissariat for trade of the ZSFSR".

the formation of the ZSFSR exercises its political authority independently.

The ZSFSR protects the sovereign rights of the republics composing it.

4. The republics entering into the formation of the ZSFSR in accordance with the present constitution and the constitution of the USSR must amend their constitutions.

5. The territories of the republics entering into the formation of the ZSFSR may not be altered without their consent.

6. Citizenship in the ZSFSR is established for persons residing on the territory of the ZSFSR. Citizens of the ZSFSR, as well as citizens of the republics entering into the formation of the ZSFSR, are at the same time citizens of the Union [that is of the USSR].[1]

CHAPTER II [III].—*Of the Transcaucasian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants', Red Army, and Sailor Deputies*

5 [7]. The supreme organ of authority of the ZSFSR is the Transcaucasian congress of soviets of workers', peasants', red army, and sailor deputies [and during the interim between congresses of soviets, the ZakTsIK].

6 [8]. The Transcaucasian congress of soviets is composed of representatives of city soviets on the basis of one deputy for each 3,000 electors, and of representatives of county congresses of soviets on the basis of one deputy for each 15,000 of the population.

NOTE. In case the Transcaucasian congress is preceded by republican congresses of soviets, the delegates to the first may be sent by the republican congresses.

7 [9]. The Transcaucasian congress of soviets is convoked by the ZakTsIK once a year.

8 [10]. The extraordinary Transcaucasian congress of soviets is convoked by the ZakTsIK either on its own initiative or on the demand of the central executive committee of one of the republics entering into the formation of the ZSFSR.

[11. Should extraordinary circumstances prevent the summoning of the Transcaucasian congress of soviets at the proper time, the ZakTsIK is granted the right to postpone the summoning of the congress of soviets.] [2]

[1] Inserted for clarity.

[2] This article is the same as article 12 of the constitution of the USSR.

9 [13]. The Transcaucasian congress of soviets elects the ZakTsIK consisting of 150 [210] members and 50 [117] candidates.[1]

CHAPTER III [IV].—*Of the ZakTsIK*

10 [12].[2] In the interval between the Transcaucasian congress of soviets, the ZakTsIK is the supreme authority of the ZSFSR.

11 [14]. The ZakTsIK is responsible in all matters to the Transcaucasian congress of soviets.

12 [15]. The ZakTsIK is the supreme legislative, administrative, and controlling body.

13 [16]. The ZakTsIK has the general direction of the activity of the workers' and peasants' government [of the ZSFSR; it determines the sphere of action of the presidium of the ZakTsIK and of the sovnarkom of the ZSFSR; it unites and coördinates the legislative work of the republics composing the ZSFSR] [3] and of all government organs throughout Transcaucasia; it unites and coördinates legislative and administrative work; and superintends the application of the constitution of the ZSFSR, the decrees of the Transcaucasian congresses of soviets, and of all central organs of the ZSFSR.

14 [18]. The ZakTsIK examines and ratifies drafts of decrees and resolutions and other proposals submitted [by the presidium of the ZakTsIK] by the Transcaucasian sovnarkom [by the central executive committee of the republics composing the ZSFSR, as well as by other organs of the ZSFSR corresponding to people's commissariats] [4] or by the individual departments of the ZSFSR. It also issues its own decrees and regulations.

[17. The ZakTsIK issues decrees, resolutions, and ordinances; unites the legislative and administrative work of the ZSFSR, superintends the application of its constitution, resolutions of the Transcaucasian congress of soviets, and all state organs of the ZSFSR.

19. All decrees, resolutions, and ordinances issued by the

[1] Article 13 of the final amended text provides: "The decision of the ZakTsIK at its third session, third meeting on the exclusion of Rudometkina Isaia Maksimovicha from the number of candidates of the ZakTsIK is accepted".

[2] Articles 10-14 correspond to articles 29-33 of the constitution of the RSFSR.

[3] The article in the amended text stops here.

[4] The amended article ends here.

ZakTsIK are compulsory throughout the territory of the ZSFSR.

20. The decrees, resolutions, and ordinances of the ZakTsIK, its presidium, and the sovnarkom of the ZSFSR are published in the following languages: Armenian, Georgian, Russian, and East Turkish].

15 [21]. The ZakTsIK gives an account of its activity and makes reports on general policy and separate questions to the Transcaucasian congress of soviets.

16 [22]. The ZakTsIK elects its presidium consisting of 13 [23] members including three presidents, one for each republic included in the ZSFSR, one secretary, and 6 [9] candidates as members of the presidium.

17 [23]. The ZakTsIK is convoked by its presidium to sessions three times a year.

Extraordinary sessions of the ZakTsIK are convoked by the presidium upon its own initiative, or upon the demand [of the central executive committee of one of the republics composing the ZSFSR] of the Transcaucasian sovnarkom,[1] or upon the demand of one-third of the members of the ZakTsIK.

[24. All questions in the sessions of the ZakTsIK are decided by open vote, a simple majority being necessary. Individual votes are taken upon the request of at least 20 members of the ZakTsIK.]

18.[2] The presidium of the ZakTsIK:

a. Directs the sessions of the ZakTsIK.

b. Prepares materials for the sessions of the ZakTsIK.

c. Submits drafts of decrees for examination at the session of the ZakTsIK.

d. Supervises the execution of the decrees of the ZakTsIK.

e. Issues decrees and ordinances in behalf of the ZakTsIK in the periods between sessions of the ZakTsIK and submits to the latter the report of the same.

f. Acts in behalf of the ZakTsIK.

g. Examines petitions of pardon, confirms the granting of the order of the "red banner", and settles other questions of administration.

h. Has the right to approve the decrees of the Transcaucasian sovnarkom in the period between the sessions of the ZakTsIK, as

[1] The sovnarkom does not appear in the amended text, another indication of centralization of power in the central executive committee.

[2] Articles 18-21 do not appear in the amended text.

well as to suspend its decisions, submitting them for examination at the next session of the ZakTsIK.

i. Appoints individual people's commissars upon the nomination of the sovnarkom.

j. Has general direction of all activity of the central organs of authority and of the central executive committee of each of the republics composing the ZSFSR.

19. All questions at the sessions of the ZakTsIK are decided by open vote and by simple majority. Individual vote takes place upon the written request of not less than 20 members of the ZakTsIK.

20 [25]. The ZakTsIK appoints the sovnarkom of the ZSFSR for general supervision of the affairs of the ZSFSR and creates individual people's commissariats and other organs for the direction of the various departments of administration. [The ZakTsIK appoints and recalls individual members, as well as the whole body of the sovnarkom of the ZSFSR, and nominates the president of the same and his assistants.]

21. The members of the ZakTsIK work in the Transcaucasian people's commissariats and in other organs, or undertake special work for the ZakTsIK.[1]

[Chapter V.[2]—*Of the Presidium of the ZakTsIK*

26. The presidium of the ZakTsIK, during the interval between sessions of the ZakTsIK, is the supreme legislative, executive, and controlling organ of authority of the ZSFSR.

27. The presidium of the ZakTsIK appoints individual people's commissars upon recommendation of the sovnarkom of the ZSFSR.

28. The presidium of the ZakTsIK supervises the carrying into effect of the constitution of the ZSFSR and the execution of all resolutions of the Transcaucasian congress of soviets and the ZakTsIK by all organs of authority.

29. The presidium of the ZakTsIK issues decrees, resolutions, and ordinances, examines and confirms draft decrees and resolutions submitted by the sovnarkom of the ZSFSR, separate departments of the ZSFSR, central executive committees of the republics composing the ZSFSR, their presidia, and other organs of authority.

[1] Articles 20-21 before amended correspond to articles 35-36 of the constitution of the RSFSR.

[2] This chapter is the same as chapter V of the constitution of the USSR.

30. The presidium of the ZakTsIK examines all petitions of amnesty, confirms the decoration with the order of workers' banner and decorates with the insignia of the red banner.

31. The presidium of the ZakTsIK has the right to suspend and to repeal resolutions of the sovnarkom and of individual people's commissars composing the ZSFSR, as well as of the central executive committees of the congresses and of the people's commissars of the republics composing the ZSFSR.

32. The presidium of the ZakTsIK has the right to suspend resolutions of the congresses of soviets of the republics composing the ZSFSR and subsequently to present such resolutions for the examination and confirmation of the ZakTsIK.

33. The presidium of the ZakTsIK settles questions of the mutual relations between the sovnarkom of the ZSFSR and the people's commissariats of the ZSFSR on the one hand and the central executive committees of the republics composing the ZSFSRZSFSR and their presidia on the other.

34. The presidium of the ZakTsIK is responsible to the ZakTsIK.]

CHAPTER IV [VI].—*Of the Sovnarkom of the ZSFSR*

22 [35]. At the head of the administration of the ZSFSR stands the Transcaucasian sovnarkom. [The sovnarkom of the ZSFSR is the supreme executive and administrative organ of the ZakTsIK and is formed thus: president of the sovnarkom of the ZSFSR, two deputy presidents, people's commissars for: finance, internal trade,[1] workmen's and peasants' inspection, labor, president of the Transcaucasian extraordinary commission (cheka) for the struggle against counter-revolution, speculation, and offences connected with official duties, and also, upon the decision of the ZakTsIK, of delegates from the people's commissariats of the USSR for: foreign affairs, war and marine, foreign trade, ways of communication, posts and telegraphs,

[1] The amended text provides that in article 35 the words "people's commissariat for internal trade" shall be changed to the words "people's commissariat for trade"; and the words "president of the Transcaucasian extraordinary commission (cheka) for the struggle against counter-revolution, speculation, and offences connected with official duties" shall be changed to "president of the Transcaucasian state political administration (GPU) for the fight with political and economic counter-revolution, espionage, banditism, and crimes connected with official duties". By the change of the name cheka to GPU the opprobrium connected with the former, known for its wholesale murders and persecutions, was supposedly removed.

the latter delegates with the right of advisory and deciding vote.]

23.[1] The Transcaucasian sovnarkom consists of one president, two deputies, and the following people's commissars: (*a*) foreign affairs, (*b*) war and marine, (*c*) foreign trade, (*d*) ways of communication, (*e*) food, (*f*) finance, (*g*) workmen's and peasants' inspection, (*h*) labor, and (*i*) posts and telegraphs. Into the body of the Transcaucasian sovnarkom enters, with deciding vote, the president of the extraordinary commission for the struggle against counter-revolution, speculation, and offences connected with official duties.

[36.[2] The sovnarkom of the ZSFSR, within the limits of the rights granted to it by the ZakTsIK and on the basis of the statutes of the sovnarkom of the ZSFSR, issues decrees and resolutions which must be executed throughout the territory of the ZSFSR.]

24 [37]. Attached to the Transcaucasian sovnarkom is the supreme economic conference, an organ directing the economic policy of the ZSFSR, guiding the work of the soviets of people's economy of the republics and likewise the economic conferences thereof.

25. In realization of its work, the Transcaucasian sovnarkom issues decrees, orders, and instructions, and takes all general measures necessary to secure prompt and orderly administration.

[38.[3] The sovnarkom of the ZSFSR examines decrees and resolutions presented both by individual people's commissariats of the ZSFSR and by the central executive committees of the republics composing the ZSFSR and their presidia.]

26 [40]. All orders and decisions of the Transcaucasian sovnarkom [may be suspended and repealed by the ZakTsik and its presidium] [4] of important general political significance must be submitted for examination and ratification by the ZakTsIK.

Note. Measures mentioned in the present article which are of extreme urgency may be put into force on the sole authority of the Transcaucasian sovnarkom.

27 [39]. The Transcaucasian sovnarkom is responsible in all matters to the ZakTsIK [and its presidium].

[1] Article 35 of the amended text supersedes this article.
[2] This article corresponds to article 38 of the constitution of the USSR.
[3] This article corresponds to article 39 of the constitution of the USSR.
[4] The amended article 40 ends here.

28.[1] The Transcaucasian people's commissars are responsible in all matters to the Transcaucasian sovnarkom and to the ZakTsIK.

29. Attached to each Transcaucasian people's commissar and under his presidency is a collegium, the members of which are confirmed in their appointments by the Transcaucasian sovnarkom.

30. The Transcaucasian people's commissar has the right to make personal decisions on all questions within the competence of the corresponding commissariat, reporting such decisions to the collegium. In case of disagreement with any decision of the people's commissar, the collegium, without suspending the execution of the decision, may lodge a complaint against it with the ZakTsIK. The same right of lodging complaints appertains as well to individual members of the collegium.

[41.[2] Central executive committees of the republics composing the ZSFSR and their presidia may protest against decrees and resolutions of the sovnarkom of the ZSFSR in the presidium of the ZakTsIK, without suspending their execution.

CHAPTER VII.—*Of the Supreme Court of the ZSFSR*[3]

42. In order to confirm revolutionary legality on the territory of the ZSFSR, there is set up, attached to the ZakTsIK, a supreme court of the ZSFSR, to whose competence it shall appertain:

a. To give the supreme courts of the republics composing the ZSFSR guiding interpretations on questions of the general legislation of the Federation.

b. To examine and protest against, before the presidium of the ZakTsIK at the instance of the procuror of the supreme court of the ZSFSR, decisions and verdicts of the supreme courts of the republics composing the ZSFSR on the ground of their being in contradiction to the general legislation of the ZSFSR, or in so far as they affect the interests of other republics.

c. To give opinions at the demand of the ZakTsIK as to the legality of resolutions of the republics composing the ZSFSR from the point of view of the constitution of the ZSFSR.

[1] Articles 28-30 do not appear in the amended text. They correspond to articles 44-45 of the constitution of the RSFSR.

[2] This article corresponds to article 42 of the constitution of the USSR.

[3] This chapter corresponds in nearly every respect to chapter VII of the constitution of the USSR.

d. To decide legal conflicts between the republics composing the ZSFSR.

e. To examine cases of accusation against the members of the ZaTsIK and the sovnarkom of the ZSFSR, and also for offences committed by the ranking officials in institutions of the ZSFSR, in connection with their official duties.

43. The supreme court of the ZSFSR acts in the following composition:

a. The plenary sessions of the supreme court of the ZSFSR.

b. The civil and criminal collegia of the supreme court of the ZSFSR.

c. The military-cassation collegium.

44. The plenary session of the supreme court of the ZSFSR consists of nine members, including the president and his deputy, three presidents of plenary sessions of supreme courts of the republic composing the ZSFSR, one representative of the Transcaucasian cheka, two members presiding in the sessions of the judiciary collegium (the one in civil cases, the other in criminal cases), and one presiding member in the military cassation collegium.

45. The procuror of the supreme court of the ZSFSR and his deputy are appointed by the presidium of the ZakTsIK. It lies with the procuror of the supreme court of the ZSFSR to give opinions on all questions subject to the decision of the supreme court of the ZSFSR, to support accusations at its sessions, and in case of non-agreement with the decisions of the plenary session of the supreme court of the ZSFSR to protest before the presidium of the ZakTsIK.

46. The initiative in submitting questions for examination at the plenary session of the supreme court of the ZSFSR belongs exclusively to the ZakTsIK, its presidium, to the procuror of the supreme court of the ZSFSR, and to the president of the Transcaucasian cheka.

47. Plenary sessions of the supreme court of the ZSFSR set up special legal tribunals (benches) to examine:

a. Criminal and civil cases of exceptional importance affecting by their nature the republics composing the ZSFSR; and

b. Cases of the personal legal liabilities of members of the ZakTsIK and the sovnarkom of the ZSFSR.

The acceptance by the supreme court of the ZSFSR of these cases in its procedure can take place solely by special resolution, in each case, of the ZakTsIK or its presidium].

CHAPTER V.[1]—*Of the Competence of the Transcaucasian Congress of Soviets and the ZakTsIK*

31. Within the competence of the Transcaucasian congress of soviets and the ZakTsIK fall all questions of national importance, namely:

a. The ratification, alteration and supplementing of the constitution of the ZSFSR.

b. The admittance of other state formations into the body of the ZSFSR, and granting of permission for the detachment of its component parts.

c. The establishment of the bases of this outline of the general plan of national economy and its separate departments on the territory of the ZSFSR, and the examination of concessionary treaties.

d. The adoption of the budget of the ZSFSR.

e. The establishment of federal and local duties (taxes), as well as the establishment of the federal state bank.

f. The organization of the federal supreme court of justice.

g. The establishment of principles for the development and using of land, and also for the use of subsoils throughout the territory of the ZSFSR.

h. The repeal of decrees of the republican congresses of soviets, the republican central executive committees, and the republican soviets of people's commissars, infringing upon the constitution of the ZSFSR.

i. The appointment and recall of both the individual members of, and the entire body of, the Transcaucasian sovnarkom, and the confirmation of the president of the sovnarkom and his deputies.

j. The right of amnesty.

k. The organization of general statistics of the federation.

l. The establishment of the bases of the courts of justice and legal procedure, and also the civil and criminal legislation.

m. The conclusion of foreign loans of a local character.

32. Within the exclusive competence of the Transcaucasian congress of soviets falls the formulation, supplementing, and amending of the fundamental principles of the constitution of the ZSFSR.

[1] This chapter represents in the articles given principally a difference of phraseology in comparison with chapter IX of the constitution of the RSFSR and chapter I of the constitution of the USSR. Its place is taken by chapter I of the amended text of the present constitution.

33. The settlement of the question indicated in article 32 is left to the ZakTsIK only when it is impossible to convoke the Transcaucasian congress of soviets.

Third Section

Chapter VI [VIII].—*Of the Relationship of the Supreme Organs of Authority of the ZSFSR and the Republics Composing It*

34 [48]. The supreme organs of authority in each one of the republics composing the ZSFSR are the congresses of soviets [and in the period between the congresses of soviets their central executive committees] [1] and the central executive committees which are elected and act in accordance with the constitution of these republics.

35.[2] Within the competence of the republican congresses of soviets and the republican central executive committees fall all questions of republican character, with the exception of those within the jurisdiction of the Transcaucasian congress of soviets and the ZakTsIK.

36. At the head of the administration of the republics composing the ZSFSR stand soviets of people's commissars composed of people's commissariats for: interior, justice, education, agriculture, health, and social welfare. The body of the soviet of people's commissars comprises also delegates of the ZSFSR with advisory powers.

37. The delegates of the people's commissars of the ZSFSR in the republics are appointed by the people's commissars of the ZSFSR in agreement with the central executive committee of the given republic.

The delegates of the people's commissars of the ZSFSR in the republics carry out unconditionally all directions and orders of their people's commissar, and simultaneously report on their daily work to the sovnarkom of the corresponding republic.

[49.[3] The central executive committees of the republics composing the ZSFSR elect from amongst their own members presidia which, in the interims between the sessions of the central executive committees of the republics, are the supreme power in the respective republics.

[1] The amended article ends here.

[2] Articles 35-37 do not appear in the amended text which is given separately at the end of the chapter.

[3] Articles 49-52 correspond to articles 65-68 of the constitution of the USSR.

50. The mutual relations between the organs of the supreme power in the republics composing the ZSFSR and the organs of the supreme power of the ZSFSR are determined by this constitution.

51. The central executive committees of the republics composing the ZSFSR form their own executive departments—the soviets of people's commissars, composed of: the president of the sovnarkom, his deputy, the president of the supreme soviet of people's economy, people's commissars for: agriculture, labor, interior, justice, workmen's and peasants' inspection, education, health, social welfare, finance, and also, upon the decision of the central executive committee of the respective republics, the plenipotentiary of the Transcaucasian people's commissar for domestic trade with an advisory and deciding vote.

52. The people's commissariats for: labor, workmen's and peasants' inspection, and for finance, while subordinate to the central executive committees and soviets of the people's commissars of the republics composing the ZSFSR, put into effect in their work the general directions of the corresponding people's commissariats of the ZSFSR.

53.[1] The rights of amnesty within the territory of republics composing the ZSFSR and the right of restoration in regard to the citizens condemned by the legal and administrative organs of the republics composing the ZSFSR belongs to the central executive committees of these republics.]

Fourth Section

Chapter VII [2] [IX].—*Of the Budget Law of the ZSFSR*

38. The income and expenditure of the ZSFSR are united in a general state budget.

39. The state income and expenditure of the republics composing the ZSFSR are determined by special decrees of the ZakTsIK, and are united in republican state budgets confirmed by the ZakTsIK, and enter as one component part into the general state budget of the ZSFSR.

Should expenditure exceed income in the budgets of the separate republics, the deficits are covered by the state treasury of the ZSFSR.

40. All local income and expenditure, together with that

[1] Article 53 corresponds to article 69 of the constitution of the USSR.

[2] The amended text is quite different from the original and is given at the end of the chapter.

transferred by special decrees of the ZakTsIK to counties and cities, are united in local budgets of county and town soviets. The city soviets, by special decrees of the ZakTsIK, are separated from the counties as individual economic units. Local budgets are approved by the central executive committees of the respective republics.

41. The Transcaucasian congress of soviets and the ZakTsIK establish forms of taxation and income, as well as their limits, and determine the kinds of income and expenditure and the parts thereof, which are to be included in the general state budget, in the state budget of the republics, and in local budgets.

42. The republics composing the ZSFSR determine such local duties and taxes as are not established according to article 41 exclusively to cover expenditure in their own and local budgets, provided a proper permit has been obtained from the ZakTsIK.

43. No expenditure may be made from the funds of the state treasury without an authorized credit in the state budget, or without the issuance of a special order of the ZakTsIK.

44. All credits granted to the general state or to the state republican budgets are spent within the estimated items according to their direct assignment and can not be used for any other purpose without a special order of the ZakTsIK and the Transcaucasian sovnarkom. The credits granted to the local budgets are spent also within the limits of the estimated items according to their direct assignment, and can not be used for any other purpose without a special order of the TsIK and the sovnarkom of the respective republics.

[54. The general state budget of the ZSFSR (assignment of appropriations and revenues of the ZSFSR) is included in the general state budget of the USSR.

55. The budgets of the ASSR, the SSRG, and the SSRA, after approval by their respective central executive committees, are included as integral parts in a single state budget of the ZSFSR.

56. The single state budget of the ZSFSR must be approved by the ZakTsIK and is presented by the sovnarkom of the USSR to the central executive committee of the USSR in order to be included in the single state budget of the USSR subject to approval by the same.

57. The ZakTsIK, within the limits of the all-Union budget legislation, establishes for the ZSFSR and the republics composing it the budget rights, the legislative regulations regarding the methods of their drafting, examination, approval, and execution

of the single state budget of the ZSFSR, as well as other norms within the field or budgetary legislation].

Fifth Section

Chapter VIII [X].—*Of the Emblem and Flag of the ZSFSR*

45 [58]. The state emblem of the ZSFSR consists, in its upper part, of the reproduction, on the background of a ridge of mountains and the rising sun, of a golden sickle and hammer placed cross-wise and handles downwards, and above them, a five-pointed red star.

In the lower part of the emblem, at the foot of the mountain ridge with three prominent peaks, are reproduced: on the right —oil wells, on the left—a smoking factory, in the center—a vine-sprout, cotton, rice, maize, wheat, and corn. The entire emblem is surrounded by a red (scarlet) ribbon with the inscription in gold letters, from left to right, in the Armenian, Russian, Georgian, and East Turkish languages, "ZSFSR". At the bottom, surrounded by a ribbon, on a golden background, stands the watch-word: "Proletarians of all lands, unite".

46 [59]. The flag of the ZSFSR consists of red (scarlet) cloth, in the corner of which, near the staff, are placed in a half-circle the letters in gold: "ZSFSR", and above them, in the left corner, is a five-pointed red star surrounded with gold. [The ratio of width to length is: 1:2.]

Sixth Section

Chapter IX.—*Of the Residence of the Central State Institutions*

47 [60]. The residence of all central state institutions of the ZSFSR is the city of Tiflis.

XVII

The Fundamental Law (Constitution) of the Socialist Soviet Republic of Georgia (SSRG) Ratified by the All-Georgian Central Executive Committee (TsIK of the SSRG) on July 5, 1926 [1]

Chapter I.—*General Provisions*

1. The present constitution of the SSRG, in conformity with the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat proclaimed by the October [old style] revolution, has for its purpose the

[1] *Osnovnoi zakon (konstitutsiia) SSRG* (Tiflis, Izdanie NKIu SSRG, 1926).

guaranty of this dictatorship in order to suppress completely the bourgeoisie, to destroy the exploitation of man by man, and to build up a system of communism under which there shall be neither class division nor state authority.

2. The Georgian Republic is a socialist state of workers and laboring peasants, founded on the principles of a federation of national soviet republics. All authority therein, throughout Georgia, belongs to the workers', peasants' and red army deputies.

3. The supreme authority in the SSRG is vested in the all-Georgian congress of workers', peasants', and red army deputies, and, in the interim between the congresses, in the TsIK of the SSRG.

4. In order to establish a single front of soviet republics against capitalistic encirclement, to secure the external safety of the soviet republics, economic success, freedom of national development of peoples, and a firmly established international peace,—the SSRG, in conformity with the decision of the second all-Georgian congress of soviets, having voluntarily united with the ASSR and SSRA into the ZSFSR, enters simultaneously through the ZSFSR into the USSR.

5. The sovereignty of the SSRG is limited only in virtue of agreements and within the limits determined by the constitutions of the USSR and of the ZSFSR, and only in matters falling within the competence of these state formations which, on their part, must respect her sovereign rights.

6. The SSRG reserves the right to secede from the composition of the ZSFSR and the USSR in an order as provided for in the constitution of the ZSFSR.

7. The territory of the SSRG can not be altered without her own consent.

8. The citizens of the SSRG, while retaining their republican citizenship, are at the same time citizens of the ZSFSR and of the USSR.

All rights and duties established for citizens of the SSRG by the present constitution are accorded also to all citizens of other republics of the Union residing therein.

Deriving from the solidarity of the workers of all nations and countries, the SSRG extends all political rights also to foreigners living on her territory and belonging to the working class, as well as to the peasants not using hired labor.

9. The SSRG, in accordance with the principles of equality of all citizens, irrespective of race or nationality, recognizes as

contrary to the constitution of the republic the existence of any privileges (direct or indirect) for certain nationalities and also any oppression of national minorities, or limitations of the rights thereof.

In the composition of the SSRG, on the above enumerated principles, are included the ASSR of Adzharistan and the autonomous region of Iugo-Osetiia. The SSR of Abkhaziia is included in the SSRG according to a special agreement concluded between them.

10. The national language of the SSRG is the Georgian language. The residence of all central state institutions is the city of Tiflis.

The right of free development and use of their native language in their national-cultural, as well as in the state institutions, is guaranteed to the national minorities of the SSRG.

11. In the SSRG the church is separated from the state, and the school from the church; but the freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda is recognized to be the right of all citizens, provided, however, that such propaganda shall have no political or social objectives.

12. In order to secure for the working masses a true freedom of expression of opinion, the SSRG, after having destroyed the dependence of the press on capital, lends to the workers and peasants all technical and material means to develop the production of the press and guarantees of freedom of distribution of printed matter within the republic.

13. The SSRG secures for the working masses true freedom of unions and assemblies, and lends to the peasants and workers all kinds of facilities in the form of suitable quarters for their popular meetings.

14. To secure for the working masses access to a true knowledge, the SSRG undertakes to grant to all laboring people complete, universal, and free education.

15. In order to protect the conquests of the great workers' and peasants' revolution, the SSRG regards the armed defence of the socialist fatherland and the conquests of the socialist revolution to be the duty of all citizens of the republic, and therefore general compulsory military service shall be established. The honorary right to armed defence of the socialist fatherland shall belong only to the working masses, while the other elements shall be charged with other military duties.

16. The SSRG recognizes that labor is the duty of all citizens of the republic.

17. The SSRG grants throughout its territory asylum to all foreigners persecuted for political or religious offenses in behalf of the socialist revolution.

18. All lands, forests, waters and mineral deposits, as well as factories and plants, railway, fluvial, and air transport and means of communication, throughout the SSRG are the property of the workers' and peasants' state.

The order of using this property and exploiting it is determined by legislation of the USSR, the ZSFSR, and of the SSRG, within their respective competence as determined by their constitutions.

CHAPTER II.—*Of the Competence of the Supreme Organs of Authority of the SSRG*

19. Within the exclusive jurisdiction of the all-Georgian congress of soviets fall:

a. The establishment, amendment and supplementing of the fundamental principles of the constitution of the SSRG, as well as final ratification of partial alterations thereof made by the TsIK of the SSRG in the interim between the all-Georgian congresses of soviets.

b. Establishment and alteration of frontiers of the SSRG in an order established by the constitution of the USSR.

c. Approval of the establishment of national minorities into autonomous soviet socialist republics and regions, final ratification of the constitutions thereof, and amending and supplementing of the same.

20. All the following questions of general state significance, so far as, in conformity with the constitution of the USSR and of the ZSFSR, they are not transferred to the competence of the supreme organs of the union, fall within the jurisdiction of the all-Georgian congress of soviets and the TsIK of the SSRG. Among such questions are:

a. General direction of the entire foreign policy and people's economy of the SSRG.

b. General administrative division of the territory of the SSRG, and determination of the boundaries of autonomous republics and regions.

c. Ratification of the constitutions of the autonomous republics, and of supplements thereto, as well as settlement of conflicts between them and other organs of the SSRG.

d. Establishment of the basis and of the general plan of

all people's economy and its separate branches on the territory of the SSRG.

e. Approval of the budget of the SSRG and the supreme control over the proper execution thereof.

f. Ratification of codes of legislation of the SSRG, as well as of the republican legislation concerning the matters not falling within the competence of the USSR or of the ZSFSR.

g. Right of general amnesty and pardon of the citizens condemned by the judicial and administrative organs of the SSRG, as well as the right of restoration of the political rights of the citizens of the republic.

h. Repeal and suspension of the decisions of the congresses of soviets of the autonomous soviet socialist republics and regions, their central executive committees, as well as of the county congresses of soviets or the county executive committees which conflict with the constitution of the SSRG or with the supreme organs of republican authority.

i. All questions not falling according to the constitutions of the USSR or of the ZSFSR within the competence of supreme organs of the republic, and which the all-Georgian congress of soviets will regard as subject to its competence.

21. Besides the enumerated questions, within the competence of the all-Georgian congress of soviets and the TsIK of the SSRG fall also other questions especially enumerated in the constitutions of the USSR and of the ZSFSR, and in the all-Union and Transcaucasian federal legislation.

22. Within the limits as determined by the constitutions of the USSR and of the ZSFSR, and in matters falling within the competence of these state formations, the decisions of the supreme organs of the USSR and of the ZSFSR shall be compulsory throughout the SSRG. With these exceptions, throughout the SSRG, no legislative acts of state importance can be issued by organs other than the all-Georgian congress of soviets and the TsIK of the SSRG, or, in certain cases, also the presidium thereof, or the sovnarkom.

Chapter III.—*Of the Structure of the Soviet Authority*

A. *All-Georgian Congress of Soviets*

23. The all-Georgian congress of soviets is composed of representatives of the congress of soviets of the Abkhasian SSR, Adzharistan SSR, the autonomous region of Iugo-Osetiia, and

of the county congresses of soviets in the ratio: one deputy for every 10,000 of the population in the localities which hold the elections on the basis of population, and one deputy for every 2,000 electors where the elections are held on the basis of electors.

24. The all-Georgian congress of soviets elects the TsIK of the SSRG, the number of members of which shall be determined by the congress of soviets.

25. The all-Georgian congress of soviets is convoked by the TsIK of the SSRG once a year.

NOTE: In extraordinary cases, which hinder the timely convocation of the all-Georgian congress and soviets, the TsIK of the SSRG has the right to postpone the congress.

26. The extraordinary all-Georgian congress of soviets may be convoked by the TsIK of the SSRG on its own initiative, or on the demand of the soviets and congresses of soviets of those localities which represent at least one-third of the total population of the republic, as well as upon the demand of one of the republics included in the SSRG.

B. *Of the TsIK of the SSRG and Its Presidium*

27. The TsIK of the SSRG is the supreme legislative, administrative, and controlling organ of the SSRG.

28. The TsIK of the SSRG examines and ratifies drafts of decrees and other decisions and ordinances of the sovnarkom or individual people's commissars, and issues decrees and ordinances on its own initiative.

29. The TsIK of the SSRG examines particularly all decrees concerning the establishment of general standards of political and economic life, as well as decrees which involve fundamental modifications in the existing practice of the state organs.

30. The TsIK of the SSRG has general direction of the activity of the workers' and peasants' government and of all government organs throughout the country; unifies and coördinates the legislative and administrative work and supervises the execution of the soviet constitution, and the decrees of the all-Georgian congresses of soviets, and the decisions of the central organs of government, as well as the execution of the decrees of the supreme organs of the USSR and of the ZSFSR.

31. The TsIK of the SSRG is responsible to the all-Georgian congress of soviets, to which it submits an account of its

activity and reports on general policy and on separate questions of general state character.

32. The presidium convokes the TsIK of the SSRG for sessions not less than three times a year. Extraordinary sessions are convoked (a) on the initiative of the presidium of the TsIK of the SSRG, (b) on the proposal of the sovnarkom, (c) upon the demand of one-third of the members of the TsIK of the SSRG, or (d) upon the demand of the TsIK of one of the republics included in the SSRG.

33. The TsIK of the SSRG elects its presidium and determines the sphere of competence thereof.

34. The TsIK of the SSRG forms, for the general administration of the affairs of the SSRG, the sovnarkom, and for the direction of responsible branches of administration, individual people's commissariats.

35. In the interim between congresses, the TsIK of the SSRG is the supreme legislative, administrative, and controlling authority of the SSRG.

36. The presidium of the TsIK of the SSRG issues, in the name of the TsIK of the SSRG, the necessary decrees, decisions and ordinances, and approves all projects submitted to the sovnarkom.

37. The presidium of the TsIK of the SSRG supervises the carrying out of the constitution of the SSRG and the execution of all decrees of the TsIK of the SSRG by all organs of authority, and directs the assignment of the entire work, both in the center and in the provinces.

38. The presidium of the TsIK of the SSRG, in the interim between the sessions thereof, appoints, upon the recommendation of the sovnarkom, the people's commissars, provided that the nominations are then submitted for approval by the TsIK of the SSRG; it may appoint also other higher officials whose appointment by the TsIK of the SSRG is provided for by law.

39. The presidium of the TsIK of the SSRG examines appeals of amnesty and restoration of political rights.

40. The presidium of the TsIK of the SSRG has the right to suspend or repeal the decisions of ordinances of the sovnarkom of the SSRG, their central executive committees, sovnarkoms of the autonomous republics and regions, and of county executive committees, as well as to suspend the decisions of the congresses of soviets of autonomous republics, regions, and of the counties.

41. The presidium of the TsIK of the SSRG settles questions and conflicts concerning the relationship between the central and local organs of authority.

42. The presidium of the TsIK of the SSRG is responsible for its activity to the TsIK of the SSRG.

C. *Of the Sovnarkom of the SSRG*

43. The sovnarkom of the SSRG is the executive and administrative organ of the SSRG. It is vested with the general supervision over the SSRG.

44. The sovnarkom of the SSRG is appointed by the TsIK of the SSRG and is composed of a president, his deputies, the president of the supreme soviet of people's economy, and of the people's commissariats for: interior, justice, labor, including administration of social welfare, education, health, finance, agriculture, social welfare, workmen's and peasants' inspection. Into the composition of the sovnarkom enter also the plenipotentiary of the people's commissariat for internal trade of the ZSFSR who shall be appointed by the legislation thereof and who, upon the decision of the TsIK of the SSRG, will have the right either of deciding (*reshaiushchego*) or advisory (*soveshchatel'nogo*) vote.

45. Within the competence granted to it by the TsIK of the SSRG and acting in conformity with the statute on the sovnarkom, the sovnarkom of the SSRG issues decrees and decisions which are compulsory throughout the SSRG.

46. In the sovnarkom of the SSRG is formed the republican economic conference (*ekonomicheskoe soveshchanie*) of the SSRG which acts, in conformity with a special statute thereon, as the organ guiding, under the general supervision of the supreme economic conference of the ZSFSR, the whole economic policy of the SSRG.

47. The sovnarkom is responsible in all matters to the TsIK of the SSRG and its presidium.

D. *Of the People's Commissariats of the SSRG*

48. For directing immediately the individual branches of state administration falling within the competence of the sovnarkom of the SSRG, there are formed the supreme soviet of people's economy and the people's commissariats for: interior, justice, education, health, agricultural, social welfare, finance,

labor, and workmen's and peasants' inspection, which act in conformity with special statutes.

49. The supreme soviet of people's economy and the people's commissariats for: finance, labor, and workmen's and peasants' inspection, while subordinate in their activity to the TsIK and to the sovnarkom of the SSRG, carry out also the directions of the supreme soviet of people's economy and corresponding people's commissariats of the ZSFSR.

50. At the head of the people's commissariats of the SSRG stand the people's commissars who are members of the sovnarkom of the SSRG.

51. To administer the people's commissariats, upon the decision of the TsIK of the SSRG or its presidium, to the people's commissars may be attached collegia whose members, while subordinate to them, are appointed by the sovnarkom.

52. The people's commissars have the right to take personally decisions on all questions falling within the competence of the given people's commissariats. In those people's commissariats where the collegia are formed, the people's commissar informs the former of all decisions taken. In case of disagreement with the decisions taken by the people's commissar, the collegium or even individual members thereof, without suspending its execution, may appeal to the sovnarkom or to the presidium of the TsIK of the SSRG.

53. The people's commissars and the collegia attached to them are responsible in their activity to the sovnarkom or TsIK of the SSRG, or to the presidium thereof.

54. The ordinances of the people's commissariats of the SSRG may be repealed by the TsIK of the SSRG, its presidium, and by the sovnarkom of the republic. The orders of the supreme soviet of people's economy and the people's commissariats for finance, labor, and workmen's and peasants' inspection, in case they are not based on the directions of the TsIK of the SSRG, its presidium, or of the sovnarkom, may be repealed, furthermore, in the case of the supreme soviet of people's economy by the supreme soviet of people's economy of the ZSFSR, and in the case of the people's commissariats for finance, labor, and workmen's and peasants' inspection, by the corresponding people's commissariats of the ZSFSR, provided that these orders conflicted with the given directions or with the all-Union and Transcaucasian legislation.

E. *Of the Local Organs of Authority; the County Congresses of Soviets, Executive Committees and Soviets of Deputies, and Their Executive Organs*

55. The supreme authority within the county is the county congress of soviets, and in the interim between congresses, the county executive committee.

56. In the county congress of soviets participate the representatives of all soviets of deputies existing in the county.

57. The county congress of soviets is composed of representatives of the soviets of deputies which exist in the county, in the ratio of one deputy for every 1,000 of the population from the soviets of the localities which hold their elections on the basis of total population, and one deputy for every 200 electors from the soviets of the localities in which the elections are held on the basis of the total number of electors.

NOTE: In the localities where the village soviets are established, the delegates to the county congresses are elected at the *tem* congresses of soviets.

58. The ordinary county congresses of soviets are convoked by the county executive committees once a year. Extraordinary congresses are convoked by the county executive committees:

a. Upon their own initiative;

b. Upon the demand of the all-Georgian congress of soviets or of the TsIK of the SSRG;

c. Upon the demand of local soviets, which represent at least one-third of the whole population of the given county.

59. The county congresses of soviets elect their executive organs—the county executive committees, the number of members of which is determined by the TsIK of the SSRG.

60. The county executive committees are responsible to the county congresses of soviets and are subordinate in their activity to the TsIK of the SSRG, its presidium, or to the sovnarkom of the SSRG.

61. To supervise the current work concerning the administration of the county, and to carry out the decrees and decisions of the central authority, the county executive committees elect their presidia which, in the interim between the sessions of the executive committees, shall have the rights of the latter, and shall be responsible thereto in all their activity.

62. For immediate supervision over separate branches of administration throughout the county which fall within the com-

petence of the county organs, the county executive committees form departments the organization, structure and competence of which are determined by the TsIK of the SSRG.

63. The departments of the county executive committees, while subordinate directly to the county executive committees and their presidia, must carry out also all orders and ordinances of the given county executive committee or its presidium, as well as of corresponding people's commissariats of the SSRG.

64. The soviets of deputies are formed:

a. In every *tem,* in the ratio: one deputy for every 100 of the population of the settlements of the *tem.*

b. In the cities on the same basis, except the cities of Tiflis, Kutais and Chiatury where the soviets of deputies are elected in the ratio: in Tiflis, one deputy for every 200 electors, in Kutais, one deputy for every 150 electors, and in Chiatury, one deputy for every 50 electors.

Note 1: Upon a decision of the TsIK of the SSRG or its presidium, in the territory of a single *tem* may be formed several village soviets in a ratio as determined for the *tem* soviets. In such cases the *tem* congresses are convoked on the same basis: one deputy for every 100 of the population.

Note 2: The military units of the workers' and peasants' red army and navy billeted in the localities where the population elects their deputies according to the total population, send their deputies to the soviets in the ratio of one deputy for every 50 electors, while in localities where the elections are held on the basis of the number of electors,—they send their deputies in the same ratio as the remainder of the population.

65. Reëlections to the soviets of deputies are held once a year.

66. For the current work, the *tem* soviets elect their executive committees responsible to the former, and subordinate simultaneously in their activity to the corresponding county executive committees. The sphere of competence and the organization of the *tem* executive committees are determined by the TsIK of the SSRG.

Note: In the localities where the village soviets exist and the *tem* congresses of soviets are convoked, the executive committees of the latter are elected by *tem* congresses of soviets.

67. The executive organs of the city and village soviets, their organization, and sphere of competence, are determined by the TsIK of the SSRG.

68. The soviets of deputies are convoked by their executive organs either upon their own initiative or upon the demand of at least one-third of all members of the soviet.

69. Within the competence of the local organs of authority (county congresses of soviets, soviet of deputies, and their executive organs) fall:

a Taking all measures for furthering the cultural and economic development of a given locality;

b. Drafting and approval of local budgets;

c. Carrying out all decisions of the supreme organs of authority;

d. Settling all questions of local importance for the given territory;

e. Uniting the soviet work throughout the given territory;

f. Guaranty of revolutionary legality throughout the given territory;

g. Safeguarding the state order and public safety in the given territory;

h. Discussion of all questions of national state importance, either upon their own initiative, or upon the proposal of the superior organs.

70. The county congresses of soviets and the county executive committees have control over the activity of the local soviets and their executive organs.

71. The county executive committees have the right to suspend, under their own responsibility, the execution of the orders of the people's commissariats of the SSRG only in extraordinary cases and in order as determined by the TsIK of the SSRG.

F. *Of the Courts and Procurature*

72. For the legal protection of the workers' and peasants' state and of the working masses, for cementing revolutionary legality and safeguarding the public order, as well as for a true security of the economic interests of the state and of the working masses,—in the SSRG there shall be a common people's court with the procurature attached thereto, which is organized on the principles established by the USSR, and which shall function in conformity with the rules of procedure, whose fundamental principles are determined by the USSR.

73. The judicial organs and procurature are guided by the civil and criminal codes of the SSRG which are based on the

principles established by the USSR, and by the laws existing in the SSRG, and in case of absence or incompetence of the latter, by the general spirit of soviet legislation and by the interests of the workers' and peasants' state.

CHAPTER IV.—*Of the Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republics and Regions*

74. The central and local organs of authority of the autonomous socialist soviet republics and regions are organized in conformity with the principles of the present constitution.

75. The constitutions of the autonomous socialist soviet republics and the statutes of the autonomous socialist soviet regions are adopted by their congresses of soviets, submitted for approval by the TsIK of the SSRG, and then finally ratified by the all-Georgian congress of soviets.

76. The supreme organ of authority throughout the autonomous socialist soviet republics and regions is the congress of soviets and, in the interim between congresses, the central executive committees elected at these congresses.

77. The central executive committees of the autonomous socialist soviet republics and regions elect from amongst their members their presidia which, in the interim between the sessions of the central executive committees, are the supreme authority throughout the given autonomous republic or region.

78. The central executive committees of the autonomous socialist soviet republics form their executive and administrative organs—the sovnarkoms composed of a president, the president of the supreme soviet of people's economy, and the people's commissars who stand at the head of the people's commissariats' for: interior, justice, education, health, agriculture, and social welfare. Into the composition of the sovnarkom enter also the representatives of the people's commissariats of the SSRG for: finance, labor, and workmen's and peasants' inspection. The soviets of people's economy of the autonomous republics, which are subordinate in their activity to the central executive committees and sovnarkoms of the given autonomous republics, carry out also all directions of the supreme soviet of people's economy of the SSRG. The plenipotentiaries of the people's commissariats for: finance, labor, and workmen's and peasants' inspection, while remaining organs of the corresponding people's commissariats of the SSRG in the given autonomous republics,

subordinate directly thereto, are responsible in their activity to the central executive committees and sovnarkoms of the autonomous socialist soviet republics.

79. The central executive committees of the autonomous regions do not form sovnarkoms, but direct the administration of the region through the soviet of people's economy and people's commissars who are at the head of people's commissariats for: interior, justice, education, health, agriculture, and social welfare. The plenipotentiaries of the people's commissariats of the SSRG for finance, labor and workmen's and peasants' inspection represent the organs of the corresponding people's commissariats of the given autonomous region. The soviet of people's economy of the autonomous regions is immediately subordinate to the supreme soviet of people's economy of the SSRG, and carries out the orders and measures thereof through the central executive committees; the plenipotentiaries of the people's commissariats for finance, labor, and workmen's and peasants' inspection, while remaining immediately subordinate to the corresponding central organs of the SSRG, are responsible in their activity to the central executive committees of the autonomous regions.

80. In accordance with local conditions, the central executive committees of the autonomous socialist soviet republics and regions have the right to reduce the number of the people's commissariats as provided by articles 78 and 79 of this constitution.

81. The codes, decrees, and decisions of the supreme organs of authority of the SSRG compulsory throughout the latter shall be obligatory also throughout the autonomous republics and regions.

82. On questions concerning the autonomous state administration, and in supplementing the legislation of the SSRG which is compulsory throughout the same, the central executive committees of the autonomous socialist soviet republics may issue legislative acts which shall be compulsory throughout these republics.

Note: The central executive committees of the autonomous regions within the limits as provided for in this chapter may issue decisions which are compulsory throughout the given autonomous region, provided that such decisions are submitted for ratification by the TsIK of the SSRG or its presidium.

CHAPTER *V.—Of the Treaty Socialist Soviet Republic of Abkhaziia*

83. The SSR of Abkhaziia, in virtue of a special treaty, is included in the SSRG and in the ZSFSR.

84. In the all-Georgian congress of soviets participate also the representatives of the congresses of soviets of the SSR of Abkhaziia, the number of deputies of the latter being determined by article 23 of the present constitution.

85. The all-Georgian congress of soviets elects to the TsIK of the SSRG also representatives from the SSR of Abkhaziia, whose number is determined by the all-Georgian congress of soviets.

86. The congress of soviets of the SSR of Abkhaziia, the TsIK thereof, and its presidium, as well as the local organs of authority of the SSR of Abkhaziia, are formed in conformity with the principles of the constitution of the SSR of Abkhaziia.

87. The sovnarkom of the SSR of Abkhaziia, formed by the central executive committee of the latter, is composed of its president, the president of the supreme soviet of people's economy, and of people's commissaries who stand at the head of the people's commissariats for: interior, justice, education, health, agriculture, and social welfare. Into the composition of the sovnarkom enter also, with the rights of either deciding or advisory vote, upon the decision of the central executive committee of the SSR of Abkhaziia also the plenipotentiaries of the people's commissariats of the SSRG for: finance, labor, and workmen's and peasants' inspection.

The people's commissariats for: interior, education, health, agriculture and social welfare are independent in their activity of the corresponding people's commissariats of the SSRG, but mutually inform each other of their work. The supreme soviet of people's economy, while subordinate to the TsIK and to the sovnarkom of the SSR of Abkhazia, carry out also all directions of the supreme soviet of people's economy of the SSRG. The plenipotentiaries of the people's commissariats for finance, labor, and workmen's and peasants' inspection, while remaining the organs of and subordinate to the corresponding people's commissariats of the SSRG, are responsible in their activity to the central executive committee and to the sovnarkom of the SSR of Abkhaziia.

88. On the questions of the non-unified state administration

(interior, justice, education, health, agriculture and social welfare) the supreme organs of authority of the SSR of Abkhaziia may issue legislative acts which shall be compulsory throughout the republic.

The codes, decrees, and decisions issued by the central executive committee of the SSRG and compulsory throughout the latter, are obligatory also in the SSR of Abkhaziia, provided that the supreme organs of authority of the SSR of Abkhaziia in these acts may issue legislative acts which shall be compulsory throughout the SSR of Abkhaziia.

89. In questions concerning the general state and unified administration (finance, labor, workmen's and peasants' inspection, and national economy) all decisions and orders of the TsIK of the SSRG, its presidium, and of the sovnarkom of the SSRG, shall be compulsory throughout the SSR of Abkhaziia, provided that in all questions concerning the unified state administration, the supreme organs of authority of the SSR of Abkhaziia have the right to issue, in supplementing the legislation of the SSRG, legislative acts which shall be compulsory throughout the SSR of Abkhaziia.

90. The all-Georgian congress of soviets and the TsIK of the SSRG have the right to repeal the decisions of the congress of soviets, central executive committee, and of the sovnarkom of the SSR of Abkhaziia which are contradictory to the present constitution.

91. The budget of the SSR of Abkhaziia, upon approval by the central executive committee of the SSR of Abkhaziia, is included as an integral part of the general state budget of the SSRG, subject to ratification according to article 103 of the present constitution.

All local revenues and expenditure on the territory of the SSR of Abkhaziia are united in the local budgets in conformity with the fundamental all-Union and Transcaucasian federal legislation.

Chapter VI.—*Of the Elections to the Soviets of Delegates*

A. *Of the Right to Vote and to Be Elected*

92. The right to vote and to be elected to soviets appertains, independently of creed, nationality, domicile, and the like, to the following citizens of the SSRG, of both sexes, who have attained their eighteenth year on the day of elections.

a. All persons gaining their livelihood by productive and socially useful labor, as well as those who are occupied in domestic pursuits which secure for the first category the possibility of productive labor.

b. Soldiers and sailors of the soviet army and marine of Georgia.

c. Citizens enumerated in paragraphs *"a"* and *"b"* of this article, who have lost to some degree their laboring capacity.

NOTE: The right to vote and to be elected appertains also to persons enumerated in article 8 of this constitution, on an equal footing with the citizens of the SSRG, if they fulfill the requirements of the present articles.

93. The following citizens have neither the right to vote nor to be elected, even if they belong to one of the categories enumerated in article 92:

a. Citizens using hired labor for the purpose of extracting profit.

b. Persons living on an income not derived from labor, such as: interest from capital, income from enterprises, income from property, etc.

c. Private tradesmen, trade, and commercial agents.

d. Monks and clergy of the church and of religious cults for whom this is their profession.

e. Employees and agents of the former Tsarist police, the special gendarme corps, secret police, and of the special corps attached to the ministry of interior during the menshevik government in Georgia; members of the former ruling house of Russia, as well as persons who directed the activity of the police, gendarmerie, and punitive expeditions.

f. Persons convicted by a sentence of the criminal tribunal, entered into legal force, for infamous or mercenary crimes.

g. Persons acknowledged, in the established order, as insane or mad, as well as those who are under guardianship.

B. *Of the Electoral Procedure*

94. Elections are conducted on days fixed by the local soviets or their executive committees.

95. The order of election procedure, as well as participation of trade and other organizations of workers therein, is determined by the TsIK of the SSRG or its presidium.

C. *Of the Verification, Annulment of Election, and of the Recall of Deputies*

96. The verification of the regularity of the elections to the soviets is checked by the electoral commission while the verification of credentials of the deputies elected to the congresses of soviets is checked by the credentials commissions of the congress.

97. In case of non-confirmation of any candidate, the soviet orders a new election.

98. In case of irregularity of the election as a whole, the question of its annulment is decided by the immediately superior organ of soviet authority. The last instance for the annulment of soviet elections is the TsIK of the SSRG or its presidium.

99. The voters who sent their deputies to the soviet have the right to recall them at any time and to proceed to new elections.

CHAPTER VII.—*Of the Budget Law of the SSRG*

100. The state expenditure and income of the SSRG, including the revenue and expenditure of the component republics and regions, are united in the general state budget of the SSRG.

101. The general state budget of the SSRG is included, as an integral part, in the single state budget of the ZSFSR, and, through the latter, as an integral part of the unified state budget of the USSR.

102. The general state budget of the SSRG, upon examination by the sovnarkom of the SSRG, is approved by the TsIK and submitted, through the sovnarkom of the ZSFSR, to the TsIK of the ZSFSR, in order to be included in the general state budget of the ZSFSR.

103. The state revenue and expenditure of the autonomous republics and regions included in the composition of the SSRG, upon examination and approval thereof by the central executive committees of these republics and regions, and upon examination by the sovnarkom of the SSRG, are then approved by the TsIK of the SSRG as integral parts of the state budget of the SSRG.

104. The TsIK of the SSRG, within the limits of all-Union and Transcaucasian federal budgetary legislation, determines the order of drafting, examination, approval, and execution of the state budget of the SSRG.

105. The revenue items of the state budget of the SSRG, as

well as expenditures charged to this budget, are determined by Transcaucasian federal legislation within the limits determined by the all-Union laws.

106. All kinds of revenues and taxes throughout the SSRG are determined in an order provided by all-Union legislation.

107. No expenditure may be made from the funds of the state treasury without an authorized credit in the state budget, or without a special order of the central authority.

108. Credits opened according to the budget of the SSRG are spent within the limits of the appropriations and exclusively for matters for which they are assigned.

109. All local revenue and expenditure are united in local budgets in conformity with the all-Union and Transcaucasian federal legislation, and the legislative acts of the SSRG issued in supplementing and extending the former.

110. In an order determined by the fundamental all-Union and Transcaucasian federal legislation, and the legislation of the SSRG issued in supplementing the former, for the purpose of covering the expenditure, charged to the local sources, there shall be allowed two kinds of sources of revenue to meet the local budgets: taxable and non-taxable.

111. The report on the execution of the budget of the SSRG is ratified by the TsIK of the SSRG.

CHAPTER VIII.—*Of the Emblem, Flag, and Capital of the SSRG*

112. The emblem of the SSRG consists of a round, red field in the upper part of which a shining five-pointed star is reproduced with rays extending over the whole field; beneath is a snowy ridge of blue color; on the right side is golden corn, and on the left, golden vines with bunches of grapes. The ends of the corn and the vines are interlaced at the foot of the ridge in the lower part of the field. The greatest part of the center of the field gives the reproduction of a golden sickle and hammer which lean, above, against the shining star, and beneath, against the summit of the ridge, and on the sides, against the corn and the vines. Around the field is placed the following incription in three languages, Georgian, Russia, and French: "Proletarians of all Countries, Unite". The emblem is surrounded by a pattern of ornaments in Georgian style.

113. The flag of the SSRG consists of a red cloth in the upper left corner of which, in the square of which the sides are equal to one-quarter of the whole length of the cloth, is placed the

following golden inscription in the Georgian language: "Socialist Soviet Republic of Georgia".

114. The capital of the SSRG is the city of Tiflis.

XVIII

Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Khorezm People's Soviet Republic (KhSNR) [1]

[Examined and ratified on April 30, 1920, by the first all-Khorezm kurultai of representatives of the people of Khorezm. Re-examined and ratified with amendments on May 20, 1921, and finally, in connection with the reconstruction of the economic policy, ratified with supplements by the third all-Khorezm kurultai in July 1922. This constitution became inapplicable when the territorial redistribution of Central Asia was effected in 1925.]

First Section

Chapter I.—*Of the Liberation of the People of Khorezm from the Power of the Khan and Imperialistic Subjugation*

1. Khorezm is a country without technically equipped manufactures, a country which, by its economic situation, produces only raw material and, therefore, consumes manufactured articles of the neighboring countries with more developed industry. The development of industry in other countries, the strivings of the capitalists to conquer the markets for shipping goods and to have raw material for their factories, have enslaved industrially feeble countries, such as Khorezm, and forced them to surrender voluntarily to the imperialistic yoke. The incessantly growing capitalism and the continuous competition between the capitalists of all countries for markets for their produce have created a new means of subjugation of the feeble countries by the imperialistic, not only by means of mighty armed forces, but by the conclusion of treaties with the purpose of robbery and the elaboration of various laws strengthening economically their influence in the subjugated countries. In connection with these means of subjugation, such backward countries as Khorezm have found themselves enslaved not only economically but also nationally. The direct subjugator and enslaver of the people of Khorezm, *i.e.*, the follower of the imperialistic and colonial policy, together with other states of Europe, adherents of this

[1] D. A. Magerovskii, *Soiuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik*, 171-186.

policy, was the former semi-capitalistic, semi-bureaucratic Tsarist Russia.

2. As a result of this economic policy, the economic and national oppression bore down with all its gravity on the laboring dekkans of Khorezm and on the citizens living by their own labor. The possessing classes of the population of Khorezm, such as middle-class traders and craftsmen, and the clergy, did not feel economic oppression, but only national enslavement. Neither economic nor national oppression, however, touched the Khans of Khorezm, the important officials and the strata of important Beys. These privileged classes helped imperialist Tsarist Russia to enslave the poorer classes of Khorezm; they were intermediaries between them, striving to plunder the poor classes as much as possible and to fill their own pockets.

Notwithstanding the absence of family or national connections, the tradesmen of Khorezm and the Khans concluded a union with the capitalists of the Tsarist Russia in order to suck out as fully and as long as possible the blood of the laboring people of Khorezm. The cultural backwardness, the lack of feeling of protecting [*sic*] their national and political rights, the lack of class organizations which might unite all the laboring people of Khorezm into a whole, have deprived the laboring masses of the possibility to oppose their own and foreign exploiters, and even if they could do so, this opposition would be unsuccessful because of their own feebleness.

The February [old style] revolution of 1917 and later, especially the October [old style] revolution which cancelled the exploitation of the labor of the poor by the rich and threw off the power of capital in Russia, decapitated the union of robbers of the people of Khorezm and deprived them of the possibility to continue anew the oppression of their people with the assistance of Russian capital. After the overthrow of capital was cancelled also the oppression by the Khans and the Beys in Khorezm. The Russian proletariat, having liberated itself from the tsarist and capitalistic yoke, liberated thereby the other subjugated peoples of Tsarist Russia and secured for the laboring masses of other nations the possibility to decide their future without foreign pressure, and according to their own cultural and national conditions.

CHAPTER II.

3. In the same measure as Russian imperialism is odious to

the people of Khorezm, and as the union of robbers in Tsarist Russia and the Khiva of the Khans was oppressing the peoples of Khorezm, so the Russian proletariat which endured the horrible oppression from Russian tsarism and capitalism hates its own Russian capitalists and the arbitrariness of the Khans. The Russian proletariat has concluded a common fraternal labor union with the laboring people of Khorezm against the common enemy, the Russian capitalists, the Khans and Beys of Khorezm.

The fate of the people of Khorezm is closely connected with the fate of the laboring people of Russia and with the fate of peoples living in that part of the world which seeks liberation from every yoke and from the exploitation of man by man in behalf of the common struggle against the economic and national oppression and for the definitive extermination of national and religious antagonism, which are the principal instruments for enslavement of the toiling masses of the various nationalities.

The unification of the working masses of the whole world is our common irrevocable duty. Only through a close union with the laboring and oppressed peoples of the whole world, through a common fight in behalf of the liberation of humanity from all oppression, may the peoples of Khorezm enter into the bright future reign of socialism, together with other peoples who fight heroically for the complete liberation of humanity.

CHAPTER III.

4. In view of the liberation of the people of Khiva from the power of the Khans and the oppression of Russian imperialism, and taking into consideration the striving of the toiling masses of the former Khanat of Khiva to separate themselves from the disgraceful past, the former Khanat of Khiva shall have henceforth its ancient historical, popular name—Khorezm.

NOTE: The capital of Khorezm remains as before—Khiva.

5. The liberated people of the former Khanat of Khiva, after having taken the power over into their own hands, declare Khorezm henceforth the KhSNR and transfer all central and local authority to the soviets of the laboring masses.

SECOND SECTION

CHAPTER IV.—*Of the General Principles of the Constitution of the KhSNR*

6. [Corresponds to article 10 of the constitution of the RSFSR].

7. The all-Khorezm central executive committee, on its own initiative or at the demand of local soviets distinguished by special customs and national characteristics, grants to such districts the right to unite into one region and to form one regional soviet.

8. [Corresponds to article 12 of the constitution of the RSFSR].

9. The KhSNR, observing in the fullest sense of the word an unrestricted freedom of conscience, grants to every one the right freely to exercise and follow his religious rituals, under the condition not to infringe upon the same right of others.

10. The KhSNR hands over to the laboring masses all technical and material means at its disposal for printing pamphlets, books, and other press production, and guarantees their unobstructed circulation throughout the country.

To all citizens of the KhSNR is granted the freedom of press, with the absolute condition that this freedom shall not be used against the laboring masses of the KhSNR.

11. No citizen of the KhSNR shall be deprived of his freedom and punished without due process of law.

The freedom and inviolability of all foreign citizens is guaranteed by special laws issued by the government.

12. To all citizens of the KhSNR is granted the right of free choice of their domicile and free movement within the country, as well as within the fraternal soviet republics of the union.

13. All confiscated movable and immovable property of the Khans and their higher officials plundered amidst the peoples of the KhSNR is declared the property of the republic.

14. Henceforth, the requisition of private property for exclusive and acute needs of the state may take place for proper compensation only by an order of the all-Khorezm central executive committee.

In case of highly important crimes against the state and the laboring masses, the confiscation of movable and immovable private property, *i.e.*, an expropriation without reward, may take place by order of the people's revolutionary tribunals, approved by the all-Khorezm central executive committee.

15. All citizens living on the territory of the KhSNR enjoy the right freely to dispose their movable and immovable property.

Note 1: The formerly nationalized property is considered public property of national importance, *e.g.*, factories, works,

gold, silver, raw material, cotton, etc., and among the buildings: palaces and houses of the Khans and other high officials.

NOTE 2: The standards of land usage shall be determined by legislative order. The cotton not confiscated hitherto is unaffected by the proviso of this paragraph.

16. The KhSNR, for the purpose of revival and further development of the manufacture and trade in the republic, places no obstacles in the way of and does not limit by any means individual persons in their commercial, trade, or money transactions and engagements, or in organizing commercial and trade societies.

17. In order to secure for the laboring masses full liberty of association, the KhSNR lends to the laboring masses all of its material and moral assistance to help them to unite and to organize themselves. The KhSNR lends its assistance, also, to consumers' organizations of the laboring masses.

18. [Corresponds to article 15 of the constitution of the RSFSR].

19. In order to secure for the laboring masses effective access to education, the KhSNR undertakes to provide for the laboring masses a complete, universal, and free education.

All citizens without exception and irrespective of sex and nationality, may be admitted to all elementary, higher, or middle schools of the republic for instruction at the expense of the state.

The nazirat of education elaborates for all governmental schools fundamental pedagogical rules and programs, so as to correspond with the spirit of the soviet constitution.

NOTE: Schools in which the subjects of religious cult are taught and which are founded by the clergy are maintained by church service (*vakufnye*) collections and are left to the exclusive competence of the believers.

The KhSNR recognizes also the right of every nation in the country to open schools where the teaching may take place in the native language.

20. Recognizing the solidarity of the laboring masses of all nations, the KhSNR grants political rights of Khorezm citizens to all foreigners earning their living on the territory of the Khorezm republic by labor.

21. The KhSNR grants the right of asylum to all foreigners persecuted for political or religious offences in countries where there is no soviet power.

22. The KhSNR, recognizing equal rights for all citizens, irrespective of their tribe, race, or nationality, declares any

establishment or admission of whatsoever privileges or prerogatives on this ground, as well as whatsoever suppression or limitation of the equality of separate tribes or nations, to be contradictory with the fundamental laws of the republic. During centuries, the blood of the Iumuds, Uzbeks, Kara-Kalpaks, Kirgiz, and other nations has been shed in fights among themselves. In conformity with the present constitution of the KhSNR they are henceforth acknowledged to be half-brothers and equal citizens of Khorezm. This hostility must be effaced from memory, and the end of this historical mistake is hereby proclaimed.

23. The KhSNR, granting equal rights for all, at the same time imposes equal duties on all. According to the law of the republic, all citizens, irrespective of their official or social standing, from the highest to the most humble, shall bear equal punishment for transgression of the law or for any crime committed.

24. In order to protect the constitutionally granted rights of the citizens of the KhSNR from violation from any cause and to prevent the possibility of transgression of the constitution by negligent officials, the KhSNR extends to all citizens of the republic also the right of individual or collective accusation, in a manner prescribed by law, and the right of complaint in case of such violation with the appropriate governmental institutions against all officials, independently of their position, including those of highest ranks.

25. In order to safeguard in every possible way the conquests of the people's revolution and the freedom of Khorezm, the KhSNR declares the defense of the soviet to be the duty of all citizens of the republic, and establishes hereby compulsory service for all male citizens capable of bearing arms, and who have attained the proper age.

Third Section

constitution of the people's soviet authority in khorezm

A. *Organization of the Central Authority*

Chapter *V.—Of the All-Khorezm Kurultai of Soviets of the Working Masses of Khorezm*

26. The all-Khorezm kurultai of soviets is the supreme organ of authority of the KhSNR and, without exception, all organs of the republic are responsible to it.

27. The all-Khorezm kurultai of soviets is composed of rep-

resentatives of county kurultais of soviets, on the basis of one deputy for each 4,000 electors and one deputy for each 100 soldiers of the red army.

In the all-Khorezm kurultai, the total number of representatives with deciding vote shall not exceed 280. With the adjournment of the kurultai, the mandates of the representatives shall terminate.

28. For examination and settlement of all important questions concerning the entire republic, and for elaboration of a general program of activities of the organs of authority, [until the convocation of the next congress], the all-Khorezm kurultai is convoked at least once a year.

NOTE 1. In case there are no important and urgent central or local problems to settle, the ordinary convocation of the kurultai may be postponed, by the vote of two-thirds of the all-khorezm central executive committee, for a period not exceeding one year.

NOTE 2. In case of extraordinary circumstances, the all-Khorezm central executive committee, on its own initiative or at the demand of soviets of those localities which number not less than one-third of the whole population of the republic, may convoke the extraordinary all-Khorezm kurultai before the expiry of one year.

29. The all-Khorezm kurultai elects the all-Khorezm central executive committee composed of not more than sixty persons.

30. The all-Khorezm central executive committee is responsible to the all-Khorezm kurultai of soviets.

31. In the periods between the kurultais, the all-Khorezm central executive committee is the supreme authority in the republic.

CHAPTER VI.—*Of the All-Khorezm Central Executive Committee*

32-33. [Correspond to articles 31-32 of the constitution of the RSFSR].

34. The all-Khorezm central executive committee examines and approves all drafts of decrees and other projects submitted by the soviet of people's nazirs (sovnarnaz) or by individual departments, issues its own decrees and regulations, and, in case of necessity opens action against the enemies of the people and establishes extraordinary organs.

35. [Corresponds to article 34 of the constitution of the RSFSR].

36. The permanently functioning organ of the all-Khorezm

central executive committee is its presidium, which consists of seven members. The president of the presidium is at the head of the entire republic and is considered as its president.

37. The sessions including all members of the all-Khorezm central executive committee are convoked once in every four months; on the initiative of the presidium of the all-Khorezm central executive committee, or upon the demand of the majority of the members thereof; in urgent cases they may be convoked before the expiration of four months.

38. The members of the all-Khorezm central executive committee not included in the presidium thereof (seven members), are engaged in the nazirats, the sovnarnaz, in the provinces, and undertake special work for the all-Khorezm central executive committee.

39. The all-Khorezm central executive committee appoints the sovnarnaz for the general direction of the affairs of the KhSNR, and in addition, nazirats for the directions of various departments of administration. Attached to the all-Khorezm central executive committee are the Turkmen section and the Kirgiz bureau which act in conformity with a special statute, and which are directly subordinate to the all-Khorezm central executive committee.

CHAPTER VII.—*Of the Soviet of People's Nazirs (Sovnarnaz)*

40. The sovnarnaz is the supreme executive organ of the entire Khorezm Republic; with it rests the general direction of affairs of the republic. It is directly subordinate in all matters to the all-Khorezm central executive committee.

41-44. [Correspond to articles 38-42 of the constitution of the RSFSR].

45. There are formed nine nazirats, *i.e.*:

(1) People's nazirat for foreign affairs,

(2) People's nazirat for military affairs,

(3) People's nazirat for interior, with divisions of health, and posts and telegraphs.

(4) People's nazirat for justice (with the state political administration),

(5) People's nazirat for education,

(6) People's nazirat for finance,

(7) People's nazirat for agriculture with the division of food,

(8) People's nazirat for trade and industry with the division of labor and social welfare,

(9) People's nazirat for state control.

46. A deputy shall be attached to each people's nazir as an assistant to the nazir for the purpose of substituting for the latter in case of his absence. The deputy nazir shall be subject to the approval of the sovnarnaz.

47. The plenipotentiary members of the sovnarnaz include only the president of the sovnarnaz and the nazirs.

48. The sovnarnaz is responsible in all matters to the all-Khorezm kurultai and the all-Khorezm central executive committee.

49. People's Nazirs and their deputies are responsible in all matters to the Soviet of People's Nazirs and the all-Khorezm central-executive committee.

50. [Same as article 48 of the constitution of the RSFSR].

CHAPTER VIII.—*Of the Competence of the All-Khorezm Kurultai of Soviets and the All-Khorezm Central Executive Committee*

51-54. [Corresponds to Chapter IX of the constitution of the RSFSR].

CHAPTER IX.—*Of the Organization of Local Soviet Authority*

55. In the kishlaks the executive power is vested in the aksakal. The aksakal is elected by the general assembly of voters of the kishlak for a period of six months. The elected aksakal is confirmed in his title by the district executive committee (*shuro*). The aksakals report on their work in every respect to the general assembly of voters of their kishlak, convoked not less than once a month. In urgent cases, on the initiative of the aksakal or at the demand of the voters, the general assembly may be convoked, before the expiration of one month. At the demand of one-third of the voters of the kishlak, the district executive committee (*shuro*) organize the election of a new aksakal before the expiration of six months.

56. To the examination of the general assembly of voters of a kishlak the following questions are subject:

a. All measures for the cultural and economic development of the territory of their kishlak.

b. Realization and execution of all orders of the corresponding superior organs of the authority.

c. Settlement of all strictly local matters, such as land problems, irrigation, etc.

d. Collection of governmental taxes, execution of labor and duties for upkeep of state roads, and of various other tasks of the government.

e. Direction of the entire economy and general affairs of the kishlak.

CHAPTER X.—*County Authority*

57. The supreme authority in the county (*bel'de*) belongs to the county kurultai of the representatives of the working masses. At the general assemblies of the kishlaks forming parts of the counties (*bel'de*), one representative is elected to the county kurultai for every 100 voters.

NOTE 1: Kishlaks where the number of voters is less than 190 unite for the election of a representative.

NOTE 2: The elections of representatives may take place also in conformity with unions of voters formed around a mosque.

The number of representatives to the county kurultai shall not exceed 150. The mandates of the representatives of the district kurultai shall terminate with the end of the district kurultai's work.

58. The district kurultai elects from among its members the executive committee on the following basis: in counties where the body of voters exceeds 100 persons—15 members; where there are 50 persons—10; 25 persons—5. In the first two cases, three members are elected from the body of the executive committee, and in the latter case, two members, and a permanent working organ, the presidium of the executive committee (shuro). The county executive committee is responsible to the district kurultai which elected it. In the periods between two ordinary district kurultais, the executive committee in its district is the supreme local state power.

Plenary sessions of the district executive committees take place every two months. On the initiative of the presidium of the executive committee (*shuro*) or at the demand of half of the members of the executive committee, the plenary session may be convoked before the expiration of two months.

59. The number of local district soviets in the whole republic is determined in the following twenty-eight places:

[Here follows an enumeration of the places.]

60. The all-Khorezm central executive committee, either on its own initiative, or at the demand of local soviets which are distinguished by their special usages and individualistic national characteristics, grants them the right to unite into one region and to form one regional soviet.

61. The district soviets are elected every six months. By order of the all-Khorezm central executive committee, or at the

demand of one-third of the voters of the given district, reëlections may take place before the expiration of this period.

62. Within the competence and ordinances of the district kurultai of soviets fall.

a. Execution of all orders and ordinances of the superior organs of the state authority.

b. All measures for the cultural and economic development of the territories forming part of the district.

c. Settlement of all questions of purely local importance.

d. Unification, according to a common plan, of the whole activity of the local organs subordinate to the corresponding district authority.

e. Supervision and control over the soviet people's authority subordinate to the given district authorities.

Fourth Section

Chapter XI.—*Of Electoral Rights*

63. The right to vote and to be elected in the soviets as representatives of the laboring people belongs to all citizens of the KhSNR irrespective of sex, religion, nationality, domicile, etc., provided that on the day of the election they have reached the age of eighteen.

64. The following persons have no right to vote or to be elected: (*a*) persons known as counter-revolutionists, opposing the freedom and rights of the people, and who are recognized by the authorities of the Khorezm Soviet Republic to be unreliable; (*b*) the Khans who reigned during the old régime, their relatives, as well as all important officials of the former governments of the Khans and Tsars; (*c*) wealthy persons and important landowners; (*d*) those of the priests of religious cults who are known to be adversaries of the people's soviet authority; (*e*) those who are permanently or temporarily deprived of political rights by judiciary sentence; (*f*) persons duly recognized as mentally deranged or imbecile; (*g*) persons known to be adversaries of the present constitution and partisans of whatsoever national oppression.

Note: The former officials of the Khan, who by deed have proved their sincere desire to work for the welfare of the laboring masses and the soviet people's authority, may have their electoral rights restored to them.

Note: The degree of important landownership and wealth depriving them of electoral rights shall be determined by the all-Khorezm central executive committee.

CHAPTER XII.—*Of the Electoral Procedure*

65. For holding elections to the all-Khorezm kurultai, the all-Khorezm central executive committee establishes a special central electoral commission which elaborates the detailed order of the election procedure throughout the country and orders its representatives for the organization of local electoral commissions attached to the executive committees (*shuro*), and for the direction of their work.

66. A protocol shall be drawn up on the procedure and results of the electoral assembly, and shall be signed by the president of the assembly and plenipotentiary of the local and electoral commission.

CHAPTER XIII.—*Of the Verification and Annulment of Elections*

67. At the elections to the all-Khorezm kurultai all documents on the election procedure in the provinces are submitted to the corresponding district kurultai. At the elections of the provincial authorities, they are submitted to the district executive committee (*shuro*).

68. For the verification of elections, the district kurultai or the executive committee (*shuro*) appoints a credentials commission and at the same time stops the activity of the local electoral commission.

69. The credentials commission, after a detailed verification of the results of the elections, gives its conclusion on the elections to the district kurultai or the shuro. The district kurultai or the *shuro* settle, together with the credentials commission, all contested questions connected with the confirmation of separate representatives or the whole group of representatives of the localities forming part of the district.

70. The all-Khorezm central executive committee or the central electoral commission are the final instances with whom the complaint against irregularities of the electoral campaign may be lodged.

71. In case of non-confirmation of any candidate, the district kurultai or the *shuro* call new elections.

72. The members of the all-Khorezm central executive committee may be deprived of their mandates before the expiration of the term only by the order of two-thirds of the members of the all-Khorezm central executive committee whereby such members, deprived of their rights, shall have the right of com-

plaint against this decision with the appropriate all-Khorezm kurultai.

73. All documents on the electoral procedure in the district (*shuro*) as well as of delegates to the all-Khorezm kurultai, are submitted to the all-Khorezm central executive committee and to the central electoral commission. In case of discovery of irregularity in the course of elections, new elections shall be called.

74. For the verification of the elections the all-Khorezm central executive committee appoints a central credentials commission. Upon the formation of this commission the activity of the central electoral commission stops.

75. The credentials commission, after a detailed verification of the results of the elections, reports its conclusion to the all-Khorezm kurultai. The kurultai settles all contested questions connected with the confirmation of individual representatives, or of the whole group of representatives of any district of Khorezm. In case of irregularity of the elections in any district, the question of nullification is determined by the order of the all-Khorezm kurultai.

76. In case of irregularity of elections of the aksakals of a kishlak, the nullification of the elections and the appointment of new ones is decided by the district executive committee (*shuro*), whereas the appointment of the district executive committee is decided by the all-Khorezm central executive committee.

77. An aksakal may be deprived of his mandate before the expiration of the term, by the decision of the general assembly of two-thirds of the voters of the kishlak, or by the order of the district executive committee (*shuro*). The district executive committee (*shuro*) may be deprived of its mandate before the expiration of the term by the order of the district kurultai or by the order of the all-Khorezm central executive committee.

Fifth Section

Chapter XIV.—*The Budget Law*

78. The economic policy of the Khans manifested itself in the plundering of the poor population of Khorezm and in leading Khorezm to complete economic ruin. The soviet people's authority of Khorezm is striving for the development of the welfare of the laboring masses of Khorezm and of the economic prosperity of the country. For these purposes, the people's

soviet authority leaves at the disposal of the organs of authority all necessary means for covering all local and general state necessities. These means must be obtained by way of taxation, duties, and collections, the burden of which must be imposed wholly on the possessing classes. For the maintenance of the red army, for education and maintenance of the students, for obtaining necessary produce for the laboring masses, the people's soviet authority establishes taxation of the citizens with easy money duties, and the dekkans—with the taxation in the form of an insignificant part of their crop, as the easiest means of paying their natural dues. No taxes shall be imposed on the population of Khorezm which would not correspond to the requirements exactly and rigidly determined by the state.

79. The state revenues and expenditure of the KhSNR are determined in the general state budget, whereby the people's soviet republic is striving that the expenditure shall not exceed the income, and is willing to reduce as much as possible the issue of bank notes.

80. The all-Khorezm kurultai and the all-Khorezm central executive committee shall determine the kind of revenues and incomes which enter into the general state budget, and those left at the disposal of the local district executive committees (*shuro*), and determine likewise the forms of taxation.

81. No expenditure may be made of money from the funds of the state treasury without an authorized credit in respect thereof in the state budgets, or without a special order of the all-Khorezm central executive committee.

82. The local executive committees draw up annual and semi-annual budgets of income and expenditure for the local requirements. The budgets of the aksakals in the kishlaks shall be approved by the district kurultai or the district executive committee (*shuro*). The budgets of the district executive committees (*shuro*) shall be approved by the all-Khorezm central executive committee and the sovnarnaz.

83. The sums appropriated for the local requirements, in accordance with the approved budgets, can not be used for covering any other requirements not indicated in the budgets without a special order of the all-Khorezm central executive committee and the sovnarnaz.

84. For expenditures not provided for in the budgets, as well as in case the approved appropriations shall be insufficient, the district (*shuro*) executive committees or other institutions

may ask for additional appropriations from the corresponding nazirats.

85. Should local resources prove insufficient for local needs, subsidies or loans from the state treasury to the local soviets to cover urgent expenditure may be authorized by the all-Khorezm central executive committee and the sovnarnaz.

Sixth Section

Chapter XV.—*Of the Emblem and Flag of the KhSNR*

86. The emblem of the KhSNR is as follows: a *dzhugara* on which is placed crosswise a sickle and a shovel, above the *dzhugara*—the half-moon with a five-pointed star.

87. The flag of the KhSNR is as follows: a red cloth a part of which, in the upper left corner, near the staff, is of green color. On the green background is placed the above-mentioned sign KhSNR.

CHAPTER VII

CONGRESSES OF SOVIETS

Public assemblies, legal or illegal, are not an innovation of recent years in Russian political life. Since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the communal organizations among the peasants and in the villages and counties had held frequent congresses. Different in nature were the congresses of revolutionary conspirators who founded the terrorist party in 1879, the various congresses and conferences of the Russian social democratic labor party held from 1898 to 1917, and the congresses of the Russian social revolutionary party held in 1905, 1906, 1908, and 1917. It was a fraction of the Russian socialist democratic labor party which formed the Russian communist party (of bolsheviks) in 1918.

Perhaps the most important of all the Russian popular assemblies was the state duma, which met for the first time in 1905. It gave real hope for a representative government in the future. Shackled though it was by governmental restrictions, it furnished, nevertheless, a forum for political education and expression. Among the popular assemblies may also be mentioned the union of zemstvos and the union of cities, organizations which came into prominence soon after the world war had begun. These bodies served to demonstrate both the interest of the Russian people in their country and their ability to act in a parliamentary fashion. Finally, mention may be made of the various congresses held during the war period by members of the coöperative movement and labor unions. Through such bodies an important group was receiving

political training. The work of these institutions was not limited to the time actual congresses were in session, for each body maintained a small and permanent inner group on presidium which concerned itself with the execution of the resolutions that had been adopted.

Though the democratic assemblies, such as those of the unions of zemstvos and cities, gave promise of political change in Russia by an evolutionary process, the more persistent radical and illegal groups aimed to supplant the existing order by revolution. The extent and influence of the revolutionary parties, though underestimated in Russia in 1917, had been demonstrated in the uprisings that occurred throughout Russia in 1905 following the Russo-Japanese war. The similarity of these sporadic outbreaks, initiated by a general strike of the workers in the large industrial and commercial establishments, railway workers, students, and others, showed the existence of a common directing force. That power was no other than the *soviet* of workers' deputies of St. Petersburg. Formed on October 12, 1905, at a meeting of workers, this soviet was directed by elements which, obviously enough, had been little seen on the surface in Russia.

The soviet of 1905 was the exact predecessor of the soviet of 1917.[1] It had its centralized direction, a central committee; for three months it published in St. Petersburg its paper, the *News of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies;* it sent its agents throughout Russia spreading the doctrine of revolt and the open establishment of a government by soviets modelled after the central organization. One of its foremost leaders, Trotskii, then known as Bronstein, was one of the principal revolutionary leaders in 1917. Although the real leaders were compelled to spend much of their time in exile,

[1] "For Russia the soviet of 1905 has as its basic significance that it gave the first idea of a soviet." M. Irenior, *Pervyi sovet rabochikh deputatov, Kratkii ocherk* (Moscow 1927), from the preface. Other works relating to this soviet and the 1905 revolution, "the first Russian revolution", are cited in the bibliography.

still there was maintained under cover even after the reaction of 1906 a nucleus to promote subversive principles.

The working machinery of a revolutionary government awaited only a favorable moment to function. Its essential parts could even be got together in the open, beginning in March 1917, since the provisional government, for reasons that, to say the least, remain obscure, not only permitted the executive committees to function, but went further by permitting large congresses of soviets to assemble.

In March 1917 an all-Russian *conference* of soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies met in Petrograd.[2] The conference was convoked by the executive committee of the Petrograd soviet in order to organize the general direction of the revolutionary activities, particularly propaganda in the army, press, and among the workers. Invitations were sent to the soviets of forty-nine of the leading cities to send two representatives each to the conference. Moscow, however, was to have ten delegates. The total number of representatives was limited to 160, but was increased to over 400 when several soviets, particularly in the army, sent their delegates without any invitation. The army, in fact, dominated the session; it demanded a 'congress', not a mere 'conference'. Finally, it was agreed that the conference should elect an all-Russian body which in turn would call a congress.

The questions that came before the conference were: (1) continuation of the war; (2) the attitude toward the provisional government; (3) the organization of the revolutionary forces; (4) preparation for the constituent assembly; (5) land questions, (6) and other current matters.

Chkheidze, a Georgian, opened the session in the name of the executive committee of the Petrograd soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies. He was elected president of the conference, and thirteen members were elected

[2] E. Ignatov, *Vserossiiskie s'ezdy sovetov rabochikh i soldatskikh deputatov v 1917*, g.

as a presidium. Tsereteli, also a Georgian, spoke of the policy of peace without annexation or indemnities, but declared that world peace only would secure the safety of the revolution. The conference, by a vote of 325 to 57 (all bolsheviks), decided against immediate capitulation to the German armies.

As regards the question of relations with the provisional government, the choice was open between two extremes, the provisional government and the Petrograd soviet, which stood at opposite poles. The central committee of the Russian social democratic labor party was at this time itself divided as to whether or not to support the provisional government. The conference decided to approve only revolutionary measures of the provisional government without accepting its general policy. An appeal for greater power to the soviets was launched at the same time.

In other matters, the conference concerned itself with the question of food supply, the peasants and the land, and labor questions such as the eight-hour day, minimum wage, freedom of societies, trade unions, compulsory arbitration, control and organization of industry, social insurance, and unemployment. All these problems were discussed; the time had not come, however, to take any political action.

From this background, the natural love of the Slav for holding meetings where long discussions can be carried on, and the support of leaders trained in such assemblies, the first all-Russian congress of soviets of June 1917 was a natural development.

The congress had no place in the political organization of the provisional government. It was regarded with no friendly eye either by the recognized public authority or by the later rulers, the communists, who were bent on overthrowing the existing régime. Out of the 1090 delegates present, the greater part were mensheviks or social revolutionaries, composed largely of the professional and educated classes. There were only 105 bolsheviks.

The principal question before the congress was whether the war should be continued. More specifically, the problem to be resolved was whether the soldiers, who had acquired the habit of fleeing from the ranks and shooting their officers in the back, should be ordered to advance against the German troops. The decision of the congress composed principally of national Slavic elements, was naturally in favor of a continuation of the struggle, that is, of the defence of Russia against foreign invaders. With this end in view, the congress supported the provisional government. It stood directly opposed, by a large majority, to the bolshevik representatives who proposed a resolution in favor of an immediate break with the allied powers and the conclusion of peace. Likewise the congress rejected a bolshevik resolution, proposed by Lunacharskii, that all power should pass to the toiling masses and be exercised by the executive committee of the all-Russian congress of soviets of workers', soldiers', and peasants' deputies,[3] under the control of a provisional revolutionary parliament consisting of 300 deputies elected by the congress on a basis of proportional representation. This parliament would elect its executive committee which would have complete executive authority.

At the time of the first congress of soviets the old duma and state soviet still existed. The provisional government, though it regarded these hangovers of the tsarist régime as a useless adornment, had done nothing to get rid of them. That government habitually did nothing but seemingly delay matters until the communists were ready to take over the power. One of the essential transition steps, particularly as viewed by the bolsheviks, was the abolition of organs precisely such as the duma. So, at this congress of soviets, Lunacharskii, later one of the prominent soviet

[3] A general account of the congress is given by E. Ignatov in the work cited. See also by the same author the article entitled: "1 Vserossiiskii s'ezd sovetov rabochikh i soldatskikh deputatov" in *Proletarskaia Revolutsiia,* No. 6 (65) (Moscow 1927), 72-126.

leaders, proposed this self-explanatory resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 491 to 216:

"The congress of soviets, recognizing the necessity of admitting that the revolution by the very fact of having destroyed the foundations of the old régime: (*a*) has put an end to the state duma and state soviet as legislative organs of the state authority; (*b*) has likewise deprived the members thereof of their titles granted by the old order,—considers (1) that in the future the provisional government should stop appropriations for the upkeep and functioning of the state duma and state soviet as legislative organs; and (2) that therefore the actions of the former members of the state duma and state soviet shall be regarded as those of free citizens of free Russia who have no delegated rights." [4]

The bolsheviks had helped gradually to destroy the organs of power of the old régime; now they began to strengthen their own organs, though, at this time, with the aid of other parties. At the first congress of soviets, indeed, the question came up of organizing the central organs of the soviets. The resolution which was adopted at the congress provided for a system that was later the basis of the soviet central administration. In brief, the congress was to become a recognized body meeting every three months. In the interim between sessions an all-Russian central executive committee was to be the supreme authority. The 'socialist ministers' who carried out the routine work of administration, were made responsible to this executive committee.

When the second all-Russian congress of soviets met in Petrograd in November 1917, conditions had greatly changed. Russia had passed through stirring times. At the beginning of July the bolshevik organization, following an open armed attempt by the extremists to seize the power, had been dissolved and treated as an alien system that had no place in Russian national life. Lenin, who, together

[4] Ignatov, *Vserossiiskie s'ezdy sovetov,* as cited, 90.

with Trotskii, regarded the July uprising as ill-timed, had to go to Finland, though he could still direct propaganda from there. Trotskii was obligingly permitted to remain in Petrograd with so little constraint, in fact, that he announced publicly that his doctrines were no different from those of Lenin. Revolutionary movements were still in progress. General Kornilov was appointed supreme commander-in-chief of the army in an attempt to reëstablish a semblance of order. After a break with Kerenskii, who had turned for support to the extreme elements, General Kornilov, on September 10, 1917, announced that "the provisional government, under the pressure of the bolshevik majority in the soviet, is acting in complete harmony with the German general staff, and, simultaneously with the expected landing of the enemy troops near Riga, is destroying the army and shaking the country." [5] When within eighteen miles of Petrograd General Kornilov turned back in the face of the bolshevik defenders of the city working under the orders of Kerenskii, who shortly before that had himself ordered Kornilov to help him. The fate of the provisional government was sealed. It had betrayed Kornilov; the forces it had used for the betrayal were now to turn against it, equipped with the very arms so generously distributed to defeat the one Russian who might have stamped out bolshevism at the start. When the second all-Russian congress met the day following the seizure of power in Petrograd by the military-revolutionary committee of the Petrograd soviet, not only was there no provisional government, but in the congress out of the 675 delegates there were 348 bolsheviks who made up over half of the membership. The percentage was destined thereafter never to diminish.

The mensheviks and socialist revolutionists refused to participate in a congress where they were outnumbered; it con-

[5] See Golder, as cited, 522-526, for text. The matter of the relations between Kornilov and Kerenskii has been discussed already.

tinued without them amidst revolutionary disorder. But the bolsheviks could now adopt the resolution they had proposed four months before. It was decided that "all power shall be vested in the local soviets of workers', soldiers', and peasants' deputies which must establish a true revolutionary order". Pending the convocation of a constituent assembly, planned from the time of the overthrow of the Tsar nine months before, the country was to be governed provisionally by a soviet of people's commissars. Control over the people's commissars and the right to recall them was vested in the congress of soviets and a central executive committee. It was this congress, active in other fields, that decreed the nationalization of land. It proposed an immediate opening of peace negotiations, for under no conditions were the new leaders, internationalists at heart, willing to continue the war, even had Russia been able to do so. The immediate result was the signature of an armistice agreement with Germany on December 15, 1917, and the opening of negotiations for a peace treaty.

Within Russia, near the end of December, the spectre of the long-delayed constituent assembly began to haunt the new leaders. This was to be a representative body elected by the whole population; a few months previously the bolshevik leaders themselves had agreed that the assembly should decide what form of government Russia should have. The enjoyment of power during those months, however, radically changed the point of view of the new rulers. When the assembly, a newly-elected body representing all of Russia, met on January 18, 1918, it proved to contain a majority of anti-bolsheviks. The soviet leaders in Petrograd immediately decided that there was no need for a new form of authority, and that the system of administration in existence for the past two months should become permanent.

Holding this point of view and controlling sufficient armed force to enforce it, the bolsheviks dissolved the assem-

bly so long yearned for, on which the hopes for future order and stability under a representative government had been based. Thus occurred, to use the words of Lenin as recorded by Trotskii "the complete and public liquidation of formal democracy in the name of the revolutionary dictatorship".[6] In the place of a body elected in a regular manner, they set up a creation of their own to replace the constituent assembly. That organ was the third all-Russian congress of soviets,[7] which met in Petrograd in January 1918. The two congresses that had preceded were but a transition to this predominantly bolshevik body.

Over one thousand delegates were present at the third congress. Ninety per cent. of these were bolsheviks and left socialist revolutionaries. It would appear difficult to assert, as the bolsheviks did, that the regularly elected constituent assembly did not represent the people and, on the other hand, to speak of the third all-Russian congress of soviets which superseded that assembly by force as representative of Russia. By no process of classification of elusive terms could it be asserted that the third congress represented the 'laboring people'. But whatever it symbolized, it was this congress and its successors which were to give the only form of mass representation in the higher organs of constitutional authority in Russia.

The work of the congress in adopting the declaration of the rights of the laboring and exploited people which had been rejected by the constituent assembly has been treated already. The same is true of the approval of a scheme of state authority, the basis of the constitution adopted a few months later. This organization of a state structure, the giving of an appearance of legality to the *de facto* government, was the principal work of the congress.

Though the internal political authority of the soviets was

[6] Leon Trotzky, *Lenin*, 123.

[7] *Tretii Vserossiiskii s'ezd sovetov rabochikh, soldatskikh i krest'ianskikh deputatov*, being the stenographic report of the meeting.

firmly established in the two principal cities of Russia, and though the period of civil war was not yet at hand, still in the first months of 1918 soviet power was by no means secure. The principal enemy for the moment was the German army. The central powers had been quite willing to sign an armistice with Russia on December 15, 1917. They were, however, unwilling to delay the conclusion of a dictated peace. Their offer for a termination of war, involving the annexation of much Russian territory, was at first rejected by the bolsheviks. At the same time, the latter refused to wage war further and demobilized the army. The result was the German occupation of Finland, most of the Baltic provinces, the Ukraine, the Caucasus, and the region of the Don. Not until the German troops were almost within sight of Petrograd did the bolsheviks consent to the peace treaty signed at Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918. Any conditions were preferable from their point of view to the entry of the Germans into the citadel of soviet power. The occupation of Petrograd by the Germans would probably have meant the uprooting of bolshevism, for Germany was already disquieted concerning the influence of the forces her general staff had used to secure the disruption of Russia.

The fourth extraordinary congress of soviets of workers', soldiers', peasants', and Kazaks' deputies assembled at Moscow in March 1918.[8] Its principal object was to ratify the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. There were 1232 delegates stated to be present; of this number 795, or 64 per cent. of the total, were bolsheviks. The peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany was ratified by a vote of only 704 to 285, with 115 delegates not voting. Russia, disorganized politically and economically, was in no condition to continue the war.

The treaty of peace with Germany failed to ameliorate

[8] *Stenograficheskii otchet 4-go chrezvychainogo s'ezda sovetov raboch., soldatsk., krest'iansk, i Kazach'ikh deputatov.*

conditions in Russia. The following four months saw all of Finland under German control, as well as Estonia, Livonia, and the whole Russian borderland. The vast territory of the Ukraine south of a line from Gomel to Kursk was then independent and hostile to Moscow. The Caucasus was partially occupied by the Turks; the east was menaced by a Czechoslovak legion, then on its odyssey across Siberia. The Japanese were in possession of Vladivostok; an allied army was at Archangel and Onega. Only the heart of Muscovy proper and Petrograd were forced to recognize the power of the soviets. Simultaneously with this political disintegration, famine and revolts were taking their daily toll of lives.

Under these conditions the important fifth all-Russian congress of soviets assembled at Moscow in July 1918. Of the 1164 deputies present at the congress, 773 or 66 per cent. were bolsheviks and most of the remainder left socialist revolutionaries. The two groups now entered on their final conflict. The socialist revolutionaries tried to pass a resolution refusing confidence in the soviet of people's commissars and rejecting the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. They were outvoted. Their next move was to organize a revolt; they caused the German ambassador, Count Mirbach, to be murdered in order to bring about a new conflict with Germany; the congress had to be suspended for two days. The revolt was unsuccessful. The bolshevik members of the congress, when it reassembled, demanded severe punishment for those who had attacked soviet authority.

Once the immediate danger from the left socialist revolutionaries was removed, the bolshevik deputies proceeded with the regular business of the congress. Three principal topics were discussed: bread, the red army, and a constitution.

The problem of food supplies had become acute. The grain that did exist was hoarded. The congress could do little except to discuss the question and to create "commit-

tees of the poorest peasants" to satisfy their wants by seizing food from those who had full granaries. This expedient in a period of general confiscation may have won the support of certain elements of the peasantry. The final result, however, was inevitably the furthering of the conditions that led to the terrible famine years of 1920-1922.

It was as difficult to organize the armed forces on the front as it was to secure food in the rear. In 1917 the bolsheviks had advocated the disobedience of all authority, the murder of the officers by the soldiers in the army, and a return home while there was something left to pillage. When they were in power, however, they set out to organize a disciplined army. Military service was made compulsory. The services of officers of the old régime were eagerly solicited. By propaganda and a system of espionage by a political officer, or commissar, always a communist, over the technical military officer who was a man who knew his profession and was, therefore, not a communist, the obedience of the army to the revolutionary cause was to be established.[9] The fifth congress of soviets in July 1918 approved the general lines of this plan of organization, the details of which were later to be perfected.

In the constitutional field the fifth congress gave the finishing touch to the work of the third congress of soviets. It formally approved the draft of a constitution as it stood after passing through the hands of the drafting commission and the central executive committee. In accordance with this document, the congress of soviets, as already explained, was the 'supreme authority' in the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. It was to be convoked twice a year by the all-Russian central executive committee, a body which it elected and which was declared responsible to it.

[9] "Four sailors and a soldier were sent to Muraviev [the commanding officer] with instructions to be on guard and not to take their hands from their revolvers. That was the origin of the system of commissars. To a certain extent this experience was also the basis of the formation of the supreme war soviet." Leon Trotzky, *Lenin*, 140.

The congress was given as its special and exclusive prerogative, the right to amend the constitution and to ratify peace treaties. How extensive or how limited were its powers is to be judged from the accounts given of later congresses of soviets.

The sixth extraordinary all-Russian congress of soviets of workers', peasants', Kazaks', and red army deputies met in November 1918, four months after the preceding congress. The intervening period had still been critical. The greater part of the Volga region, almost the heart of Russia, for the time had been lost to opposing anti-bolshevik armies. The armed struggle there, as well as in the Ural region, in the Ukraine, the Don, and elsewhere, served to increase the economic demoralization of the country.

Of the 914 voting deputies at the sixth extraordinary congress, which met from November 6 to 9, 1918, 89 or 91 per cent. were bolsheviks. The procedure at this congress was followed in general by later congresses. The general work of the congress may be stated in summary form.

1. Report on the international situation presented by Lenin as president of the soviet of people's commissars. This report, like later ones, passed over with airy unconcern the actual work for which the constitution makes this body responsible to the congress of soviets. In compensation, an optimistic view of the cosmic situation was given in abstract terms. Bolshevism, according to Lenin, would soon triumph the world over.

2. Structure of central soviet authority, "committees of the poorest", and local soviets. The resolution adopted apparently intended to state that the central authority should be respected and that the village soviets should function along the same lines as those in the centre, this as a means to secure uniformity. The poorest elements, "the organs of communist construction in the villages," [10] were

[10] *Shestoi Vserossiiskii chrezvychainyi s'ezd sovetov rab., kr., Kaz. i krasnoarm. deput. Stenograficheskii otchet. 6-9 noiabria 1918* g, 19.

to be given special attention. In them soviet authority was to place its faith.

3. Application of the constitution. The precepts of the constitution should be mandatory for all citizens of the republic. Exceptions might arise in cases brought about by the conditions of civil war in the struggle against counter-revolution.

4. Elections to the all-Russian central executive committee. The members of this committee were thereafter to be chosen in the proportion of one member for every five deputies in the congress of soviets.

Over one year passed before another congress of soviets was held. This violation of the constitution resulted in part from abnormal circumstances produced by civil strife; in addition, it was the desire of the leaders of Russia to carry on their work without interference. The best statement of the situation existing at the time is to be found in a resolution submitted by Martov, representative of the workers' social democratic party, to the seventh congress of soviets in December 1919. An excerpt follows:

"Since the sixth congress of soviets more than one year has passed. In the meantime, according to the exact interpretation of the soviet constitution, the congress should have been convoked at least once every six months.

"If this violation of the soviet constitution were unique, it could be overlooked. As a matter of fact, the administration of the country during a year without the supreme organ of the soviet hierarchy merely crowned a whole series of violations which gradually nullify everything which is vital and valuable in the soviet organization from the point of view of the interests of the proletariat.

"The congress has not been convoked, but the same was true of the central executive committee (Trotskii: 'It was on the front.'), which, according to the constitution, is the supreme organ of the administration in the intervals between the congress of soviets. Hardly a decree issued dur-

ing the last year has been discussed or approved by the central executive committee. In all the leading matters of internal and external policy only the presidium always acted in behalf of the central executive committee. The only exception was when decrees emanated directly from the soviet of people's commissars or the extraordinary organs of authority not provided for by the constitution and created without the approval of the central executive committee.

"As a result of this condition, the soviet of people's commissars ceased to be a subordinate institution subject to regular control, which, however, it should be under the soviet constitution. The replacement of people's commissars and the appointment of new ones is already taking place without the central executive committee."

In December 1919 Martov dared to mention what the communist leaders knew to be the truth, and which remains true to the present, but the fiction of congresses of soviets and sessions of the central executive committee was retained. There was nothing to lose by their retention, for the discussions were harmless. The foregoing speech of criticism by Martov was destined to be reëchoed in a resolution proposed by the socialist revolutionaries at the eighth congress of soviets in 1920. Thereafter, however, persons who were not communists or communist sympathizers were simply not permitted to speak.

The seventh all-Russian congress of soviets of workers', peasants', and red army deputies which met in Moscow from December 5 to 9, 1919, assembled under happier auspices than the preceding congresses. A few months before it had seemed that bolshevism must be crushed. When the congress met, however, the red army had won a series of victories over its enemies. Kolchak had been driven east of the Urals; the troops of the allied powers had left the north; Petlura had replaced Skoropodskii and Denikin in the Ukraine; Iudenich had been driven back from the gates of Petrograd to Estonia. Not only was there little further

danger for the moment from any of these forces but also the soviets had at this time their highest hopes for a world revolution.

The seventh congress, in fact, may be considered a congress to foster revolutionary movements in other countries. Of the 2430 members present, of whom 1066 were 'voting deputies', there was hardly one who was not a member of the Russian communist party (of bolsheviks). These deputies enthusiastically welcomed the creation in Moscow of a new organization which had just held its meeting, the third or communist international. The speakers could gain no greater applause than by shouting at the end of their speeches:

"Long live the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic!"

"Long live communism!"

"Long live the third international!'"

"Long live world revolution!"

Or, at times, the formula was changed to:

"Long live the congresses of soviets of Europe, America, Australia, and Africa!"

"Long live the congresses of soviets of the whole world!"

"Long live the third international!" (Applause)[11]

Animated by the spirit of these declarations, the seventh all-Russian congress of soviets, the "supreme authority of the RSFSR," according to the July constitution, adopted this declaration on the proposal of Zinov'ev:

"Having assembled for the first time since the organization of the communist international, the seventh all-Russian congress of workers', peasants', red army', and toiling Kazak deputies declares:

" 'The congress regards the formation of the third (communist) international as one of the greatest events of world

[11] See, for example, the minutes of the seventh congress (*7—i Vserossiiskii s'ezd sovetov. Stenograficheskii otchet*, 17, 26). A somewhat longer formula was used at the eleventh congress on January 19, 1924. Stenographic report, 15.

history. The congress is proud of the fact that our country has the supreme honor to be the host to the first congress and to the first executive organ of the communist international.

" 'The workers of the whole world regard as the guiding star for all mankind the communist international which took account of the world imperialistic slaughter and continues firmly to proceed toward the destruction of the power of capital not only in Europe and America but also in Asia and all the world over. The congress is confident that the future form of the international state structure will be the international soviet republic. The soviets of the entire world will find in the communist international their ideal leader. . . .' " [12]

The question is self-explanatory as concerns the coördination of aims of the constitutional authority of Soviet Russia and the communist international, an instrument for world revolution.

Other questions that came before the seventh congress of soviets of the RSFSR were the matter of food supply and fuel, peace proposals to the Allies, and the constitutional and administrative structure of the country.

To ameliorate the still acute question of food supplies, the congress proposed a state monopoly of foodstuffs. The peasants were to be compelled to send their grain to the industrial centers in return for manufactured products. This measure proved later to be fatal, for the cities remained unable to give the peasant anything in exchange, even at exorbitant prices. Such an exchange also was impossible because of the complete disorganization of transportation.

As at the preceding congress, a proposal to enter into negotiations for peace, separately or collectively, was sent to the governments of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan. In this question the congress was assert-

[12] Stenographic report, 119.

ing its competence as established in the constitution of July 1918.

Finally, that constitution gave the all-Russian congress of soviets supreme and undivided authority in supplementing or modifying the constitution. At this time detailed supplements to the fundamental law were made, as has been explained already. True, the idea of these additions to the constitution did not originate with the congress, but nevertheless that body had the theoretical right to reject or accept them. Regulations providing for a presidium, a still more centralized source of authority than the all-Russian central executive committee, on local congresses of soviets and executive committees, and on new administrative and economic divisions of the RSFSR to be worked out by the all-Russian central executive committee, were now set forth. Concerning the standing orders of the all-Russian central executive committee, veritable constitutional material issued by that committee on its own initiative on December 17, 1919, the congress of soviets voiced no opinion and asserted no jurisdiction. Incidentally, in February and March 1920, the all-Russian central executive committee supplemented the constitution in detail as concerns (1) the organization of village soviets and executive committees and their duties, and (2) the rural district executive committee and its duties. All that these additions to the constitution needed to become law was the signatures by the president and secretary of the all-Russian central executive committee and publication in the official organ (*Izvestiia*) of that body. The congress of soviets had instructed the committee to do this, but even a loose construction of the constitution would appear to require final approval of the decisions of the all-Russian central executive committee by the congress of soviets. The question of approval, however, never came before the congress.

One year after the seventh congress of soviets of the

RSFSR had adjourned, the eighth all-Russian congress of soviets of workers', peasants', red army and Kazaks' deputies was held in Moscow.[13] Three years had passed since power had been seized by the soviets. The period of daily dangers from civil and external war had passed. The soviet congresses from this time began to concern themselves more and more with discussions, and usually the adoption of resolutions approving what the all-Russian central executive committee had done in the intervening period with regard to economic questions. Since 95 per cent. of those now attending the congress were bolsheviks,[14] the serenity of the proceedings was undisturbed.

The eighth congress concerned itself with plans for economic reconstruction, especially in agriculture and industry, with electrification, and with a reduction in the size of the red army. That army was to be decreased by fifty per cent.; more important, and also more difficult, the quality of the soldiers who remained was to be improved.

The peasant still refused to hand over his small supply of grain when he could secure nothing in return. Permission was accordingly given to pillage the stores of those who had grain. The natural result was that the peasant who was willing to work and produce cut down his production. A famine naturally resulted.

The eighth congress gave special discretion to the soviet of labor and defence in its plans to reorganize industry. The origin of an organ with this purpose dates from the end of 1918 when the "soviet of workers' and peasants' defence" was formed. The principal duty was then to collect and mobilize supplies for purposes of defence. Later, this organ concerned itself with economic tasks. Then the eighth con-

[13] *Vosmoi Vserossiiskii s'ezd sovetov rabochikh, krest'ianskikh, krasnoarmeiskikh i Kazachikh deputatov. Stenograficheskii otchet* (22-29 dekabria 1920 goda).

[14] At the eighth congress there were 2537 representatives, of whom 1728 had the right to vote. Of this latter number, 1611 were communists.

gress gave it a still broader jurisdiction in economic matters. It was at this congress, furthermore, that the fond hope for economic progress through electrification was concretely expressed. Throughout succeeding meetings the program of electrification was to be one of the principal topics up for discussion.

So much for the activity and plans of the bolsheviks. It is to be remembered that at this time representatives of the Russian social democratic revolutionary party were still present at the congresses of soviets. Their days were numbered, however, for they were not in harmony with the majority and dared to speak freely about existing conditions. How the opposition viewed the state of affairs in the proletarian state is summarized in a resolution of the above mentioned party read before the congress of soviets on December 23, 1920.[15] The document deserves quotation in full:

> The regular sessions of the all-Russian central executive committee, specifically provided for by the resolutions of the seventh congress, have never been convoked, and the supreme legislative organ of the republic [the congress of soviets] has been transformed into an empty space so that even the most important legislative acts, such as those concerning concessions, have been published at once without preliminary discussion. The elections to soviets and to the congresses of soviets have always been carried out under such conditions of suppression of the popular will and under such deprivation of the rights of the people that they became of no serious value; while the soviets themselves have never been convoked, or, if so, only in order to attach their seal to the work which had been done already by the central executive committees and presidia acting without any control and guided solely by their own decisions.
>
> The workers' organizations—political, economic, and cultural—were gradually transformed from top to bottom into illegal means for carrying out the will of the soviet bureaucracy. In cases of even the slightest attempt to express their own will

[15] *Vosmoi Vserossiiskii s'ezd sovetov. Stenograficheskii otchet,* 55-56.

they were usually dissolved, their elected representatives being arrested and replaced by appointed ones, while the working masses were completely deprived of any influence in the organizations which, on paper, were classified as proletarian.

Millions of peasants, without whose active assistance the victory on the external front and especially in the civil war could hardly be imagined, were deprived, as customary, of their right to organize and to participate not only in the settlement of matters of foreign policy but also in matters which greatly affected their most vital economic interests.

The policy toward the peasantry and particularly concerning the collection of food and raw materials, as well as the development of small village industry, was, as usual, carried out in a purely bureaucratic fashion, with no attention being paid to the social-economic nature of peasant economy and without adequate analysis of all possibilities, all of which led to the destruction of economy, to the spread of famine, and to the general downfall.

The terroristic methods of administration have been retained on an inexcusable scale. The mass executions, mass imprisonment, and corraling in concentration camps, as well as the declaring of entire political groups hostages, and as a new method mass administrative exile—all continuously were and still are taking place so that even the amnesty of November was not applied in the manner foreseen by the all-Russian central executive committee. The organization of all these political groups, even those which were known to the authorities as favoring socialism and revolution, save communists, was suffering from systematic confusion.

The congress regards such conditions, especially now on the very eve of peaceful construction, as impossible and extremely dangerous for the whole purpose of the revolution and socialism, which may be established firmly only on the basis of liberal freedom of action of the working and peasant masses, on a basis of developing their ability to increase to a maximum the productivity of their labor, as well as on the basis of voluntary discipline and of sound knowledge of self-organization and political and economic self-government. Therefore, the congress concludes that in order to guarantee and to develop further all gains of the revolution and the economic reconstruction of the country, it is necessary immediately:

"1. To renew the actual working of the soviet constitution and to further its democratization. To organize an actual responsibility of all organs of authority before the working and peasant masses and subordination thereof to the respective representatives. To establish a proper functioning of and free and regular reëlection to the soviets.

"2. Equality of rights of the working masses in the cities and villages, and guaranty of the freedom of the press, association, and meeting.

"3. Inviolability of the person to be guaranteed by subjecting all citizens to responsibility before common courts of the people functioning on the basis of exact laws.

"4. Actual and final abolition of capital punishment and abolition of administrative arrests and exile, as well as of punishment without due process of law."

Resolutions such as the foregoing naturally received little consideration from the bolshevik majority in the congress of soviets. It was regarded as an open piece of treachery when adverse criticism of existing conditions was so justifiably expressed.

Of more importance than the resolutions of the eighth congress of soviets of the RSFSR as respects a reorganization of industry, agriculture, and electrification, was the complete reversal of previous economic policy that occurred before the assembly of the ninth all-Russian congress of soviets [16] in December 1921. This change of policy took the form of the inauguration of the new economic policy, popularly called NEP. Lenin dictated the transition from a policy of forced levies of grains to the right of the peasant freely to dispose of his grain after the payment of a tax. The petty trader could again try to make a living. These concessions were made, according to Lenin, because the great mass of the laboring population had so expressed the desire.[17] Reforms of this nature, a step backward according

[16] *Deviatyi Vserossiiskii s'ezd sovetov rabochikh, krest'ianskikh krasnoarmeiskikh i Kazachikh deputatov. Stenograficheskii otchet. (22-27 dekabria 1921 goda).*

[17] 18 *Sobr. soch.*, 138. A communist writer, E. Varga, has classified as

to the doctrines of the communists, had come too late to prevent the famine which already had Russia in its grasp.

The ninth all-Russian congress of soviets [18] met when the famine was at its worst. The congress approved—as it has done in every case since—all measures taken by the central executive committee and soviet of people's commissars of the RSFSR. These included the steps taken to feed the famine stricken areas and the ratification of the agreements concluded with the foreign relief organizations such as the American relief administration. In the economic field, the congress decided that the ruling authorities, acting while it was not in session, had nevertheless chosen the right moment for beginning the new economic policy. The increase of economic activity showed that this change was in the right direction, contrary as it may have been to the original precepts of communism. Demands on the peasants were to be reduced, for now only the red army, the chief industrial enterprises, and state institutions would have to be supported by the newly created state budget.

A decision of the congress that deserves special mention concerns the all-Russian extraordinary commission or cheka. This police system, a government within a system of authority, had so systematically spread terror throughout Russia that even the inner circle of rulers sought to limit its

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follows the main differences between war-communism and the new economic policy:

NEP	War-Communism
Private ownership in the means of production.	Private ownership permitted only in articles of consumption.
Money economy.	Barter.
Only the products of the socialist sector are under the immediate control of the state.	The state controls the entire production.
Freedom to trade and carry on economic activity (apart from state monopoly).	Prohibition of trading.

5 *The Communist International* (London), July 15, 1928, 312.

[18] The congress was composed of 1991 delegates. Of these, 1631 were voting delegates. The other delegates had only a 'consultative voice'. Of the voting delegates, 1522 were communists and 109 'non-party'.

powers. The ninth congress, while lauding the work accomplished by the cheka in the period of the civil war, nevertheless decided that its activities should be restricted and that, in certain cases, its jurisdiction should be taken over by ordinary judicial organs. Because of the odium and fear attaching even among communists to the work of the cheka, it was decided that the organization should be called thereafter the state political administration (GPU).[19] Its duty would be to protect the security of the state.

The change from cheka to GPU was little more than in the name. The practices remained about the same. The observations of Martov at the seventh congress of soviets in December 1919 were still valid. In a resolution censuring the government, he then declared that because of a bureaucratic degeneration of authority a state was being formed within a state. An "omnipotent authority of the organs of oppression and police administration" had resulted from the civil war. A further excerpt from this resolution gives a priceless statement of the rôle of the cheka:

> The machinery of chekas, which, in the beginning, were regarded only as provisional, during the last year [1919] has become of enormous size. After several attempts to reduce this apparatus to its normal activity, rendering it subordinate to the revolutionary courts and the soviets, the government was forced completely to surrender before the cheka, placing at its will the life, liberty, and honor of the citizens. The monstrous growth of the terror, the elimination of everything which resembled courts, and an uncontrolled rule of anarchy are the results of this policy. . . .

After tackling the problem of the cheka, the ninth congress of soviets concerned itself with the question of elections to the soviets. Here, too, a criticism made by Martov at the seventh congress of soviets was still only too relevant. "The county and town soviets", Martov declared, "are convoked only in very rare instances and for the discussion of very unimportant matters (Voices: 'lie, untrue.')

[19] After the formation of the USSR in 1923 the word 'unified' was added; hence the Russian form OGPU.

All local authority and all administration are concentrated in the executive committees which are very seldom reëlected and never controlled by the representatives of the workers and peasants. The reëlection of the soviets themselves is taking place more and more rarely. In Moscow there have been no elections for over a year and a half."

Martov continued by showing how the soviet was not a representative institution. "Simultaneously with this dying out of the fundamental institutions on which the soviet constitution is founded was occurring the forcible expulsion therefrom of all spirit of freedom. The forcible removal from the soviets of one non-communist party after another and the complete suppression of freedom of elections actually deprive the greater part of the workers and peasants of the possibility of being represented by the persons or groups whom they trust. The soviets and their congresses gradually became the filial branches of a single organization of the communist party. Actually, the bearers of authority, which, in conformity with the constitution, should belong to the entire proletariat and laboring peasantry, are only a very small part of the proletariat."

It was really not within the power of the ninth congress of soviets to remedy the conditions mentioned by Martov. It could, however, again resort to theoretical legislation as a camouflage for practices destined to continue. The congress decided that the elections of the town soviets and rural district, county, and provincial congresses should take place once a year, the election to be held in the month immediately preceding the all-Russian congress of soviets. All-Russian congresses of soviets would be called only once a year. In 1918 there had been four congresses in one year but thereafter only one a year. The ninth congress merely confirmed the existing situation.

In October 1922 the soviet authorities celebrated the fifth jubilee of their rule. A unified Russia existed again. From Vladivostok on the Pacific Ocean to the Polish border, from Baku on the Caspian Sea and Odessa on the Black

Sea to Archangel on the Arctic Ocean, the rule of the soviets prevailed. In the international field, Russia had signed commercial treaties with Germany and Sweden, and she had taken part in conferences at Genoa, the Hague, and at Lausanne. Within the country agriculture and industry had improved to such an extent that the danger of famine was over.

The tenth all-Russian congress of soviets of workers', peasants', red army and Kazaks' deputies that met in Moscow in December 1922,[20] was in fact a jubilee congress. Of the 2215 delegates present, 2092 were members of the communist party, 118 claimed no party affiliation, and five represented 'other parties'.

The only question of any importance before the congress was the ratification of a proposal for the creation of a USSR, composed of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, White Russia, and the Transcaucasian federation. In practice, the formation of the union was to do little to limit the extent of the powers assumed at Moscow by the central organs of the RSFSR.[21]

By the time the tenth congress met, the general position of this branch in the soviet system of authority was, so to speak, crystallized. A significant summary of its activities has been given by Enukidze, then secretary of the all-Russian central executive committee, who has noted that "the congress of soviets does not formulate directly legislative acts but only hears the reports of the workers' and peasants' government relating to its activities during the past year, gives its appreciation of the activity of this government, and adopts resolutions." [22] It had become indeed an organ powerless for good or ill.

In conformity with the constitutional provision that the soviet of people's commissars is responsible to the all-Rus-

[20] *Desiatyi Vserossiiskii s'ezd sovetov rabochikh, krest'ianskikh, krasnoarmeiskikh i Kazachikh deputatov, (23-27 dekabria 1922 goda). Stenograficheskii otchet i prilozheniiami.*

[21] See chapter V.

[22] A. S. Enukidze, *Itogi 2-i sessii TsIK SSSR 3-go sozyva.*

sian central executive committee and the all-Russian congress of soviets, Kamenev, representing the soviet of people's commissars in the absence of Lenin, delivered a report of twelve thousand words to the tenth congress on events during the year just passed. As in all such reports, he spoke of the evil designs on Russia of most countries in Europe, made general remarks about the internal economic situation, but gave no indication of just what the soviet of people's commissars was doing. Further the congress was not called upon to approve or disapprove any specific act of the soviet of people's commissars—or of the all-Russian central executive committee, but to approve the general statements that had been made. Often there is even no discussion of such reports by the congress; as soon as the account is ended adoption is immediately moved, as is illustrated here by an extract from the stenographic report of the proceedings immediately after Kamenev had sat down:

Sapronov (chairman): Comrade Lisitsyn has the floor.

Lisitsyn: Comrades, having heard the report of the all-Russian central executive committee and soviet of people's commissars, I propose the adoption of the following resolutions without debate: [23]

"The tenth all-Russian congress of soviets of the RSFSR, having heard the report of the all-Russian central executive committee and soviet of people's commissars on their activities in the field of foreign and domestic policy, expresses to the government its full approval."

The chairman: Are there any objections to holding no debate? I put the vote. No objections? It is adopted.

I vote for the proposed resolution. Who is for the resolution of comrade Lisitsyn? Who is against? Nobody. Who did not vote? None. Adopted unanimously.

The voting procedure would appear to be of no particular importance, for if the delegates are not given time to show they approve a resolution, certainly there would not be an occasion to vote against it.

[23] Stenographic report, as cited, 31.

The succeeding discussions in the congress dealt with such topics as education, the development of industry, finance, and agriculture. This was the first time that the people's commissar for education had spoken before the congress. A campaign was then in progress, and has continued since, for the 'liquidation' of illiteracy. In all cases of reports by the various people's commissars on matters affecting their respective departments, the congress, possibly after a short discussion, passes resolutions of approval. There was by this time no opposing element that dared express its disapproval of the policy of the soviet of people's commissars, as was the case at the seventh congress three years before when Martov, representing the left socialist revolutionaries, bitterly complained about existing abuses in the administration.

The year 1923 was the first of the existence of the USSR. Theoretically, the RSFSR was now no more important in relation to the central authorities than any other republic forming the Union. But since the central power was located at Moscow, and since the leaders of the RSFSR assumed charge of the whole Union in short, it becomes naturally rather difficult to distinguish between the problems of the RSFSR and of the USSR. Even the congresses of soviets of the two overlapped. The practice was established at this time of beginning the all-Russian congress of soviets, that is, of the RSFSR, a few days before the meeting of the congress of soviets of the USSR.

The first congress of soviets of the USSR was held at Moscow on December 30, 1922,[24] three days after the tenth all-Russian congress of soviets had adjourned. The single item on its agenda was the ratification of the treaty on the formation of the USSR. As the exclusive power to ratify and amend or supplement in any way belongs to the separate republics in the case of their own constitutions, so the

[24] *1-i s'ezd sovetov Soiuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik. (Stenograficheskii otchet s prilozheniiami.)* There were 2214 delegates present, of whom 1673 had the right to vote.

congress of soviets of the USSR was given this power in the case of its own constitution. But the detailed plan of a constitution was referred to the central executive committee of the Union to work out.

The eleventh all-Russian congress of soviets met at Moscow from January 19 to 29, 1924; [25] the second congress of soviets of the USSR in the same city from January 26 to February 2, 1924. The nature and work of each may be mentioned briefly.

The eleventh congress of soviets of the RSFSR maintained the percentage of communists. Out of 1637 delegates present,—1143 could vote and 494 could be 'consulted'—1482 were communists. This time there were numerous peasant delegates, selected carefully it is true, who spoke intelligently of the problems of the rural regions.

In the second congress of the Union there were 2124 delegates present. Of these, 1540 could vote and 584 could be consulted. Ninety per cent. were communists, while the remaining ten per cent. were members of no party. Since only one party is permitted and entrance into it has become difficult, a person who is not a communist has no choice: he must be without party.

The work and discussions of the two congresses are shown in outline form. It is of interest to note, incidentally, that a delegate in the Union congress speaks of the "central authority" of the union as something quite different from the congress of soviets. As is customary, all reports by the "central authorities" were approved unanimously.

The summary of the work of the congresses follows:

Eleventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets	Second Congress of Soviets of the USSR
1. Congress was opened *by Kalinin* in behalf of the central executive committee of the RSFSR. Brief report made on international situation without	1. Congress was opened *by Kalinin* (chairman) in behalf of the central executive committee of the USSR. First day devoted to eulogies of Lenin

[25] *XI Vserossiiskii s'ezd sovetov. Stenograficheskii otchet.*

any mention of the activity of the committee since the preceding congress.

2. Election of presidium of the central executive committee of the RSFSR. *Enukidze,* representing the communist party,[26] read the list of members to form the presidium. The congress was asked to approve this list without debate.

3. Tomskii, representing the communist party, proposed that a report on the activity of the central authorities of the RSFSR for 1923 be submitted to the congress of soviets of the USSR.

who had died a few days before.

2. Election of the presidium of the central executive committee of the USSR. *Enukidze* read the list which was approved without debate.[27]

3. Report by Kamenev. "The workers'-peasants' government, with a particular feeling of responsibility, is submitting to you to-day the report on its activity and on the plans for further decision on current problems." [28] Report covered world political situation, and dealt with general economic developments in Russia. In the words of one delegate, Eliiava, Kamenev "has said nothing about what has been done and what steps are taken by the central authority of the Union [*sic*] so as to make the state apparatus function in such a fashion that the constitution of the Union could be carried out fully by this state apparatus up to 100 per cent." [29]

[26] See stenographic report, 8. The fact of Enukidze representing the communist party when he read this list of members who were to form the presidium of the central executive committee of the RSFSR, shows the supposedly highest organ of authority in the RSFSR, that the party itself was responsible for the list as read. In other words, a still higher authority appointed the members to the central executive committee of the RSFSR.

[27] See pages 717-719 on interlocking positions.

[28] Stenographic report (*Vtoroi s'ezd sovetov SSSR. Stenograficheskii otchet*), 60.

[29] *Ibid.*, 98.

4. Report by Sviderskii on the economic situation. General resolutions approved by the congress dealt with such questions as cheapening of production, industrial credit, coöperative societies, and request that central and local organs take all means to further agriculture. The greater part of the time of the congress was taken up with discussions of economic questions. Similar discussion was concerned with the budget of the RSFSR.

5. "The eleventh all-Russian congress of soviets decides: to charge the central executive committee of the RSFSR with drafting, in conformity with the fundamental law (constitution) of the USSR, amendments of the constitution of the RSFSR, which shall enter into force immediately, subject to examination and approval at the next session of the central executive committee of the RSFSR.

To charge the central executive committee of the RSFSR with the submission of the final text of the constitution of the RSFSR with all amendments and corrections which practice may require, to final ratification by the twelfth all-Russian congress of soviets." [30]

4. Ratification of the constitution of the USSR. The constitution had already been put into force not by the body given supreme authority in constitutional questions, but by the central executive committee of the USSR in July 1923, six months before the congress met.

This outline shows few variations from the program followed by the succeeding congresses. They are all concerned

[30] Stenographic report, 177.

with discussions about the general economic and political situation. The customary reports by the ruling officials are given; the congress does no more than pass resolutions.

At the twelfth all-Russian congress of soviets, which met at Moscow from May 7 to 16, 1925,[31] the constitution was changed to conform to the constitution of the USSR. Amendments by the seventh, eighth, and ninth congresses of the RSFSR were now codified. In another field, the congress was called upon to ratify the decision by the all-Russian central executive committee that the Turkestan Socialist Soviet Republic should be permitted to join the USSR as a union republic. Turkestan as such, of course, disappeared with the territorial readjustment of Central Asia in 1925.

Three days before the congress of soviets of the RSFSR closed, the third congress of soviets of the USSR assembled.[32] Two new republics were admitted to the USSR: the Uzbek and Turkmen Socialist Soviet Republics. For the first time, the presidium of the congress itself drafted an amendment to the constitution admitting the two new republics.

A report by Rykov, president of the soviet of people's commissars of the USSR, gave an outline of general world conditions. Since the soviet authorities recognize no boundaries, it is a natural consequence that in these congresses the field discussed is the entire world. Other topics discussed later in the meeting were industry, conditions of the peasants, finance, the red army, education, and the like.

The thirteenth all-Russian congress of soviets and the fourth congress of soviets of the USSR assembled in Mos-

[31] *XII Vserossiiskii s'ezd sovetov. Stenograficheskii otchet.*

[32] *Tretii s'ezd sovetov SSSR. Stenograficheskii otchet.* The resolutions of the congress have been printed in a pamphlet entitled *Postanovleniia III s'ezda sovetov Soiuza* (mai 1925 g.). The meeting lasted from May 13 to May 20, 1925. There were 2144 delegates present, of whom 1485 could vote. A general account of this congress is given in a pamphlet by A. C. Enukidze, *Itogi III-go s'ezda sovetov-Soiuza SSSR,* in the form of a popular propaganda pamphlet.

cow in April 1927. The reports submitted to them and the general procedure were the same as in the congresses that preceded.

A few general remarks may be made in conclusion about the congresses of soviets of the RSFSR and the USSR. Numerous congresses were held in the early months of soviet rule—there were four in 1918. Then the congresses of both bodies came to meet only once every two years. More and more the congress of soviets has degenerated into a side-show in the soviet exhibit. Its powers, in actuality never very extensive, have been taken over in the case of the RSFSR by the all-Russian central excutive committee or its presidium, and in the case of the USSR, by the central executive committee of the Union and its presidium. The constitution of the RSFSR provided that for a declaration of war or the conclusion of a treaty of peace a congress of soviets should be assembled. In the early period, at the time of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, the congress actively discussed foreign relations in general and that particular treaty. Others than bolsheviks were then delegates to the congress. But later treaties—it is true that they were not peace treaties pure and simple—have been assiduously withheld from discussion in the congress. Only the all-Russian central executive committee was permitted to concern itself with the conclusion and ratification of international agreements other than those declaring peace. The congress was told in a general way of what had been done, and seems to have been satisfied, for, after 1920, there were no longer representatives of opposition parties to criticise the policy of the ruling authorities.

The formation of the USSR in 1923 necessitated a Union congress of soviets and made this congress of soviets even weaker than the corresponding congress had been under the RSFSR. Only one exclusive prerogative is reserved to it alone: "the confirmation and alteration of the fundamental principles of the . . . constitution." Within the

competence of the "supreme organs of authority of the USSR", however, are placed twenty-four specific categories of powers not enjoyed by the republics separately. But over this wide range of powers the congress of soviets of the USSR has never done more than approve in a general way the reports submitted to it. It has never represented the Union in international relations, ratified an international agreement, approved a state budget, concerned itself with the direction of the armed forces, or the like. It did pass a resolution in favor of the inclusion of the Uzbek and Turkmen Socialist Soviet Republics in the Union, but the step was, in any case, inevitable. This single exception affects in no respect the general fact that the congress of soviets of the USSR, like that of the RSFSR since 1920, is a body without authority. It gives way to the central executive committee or its presidium, the supreme legislative, executive, judicial, administrative, and controlling constitutional body. Even the single power constitutionally delegated to it, that of amending the constitution, is not exercised. All amendments are prepared by the central executive committee or its presidium, and may be put into effect immediately; the congress, when it meets, approves them without debate.

A congress of soviets, whether central or local, from the point of view of the ruling authorities, is an ideal center for the diffusion of the propaganda of the communist party. With over 2000 delegates present at the congress of the union,[33] assembled with due pomp from every corner of the widespread soviet dominion, an effect comparable to the stimuli produced by a brass band is attained throughout the country.

The delegates have been carefully chosen by the communist party in advance. They are essentially friendly

[33] At the fourth congress of soviets of the USSR there were 1601 delegates with power to vote and 747 with advisory powers. See Ia. Smolianskii, *O IV s'ezde sovetov SSSR*.

to the existing régime before reaching Moscow. Given free railway tickets, bed and board, and often pleased to discover their pictures in the newspapers, these delegates are kindly disposed towards their hosts.

Meetings are held in the grand theater in the center of Moscow. The assembly room is appropriately decorated with an illuminated five-pointed red star, red cloth, and busts of Lenin and of Karl Marx. In former times busts of Zinov'ev, Trotskii, and other popular leaders of the day were in evidence, but only likenesses of the dead exponents of communism are shown at present.

The president of the central executive committee pronounces the meeting opened. An orchestra then plays the "international" and is loudly applauded. The congress proceeds with its agenda.

In the early congresses, the debates were very long. A speaker's time was declared up only when he became critical of existing conditions. Since 1920, there has been no opposition, no critical party. A few 'non-party' delegates are sent to the congress principally as a matter of form. Speeches are now short, however, except for the long statements by the president of the central executive committee and various detailed reports presented on economic questions. There is usually no debate on these reports: only approval by the congress is expected.

Interspersed in the programmes are brief statements by the various local leaders. A delegate from White Russia may tell briefly how, in his republic, the campaign of the central authorities against bureaucracy is being carried out; from Azerbaijan may come a three-minute speech on world imperialism and local cultural progress; a delegate from Samarkand, dressed in his colorful Oriental robes and speaking in his native tongue, may talk of local economic conditions. Nearly every speech, even though it be from the remote interior regions, will either describe the plots of the capitalistic powers or, if dealing with local questions,

will portray economic progress. Apparently the delegates must speak of progress, of a general improvement of conditions.

The congress disbands after a session lasting about one week. The scene closes with all delegates singing the "international". They have assembled, they have approved, they have talked: they return home preaching the blessings of communism.

CHAPTER VIII

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES

The constitution of the RSFSR adopted in July 1918 provided that when the congress of soviets was not in session the all-Russian central executive committee should be the "supreme legislative, administrative, and controlling body". It was given the "general direction of the workers' and peasants' government". Save when a congress of soviets was in session, this committee was to enjoy those constitutional powers usually reserved to the congress or parliament in other countries.

The idea of a central authority of this nature was not original with the framers of the constitution of 1918. In the various congresses of the Russian social democratic labor party held after 1898 the question of a central committee of the party vested with wide powers had been of primary importance. It was in these congresses that the germ of a centralized organism with wide powers developed. Those who had favored a strong party organization after 1898 were, in 1918, to advocate likewise a centralized system of governmental authority.

The immediate predecessor of the all-Russian central executive committee dates from the revolutionary outbreaks in Russia in 1905. The St. Petersburg soviet of that time was the forerunner of the later congresses of soviets; a special executive committee elected by that soviet in 1905 was the precursor of the principal central organ of bolshevik constitutional authority in 1917.

The nature of the executive committee of 1905 was explained by the St. Petersburg committee of the Russian social democratic labor party at the time. According to a

statement made by this body, the St. Petersburg committee and St. Petersburg group of the Russian social democratic labor party, in order to assure the complete success of the revolution, decided to form a unified soviet for the common direction of political activities of the St. Petersburg proletariat. The work of this federal soviet comprised also the unification and regulation of all propaganda and all public speeches designed for the information of the proletariat, as well as a coöperation with all other revolutionary organizations of St. Petersburg concerning the technical questions of struggle.[1]

The executive committee constituted on October 17, 1905, consisted of thirty-one members, who were supposed to represent about 200,000 workers. While it was important and powerful so long as the tsarist government remained weak, this committee, like the central committee of the Russian social democratic labor party of the time, was disbanded by force as soon as the governmental authorities were able to take action against it. The only survivals of a central organization at the outbreak of the revolution in March 1917 were the fugitive committees organized here and there by revolutionary groups living abroad.

When the provisional government took over the power in March 1917, it soon discovered that it was not the only body which claimed governmental prerogatives. In addition, immediately after the overthrow of the Tsar proclamations were issued by a so-called "executive committee of the soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies".

The list of members of this committee included well-known names. Elected in March 1917, it represented the radical group of the Russian social democratic labor party called bolsheviks, but was composed principally of the less violent element, known as the mensheviks and the socialist revolutionaries. The latter predominated. The committee was presided over by the Georgian menshevik, Chkheidze.

[1] L. Trotskii, 1 *Nasha pervaia revoliutsiia*, 278.

The two deputy presidents were named respectively Skobelev and Kerenskii. The former had been prominent in revolutionary circles from the time he returned to his native Baku from Moscow not only as a socialist but also as a smoker, tobacco being forbidden among the religious sect, the molokans, to which he belonged. Moreover, he had taken a leading part in various revolutionary uprisings. Kerenskii, on the other hand, had become well known in the duma as a defender of the Jews. Among the other thirty-three members of the executive committee were such familiar men as Sokolov Tsereteli, Dzhugashvili (Stalin), and Skriabin (Molotov).[2] Finally, in addition to the executive committee, there was an executive committee bureau, the members of which were as follows: Chkheidze, Steklov (Nakhamkes), Bogdanov, Karelinskii, Stuchka, Krasikov, and Gvozdev.

The conflict that developed between this executive committee and the provisional government was traced in the account of the transition from tsarism to bolshevism. Of primary interest is the gradually increasing control exercised by the bolsheviks over the committee. With one member of the committee, Kerenskii, included in the provisional government, the bolsheviks were well posted on how to prepare for the assumption of full power.

There are no minutes of the first session of the executive committee, assembled for the first time on March 12, 1917; all that is known is that it concerned itself with the arming of the workers, the organization of city wards, and the selection of delegates to a military commission of the committee of the state duma.[3] Daily sessions were held for several days. On March 27, 1917, a special bureau of seven members was elected to prepare the agenda for the plenary sessions and to transact current business. One month later, April 25, a reorganization occurred whereby current

[2] The full list is given in Golder, as cited, 291-292.

[3] *Petrogradskii sovet rabochikh i soldatskikh deputatov, protokoly,* 287.

affairs were placed in the hands of autonomous sections. Important matters of policy were transferred to a bureau composed of representatives of the sections, chosen directly by the executive committee. Nothing could be submitted to the executive committee without first passing through the hands of the members of the bureau. Questions of national importance were to be determined at plenary sessions of the executive committee, which likewise confirmed the decisions of the bureau.[4]

The procedure and general nature of this central organization were later to form the basis of a much more important organ of authority. At this time the executive committee represented only a very small group of workers and soldiers. It was not even a recognized body so far as the exercise of state authority was concerned. The first real extension of its authority followed the first all-Russian congress of soviets in June 1917. That congress pretended to be "all-Russian", and it elected a permanent executive organ with similar pretensions. One of the first acts of this congress was to elect the first all-Russian central executive committee. Composed of one hundred members, this committee showed the same division of opinion which had existed in the Russian social democratic labor party, that is the division between the bolsheviks and the mensheviks, which had likewise existed in the first congress of soviets. The first all-Russian central executive committee, as well as the executive committee of the Petrograd soviet which it succeeded, was, like the congress, composed mainly of mensheviks. In the eyes of the bolsheviks at the time when it was elected, it was an instrument of the petty bourgeoisie, if not of counter-revolution, for it included representatives of the socialist revolutionaries and other parties.

The same was not true of the committee elected by the second all-Russian congress of soviets in November 1917,

[4] See Golder, as cited, 288-289.

at the very beginning of the revolution which brought the bolsheviks into control. Composed of 108 members, two-thirds of the representatives were bolsheviks. The all-Russian central executive committee, therefore, became an instrument of this group only to a slightly lesser degree than was the central committee of the party elected in September 1917. The leaders in the latter committee, among whom were Trotskii, Kamenev, Stalin, Sverdlov, Bubnov, Bukharin, Kollontai, Dzerzhinskii, Ioffe, and Sokol'nikov, were the directing force in the all-Russian central executive committee and other soviet organs.

In the early period of the revolution the all-Russian central executive committee was not of great importance. Its membership was too large for it to be able to deal effectively with the urgent current problems. No attempt was made at this time to form a directing group within the committee itself, for such authority was being exercised by a select number of leaders in the 'government', that is the soviet of people's commissars which was created on the day the bolsheviks assumed control in the place of the Kerenskii régime.

With two organs of authority in existence, even though both were controlled by the bolsheviks, there was necessarily a conflict in jurisdiction. One of the first duties of the new rulers was to attempt some definition of the duties of the different branches of their own administrative structure. This was done in a resolution of the all-Russian central executive committee passed on November 17, 1917, by a vote of 25 to 23. Among those supporting it were Lenin, Trotskii, Stalin, Sverdlov, Ioffe, and Steklov, men whose ideas were later to predominate. The resolution of the committee ran thus:

1. The soviet parliament of the laboring masses can have nothing in common with the bourgeois parliament where different classes with conflicting interests are represented, and where the representatives of the ruling class transform the

rules and the supreme order into a weapon of legislative obstruction.

2. The soviet parliament can not deny to the soviet of people's commissars the right to issue, without preliminary discussion in the [all-Russian] central executive committee, all necessary decrees within the limits of the general program of the all-Russian congress of soviets.

3. In the [all-Russian] central executive committee is concentrated general control over all activities of the soviet of people's commissars, and the right to recall the government [that is the soviet of people's commissars], as well as the individual members thereof.[5]

This resolution shows that the committee was conceived of at the time both as a sort of parliament and, in theory at least, as an organ higher than the soviet of people's commissars. The latter was regarded as a responsible cabinet. On the other hand, since it had the right to issue on its own initiative all 'necessary' decrees, the soviet of people's commissars was placed in a very independent position.

A more detailed definition of the relation of the two organs of authority to each other was given in a decree of the all-Russian central executive committee of November 30, 1917. Upon the proposal of Sverdlov, the following five points were then formulated:

1. In conformity with the resolution of the second all-Russian congress [of soviets] the soviet of people's commissars shall be responsible to the all-Russian central executive committee.

2. All legislative acts, as well as ordinances of an important political character, shall be submitted for examination and ratification by the [all-Russian] central executive committee.

3. All measures relating to the struggle against counter-revolution may be effected directly by the soviet of people's commissars provided that they shall remain responsible to the [all-Russian] central executive committee.

4. Once a week each member of the soviet of people's com-

[5] *Protokoly zasedanii Vserossiiskago tsentral'nago ispoln. komiteta sovetov R. S. Kr. i Kaz. deputatov.* II sozyva, 31-32.

missars shall report to the [all-Russian] central executive committee.

5. Replies shall be given immediately to all questions of the [all-Russian] central executive committee. The inquiries shall be regarded as made if they have fifteen votes of the [all-Russian] central executive committee.[6]

By this decree the powers of the committee were more precisely defined than in the resolution which the committee itself adopted on the 16th. It remained to apply the division of authority of the two bodies in practice.

Despite decrees providing for the extent of its jurisdiction, no dividing line can be drawn between the work of this committee and the other soviet organs during the early period of soviet rule. As a result of its large membership, the committee could do little more than discuss those problems which likewise came before the congress of soviets, of which there were five during the first seven months of soviet power. On the other hand, the soviet of people's commissars continued to carry on all current affairs on its own responsibility.

When the fourth congress of soviets met in March 1918, the question of limiting the size of the all-Russian central executive committee was discussed. In the words of a delegate to that congress, Volodarskii, "we are convinced that the composition of the all-Russian central executive committee, 360 to 400 members, is very bulky. We have never had more than 140 to 160 members in attendance. Therefore, in order to have in the provinces as many active responsible workers as possible and to keep them at their important duties, we propose that the all-Russian central executive committee shall have only 200 members."[7] The president of the congress, Sverdlov, who had proposed one of the decrees on the competence of the committee, opposed this point of view. The congress finally decided

[6] *Ibid.*, 71.

[7] *Stenograficheskii otchet 4-go chrezvychainogo s'ezda sovetov*, 75.

that the committee should be elected on the basis of one member for each six delegates in the congress of soviets.

Despite the discussions of its membership and even of its powers, the exact nature of the executive organ puzzled even certain of the bolsheviks. At the fifth congress of soviets held in June 1918, for example, Svetlov complained that the president of the committee had not given a report on the activities of that body for the period between the fourth and fifth congresses. A similar complaint was made about the president of the soviet of people's commissars. "Comrade Lenin approached this while speaking . . ., but he has said nothing that he did not say one month, two months, even three months ago. But, comrades, I am certain that within these three months conditions have changed, and I wonder if Soviet Russia is in need of knowing the facts in order to judge the conditions." [8]

This lack of information was not temporary. When the period of civil war began, fewer and fewer questions could be asked about just what the leaders were doing. Further, the all-Russian central executive committee itself became little more than a propagandist organ of the soviet system. The provision of November 1917 whereby the soviet of people's commissars should report on its activity to the committee was lost to sight.

In working out the soviet constitution, adopted in July 1918, the attempt was made, according to Steklov, to concentrate all elements of authority "in a single central organ which is the all-Russian congress of soviets, the all-Russian central executive committee elected by that body, and the soviet of people's commissars responsible to both. This is necessary to enable the central power, in moments when the maximum of effort and quickness of action are required, to make use of the maximum of its energy for settling the military problems confronting it, to utilize all of its resources and ability, to decide quickly and to execute

[8] *Piatyi Vserossiiskii s'ezd sovetov, stenograficheskii otchet,* 81.

its decisions in order to carry out the duties imposed upon it by history. Hence the necessity of centralization." [9] The dangers of civil war from 1918 to 1920, however, necessitated a centralization even greater than that provided in the constitution. The result was that the all-Russian central executive committee paled in significance before the soviet of people's commissars.

As a natural result of this situation, a controversy began concerning the utility of so many organs of administration. There were some who wanted to abolish the all-Russian central executive committee altogether on the ground that it was a useless adornment. Another group wanted to transfer to it the powers of the soviet of people's commissars. The leaders who had formulated the original constitution and the decrees on the division of power between the two organs, however, considered that there was need for both.

The question of the policy to be followed came before the seventh congress of soviets in December 1919. Resolutions then adopted remedied the irregularities attending a governmental organ that lacked provisions determining by whom it should be convoked, when it should assemble, and what it should do after it met.

The resolutions of the seventh congress of soviets, published on December 12, 1919,[10] brought into existence a small inner group intended to make the central executive committee a real power. In fact, the action now taken by the congress followed the lines of a proposal originally made by the committee itself as far back as November 1917,[11] and thus antedating any of the later decrees already mentioned. That project had provided for "small sessions" of the all-Russian central executive committee to be held when not less than one-fourth of all members were present. Then a presidium, "an executive and representative organ", was proposed to prepare the materials for sessions of the

[9] *Ibid.*, 185. [10] See page 476. [11] See document II, chapter II.

committee, to supervise the work of its various departments, and to make decisions in urgent cases when it was not possible to convoke the committee. The membership of the presidium was to be limited to one-tenth of the total number of members of the entire committee.

A similar presidium was provided for by the seventh congress of soviets to direct the sessions of the committee, to submit drafts of decrees for its consideration, to supervise the execution of the decisions of the entire committee, and, between the sessions of the committee, to ratify the decisions of the soviet of people's commissars. The presidium could likewise suspend such decisions until the convocation of the next plenary session of the committee. Sessions of the all-Russian central executive committee were to be convoked every two months by the presidium.

In addition to drawing up the new statute on the all-Russian central executive committee and its presidium, the seventh congress of soviets also determined, in a general way, the powers of inferior executive committees. It provided for provincial, county, and rural district congresses of soviets and established executive committees for the same areas. In each case, following the model of the constitutional relation of the central executive committee to the congress of soviets, the executive committee was declared to be the supreme organ of administration when congresses were not in session, although it was always subject to the corresponding higher body. The decisions of a county executive committee, for example, could be overruled by the corresponding body for the province. To administer local affairs and carry out the decisions of the superior soviets and of the central authorities, various departments were organized in the executive committees. A provincial executive committee, for example, was required to organize some fifteen departments: for justice, education, finance, agriculture, posts and telegraphs, and others. These departments had a relation to the executive com-

mittee which corresponded to the connection of the soviet of people's commissars with the all-Russian central executive committee.

A few days after the adoption of the resolutions of the seventh congress of soviets, the all-Russian central executive committee issued its standing orders.[12] Provision was made for regular sessions, for the rules of procedure of plenary sessions, for the discharge of their duties by members of the committee, for the rights of a member in obtaining admission to any soviet institution, and the like. Having constitutional legality, regular assemblies, and rules of procedure, the committee was now in a position to undertake the rôle it had been expected to assert when the constitution of the RSFSR was drafted.

By 1920 the general course of the plenary sessions of the central executive committee was well established. In the meetings there were regular appeals of a propagandist character to the working peoples, both in Russia and in other countries. Resolutions were passed on the electrification of the country as in the congress of soviets. Long reports were read on economic questions; instructions were sent to the local economic organs, though it appears to have been the soviet of people's commissars which was responsible in each case for the instruction.[13] In 1920 the committee decided to reorganize the system of central and local state control by creating the people's commissariat for workmen's and peasants' inspection. By this means the struggle against paper work, bureaucracy, fraud, and other evils was begun. Finally, in 1920 the committee exercised on several occasions its constitutional authority in ratifying

[12] See document I, this chapter.

[13] At the meeting of the all-Russian central executive committee in February 1920, for example, the supreme soviet of people's economy and the people's commissariat for agriculture were requested to draft a proposal for the construction of a network of electric power plants, but the draft was not to be submitted to the all-Russian central executive committee but to the soviet of people's commissars. *Postanovleniia i rezoliutsii sessii VTsIK 7-go sozyva.*

treaties of peace, a field in which it had, constitutionally at least, joint jurisdiction with the congress of soviets, but in which, in practice, it alone took action.

When the eighth all-Russian congress of soviets met in December 1920, it further defined the powers of the all-Russian central executive committee and its presidium. "All decrees concerning the establishment of general standards of political and economic life, as well as all decrees introducing radical changes in the existing practice of any state institutions", it was then provided, "must be examined by the all-Russian central executive committee". Furthermore, the committee was charged with increasing its control over the local soviets and even over the people's commissariats. The latter were ordered to present regular reports to the committee. The definite trend towards the limitation of the authority of the soviet of people's commissars, however, was best shown in that part of the decree providing that the presidium of the all-Russian central executive committee should have the right to annul the resolutions issued by the soviet of people's commissars and likewise to issue necessary regulations in the name of the committee. Controversies between people's commissariats and local executive committees were to be settled by the presidium. Finally, the committee was to decide all questions concerning the administrative and economic division of the RSFSR.[14]

This new enumeration of duties served not only to make each people's commissar and the soviet of people's commissars more dependent on the presidium of the all-Russian central executive committee, but also to strengthen the presidium at the expense of the committee as a whole. In the place of a powerful soviet of people's commissars of the early revolutionary period, a new centralized direction had been formed by December 1920, though the leaders remained the same in it as in the old directing authority.

[14] See page 646.

They merely began to consider their acts as members of the presidium of the central executive committee to be superior to their duties as members of the soviet of people's commissars. In the field of legislation, the former decrees of the soviet of people's commissars were to give way in important matters to decrees of the all-Russian central executive committee, and, a little later, of the presidium of that committee.

From 1920 to 1921 the central executive committee held its regular sessions every two months. When the ninth congress of soviets assembled in December 1921 and decided thereafter to meet only once a year, it accordingly decreed that the committee should meet not less than three times a year, though when it did assemble its sessions were to last longer than the average of ten days which had been customary. It was decided that immediately after each congress of soviets a session of the committee should be convoked in order to elect its presidium and also the soviet of people's commissars. Since the presidium consisted of a small group with wide powers, its election, usually a matter of form since the same persons regularly maintained their positions, represented one of the principal duties of the committee. In view of this centralized direction, there was no longer need for worry about the size of that body. Instead of attempts to limit its membership, as was the case in the early period of the revolution, the ninth congress of soviets increased its size to 386 members. This step was taken, it was explained, because of the increase in the size of the soviet federation and the desire of the various autonomous soviet republics to be represented. The members of the local areas included on this local central body, while, on the one hand, they did not interfere with the activities of the real rulers, were, on the other hand, of inestimable value when they returned home to carry out the orders and to propagate the doctrines of Moscow.

Upon the formation of the USSR at the end of 1922 and

the entry into force of the constitution of the Union in July 1923, so far as the membership of the all-Russian central executive committee was concerned, it almost became the central executive committee of the USSR. Certain members, however, retained their positions in the central executive committee of the RSFSR while at the same time undertaking posts in the corresponding body for the Union.[15] The central executive committee of the RSFSR was hereafter to be concerned only with affairs in a republic which was theoretically on the same basis of equality as the other republics in the federal union.

As formed at the first congress of soviets of the USSR at the end of December 1922, the union soviet consisted of 371 members: 270 from the RSFSR, 68 from the Ukraine, 26 from Transcaucasia, and 7 from White Russia. In addition 138 alternates were elected. Both numbers were increased to 414 on January 31, 1924, when two new republics, the Uzbek and Turkmen, were admitted to the Union. "This increase resulted exclusively from the fact that the sessions of the central executive committee shall be held more regularly and for a longer period of time than to the present." [16] At all times, however, the predominance of the RSFSR was maintained. The central executive committee began to function normally as from February 2, 1924, when it elected its presidium, its president, the presi-

[15] Speaking before the third congress of soviets of the USSR on May 14, 1925, a delegate from the RSFSR (Solodub) stated: "I want to defend the RSFSR from oppression at the hands of the Union. Our Union occupied all the commissariats of the RSFSR and actually the RSFSR has no longer its own face. In order to give the RSFSR its real face its capital should be transferred to Leningrad, while the capital of the Union should remain in the heart of the revolution—Moscow"; 3 Stenographic report, 133. Had the delegate viewed the problem from the point of view of the Union, he would perhaps have stated, on the contrary, that the USSR represented only a made-over RSFSR and that the other republics forming the Union had no 'face' at all.

[16] Statement by Enukidze, secretary of the central executive committee of the Union, before the second congress of soviets on January 31, 1924, *II s'ezd sovetov SSSR,* 128-136.

dent of the soviet of people's commissars, and individual members.

In keeping with their principles of the rights of nationalities, it was only natural that the bolshevik leaders stressed the first of these branches. In its composition, competence, and historical development the soviet of nationalities expresses the attempt made by the soviets to adjust their national policy to the conditions of the country on the one hand and to their ultimate political aims on the other. The communist party shrewdly applied the loudly proclaimed principles of self-determination and freedom of oppressed peoples in the early revolutionary period. Later there began a process of whittling down the rights which had been bestowed in a moment of desperation.

The present soviet of nationalities has its direct antecedents as far back as November 1917. Until the end of the period of civil war, there existed a people's commissariat for nationalities concerned with the establishment of autonomous republics and regions, and, in general, with winning the support of all non-Russian peoples for the soviet cause. Within this commissariat were organized various subcommissariats representing particular national class organizations. In the words of a bolshevik writer, they were "the fighting organs which used all the power of their work in order to create autonomous units and to establish the victory of the soviet system therein." [17]

When the civil war was in progress, the soviet authorities were compelled to restate their national policy. It had to be decided whether the movement in favor of autonomous states should be continued, or whether, on the ground that soviet power would later be secure, the growth of such units should be discouraged. The policy which the leaders decided to follow was shown in a decree published on May 19, 1920. It was provided that each nationality in the RSFSR should be represented on the commissariat for

[17] V. I. Ignat'ev, *Sovet natsional'nostei TsIK SSSR*, 6.

nationalities, within which was formed a special soviet of nationalities. The usual system of class representation was replaced by that of autonomous nationalities. The authority of the new body, however, was limited to drafting proposals affecting the various nationalities and to giving its opinion on the legislation issued by the regular organs. It enjoyed no exclusive jurisdiction, and the centralized nature of the soviet system of administration made an advisory body of little practical utility.

When plans for the union of all soviet republics were under way, the problem of nationalities again became a leading issue. Split up as Soviet Russia was into numerous large republics and various autonomous areas, some means had to be found to preserve the hallowed doctrines of self-determination. From a practical point of view, the bolshevik leaders had never intended that the issue of national rights should conflict with the declared right of the working class to establish its power.

The prevailing concept of the national question was shown in the first draft of a constitution for the USSR, under which the central executive committee of the Union was to be formed on exactly the same lines as the all-Russian central executive committee. In other words, the constitution of the USSR was to do no more than repeat that of the RSFSR. This was logical, for to a fair degree the constitution of the RSFSR had in practice applied to the other soviet republics.

Under the leadership and influence of Stalin, however, the communist party decided to rejuvenate its theoretical principles. The steps taken have been well summarized in the report of the executive committee of the communist international on the period from the fourth to the fifth world congress of that body, as follows:

> The proper conduct of the national policy of our party was secured by: (1) the decisions of the XII congress of the Russian communist party [in April 1923]; (2) the more concrete for-

mulation of these decisions at the IV conference of the representatives of the central committee on the national question that took place in June 1923; and (3) the amalgamation of all independent socialist soviet republics with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The XII congress of the Russian communist party recommended its members to endeavor to secure the following fundamental measures:—

(*a*) That in forming the central organs of the Union, all national republics, without exception, be guaranteed equal rights and positions, and that all the needs of the nationalities be satisfied;

(*b*) That the executive organs be formed on a basis guaranteeing the actual participation of representatives of the republics in them and satisfying the needs and necessities of the nationalities of the Union;

(*c*) That the republics be given sufficiently wide budgetary and financial rights.

(*d*) That the organs of the national republics be formed mainly of local men who know the life, morals, and customs of the respective nationalities;

(*e*) That special laws be published guaranteeing the use of the native language in all state organs;

(*f*) That educational work be intensified in the red army in the spirit of planting ideas of fraternity and solidarity between the nations of the Union, and that measures be taken to organize national divisions of the army; and

(*g*) That a special organ representing all republics and national areas without exception, on an equal footing, be included in the system of higher organs of state rule.

The last-mentioned provision, which fits into the general scheme for the solution of the national problem, is of special interest here. It is the source of the provision of the constitution of the USSR for a bicameral central executive committee. To quote directly from the resolution adopted by the party in April 1923: [18]

The Union of Republics . . . is the . . . first step toward the creation of the future World Soviet Republic of Labor. . . .

[18] See page 633 for reference.

The supreme organs of the union must be established so as to reflect not only the common needs of all nationalities of the union, but also the special needs of separate nationalities. Therefore, along with the existing central organs of the Union, representing the working masses, irrespective of nationality, there must be created a special organ which would give equal representation to the nationalities.

The congress recommended that the members of the party undertake to secure equality of rights for each republic in the central organs of authority and the representation, on a basis of equality, of all soviet republics and autonomous regions.

This decision of the communist party was, of course, carried out by the framers of the constitution of the USSR. The central executive committee of the Union was divided into two branches in order to give full and equal representation to the several national units, both on the basis of population and on the basis of political existence, irrespective of size or importance. These chambers were named respectively the union soviet, to be elected directly by the congress of soviets of the Union on the principle of proportional representation of all republics and regions, and the soviet of nationalities, formed on the principle of party and of equal representation from the Union and national republics and national autonomous regions. Each union (*e.g.,* the Ukraine) or autonomous republic (*e.g.,* the Tatar republic) has five representatives and each autonomous region (*e.g.,* the Kalmyk) one representative.[19]

A cursory analysis would indicate that the central executive committee of the USSR is a bicameral system compa-

[19] While the union soviet is elected by the congress of soviets, the soviet of nationalities is elected by the executive committees of the autonomous republics and regions, subject to ratification as a whole by the congress of soviets. This was provided "in order to secure for the soviet of nationalities . . . the legislative prerogatives from the congress of soviets itself. This principle of *election* of one chamber and *ratification* of the other chamber secures for the central executive committee as a whole the authority which is vested in the congress of soviets itself." Statement by Enukidze at the second congress of soviets, as cited.

rable to that of almost any country with a parliamentary form of government. The very nature of the soviet system of class power and control, however, eliminates this type of comparison. Established on the basis of the equality of the toiling masses both in the union republics and in the autonomous republics, the central executive committee of the USSR is declared by bolshevik writers to be the "first attempt in the history of mankind to coördinate the mutual relations of independent states on the basis of their absolute equality".[20] Fondly regarded as the first step toward the creation of the future world soviet republic and as destined to absorb the workers of all lands, irrespective of nationality, the present union of republics in Russia is looked upon as the initial step towards the establishment of a government which will represent the laboring masses of the world.

A brief outline may now be given of the organization of the branches of the central executive committee of the USSR. First may be considered the soviet of nationalities in its relation to the central executive committee as a whole, its juridical status, and the general rôle that it is expected

[20] A. Malitskii, *Sovetskaia konstitutsiia,* 273. The difference was stated by Enukidze before the second congress of soviets on January 31, 1924, as follows: "Our constitution, different from all other existing constitutions, has another characteristic, namely, that it provides a bicameral system which is entirely different even from the generally accepted interpretation of bicameral systems. Wherever there is a bicameral system, it exists on an entirely different principle, namely, that one of the chambers always prevails over the other. Our class representation, however, is reflected in the union soviet; whilst in the soviet of nationalities we have proportionally represented all nationalities inhabiting our Union, whereby the union soviet has no greater legislative right than the soviet of nationalities, which is composed equally of the representatives of all national republics and autonomous regions. The principle of the composition of our legislative organs is perfectly different. While one organ is based on the principle of class, proportional representation, the other is based on the principle of national representation, but in spite of this fact, and regardless of their numerical difference, in the sphere of legislative work they have entirely equal rights. Not a single bill which must pass through the . . . central executive committee can become a law unless it passes through the union soviet and the soviet of nationalities and is approved by them." Statement by Enukidze, as cited.

to play in protecting the interests of the many nationalities in the Soviet Union.

The day after the constitution of the USSR entered into force, the all-Russian central executive committee issued a decree abolishing the people's commissariat for nationalities. The decree explained that this commissariat had fulfilled its historical mission, namely, the formation of national republics and regions and their final unification.[21] Its place was to be taken by the soviet of nationalities.

Sessions of the soviet of nationalities and of the union soviet, and thus of the central executive committee as a whole, are held three times a year. In the interval between the sessions each chamber elects a presidium to carry on its work. Composed of nine members, the jurisdiction of this permanent presidium is not treated of in the constitution of the USSR save for the statement that it shall prepare materials for the sessions of the central executive committee. In practice each presidium concerns itself with all questions which are discussed by the respective chambers. The status of the presidium in relation to the other central organs of authority is sufficiently obscure. It is, of course, inferior to the presidium of the central executive committee as a whole, as described below.

The rights and privileges of members of the soviet of nationalities and of the union soviet are defined in some detail. They are given special rights when travelling in the republics and regions. They may participate in the sessions of the central executive committees of the various republics and in the sessions of all central and local soviet institutions throughout the Union. As in the other organs of the soviet structure, the special status of representatives of the local areas, by virtue of their position in the central administration, is a tactical method of securing a widely

[21] *Vtoraiia sessiia Vserossiiskago tsentral'nago ispolnitel'nago komiteta X sozyva*, 44.

diffused support for the policies of the men behind the screen.

A brief statement in the constitution deals with the powers of the two chambers. While formally on an equality with the union soviet, having only 131 members as opposed to the 414 of the union soviet, the soviet of nationalities is numerically an inferior body. For this reason it was provided at the second congress of soviets on January 31, 1924, that the two branches should meet and vote both in joint and in separate sessions.

In case of conflict between the two chambers regarding legislation, the matter is submitted to an arbitration commission. When this commission can not reach an agreement, a joint session of the central executive is convoked. There the bill is voted on by each branch separately, and a majority in each chamber is necessary for adoption. Then if a majority is not secured, the matter may be submitted for decision at the following or even an extraordinary congress of soviets. As is explained later, however, the duties of the chambers are so limited and so stereotyped that there is little danger of serious differences of opinions on important matters. Still the legislative theory is maintained that in the Soviet Union there is a governmental body which guarantees a perfect representation from the point of view of class interests (the union soviet) and the interests of the nationalities (the soviet of nationalities). As such, "an illustrious example" is given "not only to the higher developed peoples of western Europe and America but also to hundreds of millions of oppressed peoples in the colonies".[22]

In the administrative field, the provisions that the soviet of nationalities has the right to participate in forming the presidia of the central executive committee and of the soviet of people's commissars, that the presidium of the soviet of nationalities and that of the union soviet are

[22] Statement by Enukidze at the second congress of soviets, as cited.

at the same time a part of the presidium of the central executive committee, and that the president of the soviet of nationalities and his deputy are members of the soviet of people's commissars of the USSR, all show the important constitutional rôle of the branches of the central executive committee. This power is enhanced by the grant of the right to suspend and amend the decisions of the congresses of soviets and central executive committees of the several autonomous republics and to direct their policy.

The practice, however, shows that the constitutional prerogatives of the branches of the central executive committee mean comparatively little. This being so, it is obvious that in the end there must be some other organ which actually exercises the authority in theory belonging to the central executive committee. The key to the situation is to be found in the relation of the branches of the central executive committee to the presidium [23] thereof, and, in turn, the relation of that presidium to a body not mentioned in the constitution, the polit-bureau of the communist party, which will be described later. For the moment it will suffice to give the naïve observation of a soviet writer that "*de facto* the soviet of nationalities exercises its rights to a much lesser extent simply because it does not find it to be necessary: evidently the acts of current legislation, as well as the orders concerning current administration, are perfectly satisfactory to it. . . ." [24] Furthermore, reference may be made in this connection to an explanation of class principles or requirements postulated by Enukidze, the secretary of the central executive committee of the USSR. To use his words, "the rights granted by the constitution to the soviet of nationalities . . . may exist only under the fundamental presupposition that all peoples included in the USSR have confidence in

[23] The presidium of the central executive committee should not be confused with the corresponding body for each of the branches thereof, that is of the soviet of nationalities and of the union soviet.

[24] Ignat'ev, as cited, 33.

each other and that all workers and peasants who possess the authority in their national territories have similar interests." [25] The same reasoning may be applied to the union soviet. This conception of the status of the nationalities as respects class ends, however, seemingly makes unnecessary a detailed discussion of the constitutional rôle and work of either branch of the central executive committee. It is perhaps necessary to determine only who judges the identity of interests of the toiling masses. This arbiter, it is evident, is not to be found in either branch of the central executive committee of the USSR. If the constitutional structure is considered alone, the actual source of authority is the presidium of the central executive committee.

Apt illustrations of the way in which authority is exercised by the presidium of the central executive committee are not lacking. Reference may be made in particular to a report by Enukidze, secretary of that committee, to the third session of the fourth central executive committee on April 19, 1928.[26] The report dealt with the exclusion from the committee of certain members who were in bad grace with the leaders of the communist party. An excerpt follows:

"The presidium of the central executive committee . . . was forced to expel . . . eight members of the central executive committee. . . . This was an unparalleled precedent . . . and it was not easy, of course, . . . to adopt such decision. . . .

". . . You know the existing system of elections to our central executive committee. The soviet congress of soviets elects the members of the central executive committee, but the soviet congress gives its sanction, its confidence, and its voice to those communist comrades who are nominated by the communist fraction of the soviet congress. For

[25] Quoted in I. N. Ananov, *Ocherki federalnago upravleniia SSSR*, 32.
[26] *Izvestiia*, April 26, 1928.

every communist member of the central executive committee there are two imperative preliminary conditions under which he may attend to his duties, and under which he may be a responsible member of that supreme organ which just now is in session here. One of them is the confidence of the congress, the vote of the congress which elects the members of the central executive committee; and the other is the confidence of that party which gives its sanction for their election. It is unthinkable for a communist to remain in the ranks of the central executive committee if he has lost the confidence of his party, and therefore, . . . since the party, with full reason, has for certain acts deprived of its confidence very prominent members thereof, the presidium of the central executive committee is confronted with the question of regarding their [further] presence in the ranks of the supreme organs of the government. And when the party, represented by the fraction of the presidium of the central executive committee of the USSR, informed us that they had been excluded from the party, that the party had deprived them of its confidence for a certain period of time, the presidium decided that the [further] presence of these persons in the ranks of the central executive committee was unthinkable as long as they had not regained the confidence of the party, which had promoted them, had supported them morally, and had shown them confidence during the congress of soviets of the USSR.

". . . Those eight persons are: Beloborodov, Zinov'ev, Ishtshenko, Kamenev, Rakovskii, I. N. Smirnov, Trotskii, Kasparova. . . ."

The presidium of the central executive committee, therefore, acted as the instrument of the communist party in purging a constitutional soviet organ of undesirable party members. In certain cases these members held positions other than that of member of the central executive committee. These, too, were denied to them.

It has been pointed out several times above that the real source of constitutional authority in the RSFSR and in other polities was the presidium of the central executive committee. It is natural that this should be correspondingly true of the central executive committee of the USSR. This centralized organ is composed of the nine members of the presidium of the union soviet, the nine members of the presidium of the soviet of nationalities, and nine other members elected at the joint session of the two branches of the central executive committee.

The reasons for the importance of this organ of governmental authority are self-evident. The presidium includes the political leaders. It is centralized. It is constitutionally the supreme authority save when the central executive committee or the congress of soviets is in session. Even then it is really supreme in practice. Both the congress of soviets and the central executive committee take no action in matters that have not been brought up and, in fact, already decided by the presidium of the central executive committee.

These facts make illustrations perhaps superfluous. Mention may be made, however, of two resolutions, dated April 6, 1928, of the all-Russian central executive committee. These refer to legislative bills concerning the acts organizing the territorial, regional, circuit, provincial, and district congresses of soviets and executive committees. The respective drafts are 'confirmed', but at the same time, curiously enough, the presidium of the central executive committee is "instructed to *establish within a month the definite wording*[27] of these resolutions. In other words, the resolutions are 'confirmed' before their wording is definitely settled. The example applies as well for the procedure of the central executive committee of the USSR as for the RSFSR. It shows how little importance attaches in reality to the congresses of soviets and the sessions of

[27] *Izvestiia*, April 26, 1928.

the central executive committee, whether of the soviet or of the party organs. These popular assemblies are but a mask for hiding the real sources of legislation and power. So far as the official governmental system is concerned, the real source of power is the presidium of the central executive committee. This body, as is shown in detail later, is in turn but a mouthpiece of an organ of the communist party, the polit-bureau. Under these conditions, together with the existence of a remarkably efficient police system, there is nothing surprising in the remark of Stalin at the fifteenth party congress in December 1927 that "the soviet government is the most stable of all governments in the world".[28]

[28] Report of the XV congress . . . (London 1928), 60. Stalin continued as follows: "But if the soviet government is the most stable government of all existing governments in the world, of which any bourgeois government may be envious, it does not yet mean that everything in this sphere is satisfactory. . . . There are unfavorable elements. . . . We have first of all unemployment. . . . We have, secondly, shortcomings in the construction of dwellings for workers, a housing crisis, which we must also overcome or at least reduce to a minimum, within the next few years. We have certain germs of anti-Semitism, not only among certain circles of the middle strata, but also among certain sections of the workers, and even among certain circles of our party. . . . We also have such a weak point as the slackening of our anti-religious struggle. Finally, we also have terrible cultural backwardness."

DOCUMENTS TO CHAPTER VIII

I. Standing Orders of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.
II. Decree Relating to the Members of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.
III. Standing Orders of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.
IV. Decree on the Moldavian Central Executive Committee.

I

STANDING ORDERS, DATED DECEMBER 17, 1919, OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (VTsIK), RATIFIED BY THE VTsIK ON JANUARY 5, 1922 [1]

1. The VTsIK meets in regular sessions.
2. The VTsIK fixes the date of its sessions.
3. In cases of emergency, sessions of the VTsIK can be convoked either by its presidium or upon the suggestion of the sovnarkom, or upon the demand of one-third of the members of the VTsIK.
4. In case of the summoning of an extraordinary session by the presidium, members of the VTsIK are informed thereof, as well as of the agenda of the session, through their party whips, and by public announcement.
5. The agenda of sessions of the VTsIK is prepared by the presidium at least before the sessions, and is announced in the *Izvestiia* of the VTsIK.
6. The secretariat of the VTsIK sends to the members thereof, as far as possible, all materials relative to the agenda of the session.
7. The secretariat of the VTsIK, or specially appointed members of the VTsIK, have charge of summoning all commissions which may be formed by the presiding soviet, and of their organization.
8. A quorum of the VTsIK exists when at least 100 [125] members thereof are present.

[1] *Sbornik dekretov 1919 goda*, 421-424. The present standing orders of the VTsIK are given in the following document.

Of the Standing Orders of the Plenary Sessions

9. It is the duty of all members of the VTsIK to be at the session at the time set.

10. Every proposal or request for permission to speak must be made in writing.

11. Reporters and co-reporters are given not more than forty-five minutes for their statement. Groups numbering at least 50 members may put forward a co-reporter.

12. For their concluding speech, reporters are given twenty minutes.

13. Speakers representing parties are given not more than fifteen minutes.

14. Speakers may address the meeting on the same question not more than twice, being granted ten minutes on the first occasion and five minutes on the second.

15. For speeches in support of amendments, declarations, etc., the time allowed is three minutes, but not more than once for each item on the agenda.

16. All resolutions, amendments, and supplements in every case must be submitted in writing.

17. Where resolutions are proposed, speeches of not more than three minutes are allowed, one in support of the resolution and one against it.

18. For declarations as to the motives of voting, speeches of not more than three minutes are allowed, after the voting, only to representatives of the parties.

19. For personal statements three minutes are allowed at the end of the meeting.

20. Motions are submitted in writing to the presidium, which fixes the order of their reading. No discussions on such motions are allowed.

Voting

21. All questions are decided by open voting and by a simple majority of votes.

22. Voting by roll-call takes place upon a written request of not less than thirty members of the VTsIK.

Of the Regulations Concerning Members of the VTsIK

23. Members of the VTsIK may not be arrested without the consent of the presidium or the president of the VTsIK.

24. Members of the VTsIK are committed for trial only on the decision of the VTsIK or of its presidium.

25. Members of the VTsIK may not refuse to execute any task entrusted to them by the presidium.

26. All members of the VTsIK must attend all the meetings thereof, and of its departments and commissions in which they work.

NOTE: In the case of members of the VTsIK not being able to attend the meetings, they must inform the chairman or the secretary of the VTsIK of the fact.

27. Members of the VTsIK who have failed to attend three meetings in succession, without showing justifiable reasons for their absence, are considered to have forfeited their membership in the VTsIK.

28. Retired members of the VTsIK are replaced by alternates.

29. Members of the VTsIK absent from any session are replaced by alternates for the duration of the session.

30. Members of the VTsIK, when sent on special missions by the presidium, are given a corresponding mandate, and must, immediately on their return, submit a report on their mission.

31. Members of the VTsIK may act in the name of the VTsIK only when properly authorized to do so by the presidium.

32. All members of the VTsIK, of whatever nature their work, receive a salary at the rates provided for members of the VTsIK. Receipt of additional salary is forbidden.

33. Members of the VTsIK sent on a mission by orders of the presidium thereof receive free tickets on the railways.

NOTE: Traveling expenses are paid by the presidium. Telegrams sent by members of the VTsIK to the address of the VTsIK are accepted by the post office free of charge and are paid for by the VTsIK in the usual way.

34. Members of the VTsIK have the right of advisory voice in all proceedings of local soviet institutions.

35. All members of the VTsIK have the right of admission to all soviet institutions of the RSFSR, upon presentation of their credentials, and have the right of obtaining all the information they require except secret data of the war department.

36. Members of the presidium of the VTsIK are immediately admitted to all soviet institutions of the RSFSR, without exception, on presentation of their credentials, no special passes issued by the institution in question being necessary.

General Rules

37. All decrees and reports intended for the consideration of the VTsIK are first submitted to the presidium for its own information and for inclusion in the agenda notices of the session of the VTsIK. Replies to interpellations must be given not later than at the regular session following that at which the interpellation was made.

38. All materials, resolutions, decrees, etc., submitted for the consideration of the VTsIK are supplied to all members of the VTsIK for their information, as far as possible not later than two weeks before the opening of the session.

39. All members who have spoken at a session of the VTsIK receive a stenographic report of their speech on the following day, and are obliged to return the same corrected within three days.

40. All inaccuracies noticed in the minutes, as well as any corrections, must be communicated in writing to the secretariat of the VTsIK within two days after the receipt of the minutes.

Signed: The president of the VTsIK, M. Kalinin.
The secretary of the VTsIK, A. Enukidze.

II

Decree, Dated October 24, 1925, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) on the Statute on the Members of the VTsIK Adopted at the II Session, XII Meeting [1]

[Note: This decree amends articles 23-35 of the preceding document on the VTsIK; otherwise the original text remains in force.]

The VTsIK decides to ratify the following statute on the members of the VTsIK:

The Statute on the Members of the VTsIK

1. Members of the VTsIK and their candidates are elected at the all-Russian congress of soviets for the period running until the next all-Russian congress of soviets.

2. Members of the VTsIK have the right of legislative initiative and of inquiry in the sessional (plenary) meetings of the VTsIK.

3. Members of the VTsIK, in the interim between sessions of the VTsIK, participate in the work of the presidium thereof

[1] Konstitutsiia RSFSR [Published by the people's commissariat for justice of the RSFSR], 43-49.

either by discharging their own duties entrusted to them by the present statute, without having been deprived of their main occupation (agriculture, productive work, etc.), or by executing special tasks entrusted to them by the presidium of the VTsIK, or, finally, by remaining for permanent work in the central and local organs.

4. Members of the VTsIK must attend all meetings thereof, as well as of all commissions in which they have been assigned work, and must execute all special orders of the presidium of the VTsIK.

NOTE: In case of members of the VTsIK not being able to attend the meetings of the VTsIK or of the commissions on which they are included, or not being able to execute the special duties entrusted to them, they must inform the presidium of the VTsIK of the fact.

5. Members of the VTsIK may participate, with the right of advisory vote, in the proceedings of the presidium of the VTsIK and also in all the proceedings and meetings of the central and local organs of soviet authority, state institutions, and of communal organizations throughout the RSFSR, as well as initiate questions concerning the repeal or revision of illegal decisions thereof, or appeal to the superior organs.

6. Members of the VTsIK may act in the name of the VTsIK only in cases when properly authorized to do so by the presidium of the VTsIK.

7. All members of the VTsIK have the right of free admission to all soviet institutions of the RSFSR upon presentation of their credentials and have the right to obtain all necessary information from all soviet and economic institutions.

NOTE: The members of the VTsIK may obtain secret data only upon a special permit from the president or from the secretary of the VTsIK.

8. Members of the VTsIK must inform the population of the work done by the VTsIK and of the questions discussed at the sessions thereof.

9. Members of the VTsIK, by means of correspondence, must remain permanently in communication with the presidium of the VTsIK in the course of their work.

NOTE: Official telegrams and correspondence sent by members of the VTsIK to the presidium of the VTsIK are accepted by the post and telegraph offices free of charge and are paid for by the VTsIK in a fixed manner.

10. Members of the VTsIK, when sent on special missions by the presidium, are given a corresponding mandate and must, immediately on their return, submit a report on their mission.

11. All matters concerning offences and negligence on the part of members of the VTsIK may be initiated only with the consent of the presidium of the VTsIK.

12. Members of the VTsIK, when requested by the judicial or administrative authorities to serve as witnesses, may be called upon in an ordinary manner.

In exceptional cases, when the member of the VTsIK, for some reason, finds it impossible to serve as a witness, he must inform the judicial authorities and submit simultaneously a report to the presidium of the VTsIK explaining the motives for the refusal.

13. The organs of judicial investigating authority can not apply to the members of the VTsIK the measures provided by the corresponding articles of the criminal procedure code of the RSFSR for witnesses and must, in such cases, ask for proper instructions from the VTsIK.

14. The members of the VTsIK can not be discharged from office as a result of charges against them, nor can they be arrested, detained, searched, and examined by the judicial or administrative authorities without a special decision of the presidium of the VTsIK.

In extraordinary cases such measures may be taken with the consent of the president of the VTsIK provided that a report is made to the presidium of the VTsIK at the next meeting thereof.

15. The members of the VTsIK may be brought to trial or suffer disciplinary punishment only upon the decision of the VTsIK or its presidium. The completed materials relating to the inquiry in cases concerning the accusation of members of the VTsIK must be submitted first to the presidium of the VTsIK. The decision on questions concerning the accusation or disciplinary punishment may be delivered only after a request made by the presidium of the VTsIK to the defendant either to appear in person or to submit a written statement on the case.

16. Expulsion from membership in the VTsIK may take place only upon the decision of the all-Russian congress of soviets and, in extraordinary cases, upon the decision of the VTsIK, provided that such decision is submitted for final ratification by the all-Russian congress of soviets at its next meeting.

17. The salary of members of the VTsIK is determined by a special decision of the VTsIK.

18. Retired members of the VTsIK are replaced by candidates.

19. Members of the VTsIK absent from the sessions thereof are replaced by the candidates who, in such cases, shall have the right of deciding vote.

20. Candidates to membership in the VTsIK, when not substituting the absent members (articles 18 and 19), shall have, in all sessions of the VTsIK, the right of advisory vote.

21. All rights and duties established by the present statute on the members of the VTsIK apply also to the candidates.

III

Standing Orders, Adopted November 12, 1923, of the Central Executive Committee (TsIK) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) with Amendments Thereto[1]

Chapter I—*General Provisions*

1. The composition and competence of the TsIK of the USSR are determined by the constitution of the USSR.

2. The powers of the TsIK of the USSR shall date from the moment of election of the union soviet by the congress of soviets of the USSR (article 14 of the constitution of the USSR), and of approval of the soviet of nationalities by the same congress; they shall cease when the new TsIK of the USSR is formed.

3. There shall be ordinary and extraordinary sessions of the TsIK of the USSR.

4. The ordinary sessions of the TsIK of the USSR are convoked by the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR three times a year (article 21 of the constitution of the USSR).

5. The extraordinary sessions of the TsIK of the USSR are convoked, in conformity with article 21 of the constitution of the USSR, by the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR upon its decision, upon the request of the presidium of the union soviet, or upon the request of the soviet of nationalities, as well as upon the request of the central executive committee of one of the union republics.

6. The order of ordinary sessions of the TsIK of the USSR shall be published by the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR

[1] 1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov SSSR*, 16-25.

in the *"Isvestiia Tsentral'nago ispolnitel'nago Komiteta Soiuza SSR"* not later than one month before the opening of the session of the TsIK of the USSR.

7. In case extraordinary sessions of the TsIK of the USSR are convoked, the notice concerning these sessions may be issued without the time requirement as mentioned in article 6 of this statute.

8. The work of the session of the TsIK of the USSR is carried out:

a. In the sessions of the union soviet;

b. In the sessions of the soviet of nationalities;

c. In the joint sessions of the union soviet and soviet of nationalities.

9. The internal order of working of the sessions of the TsIK of the USSR is determined by a statute drafted by the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR and ratified at the session of the TsIK of the USSR.

10. At the first session of the TsIK of the USSR is formed its presidium in conformity with articles 25, 26, and 27 of the constitution of the USSR.

11. The number of candidates for membership in the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR shall be determined by the first joint session of the union soviet and the soviet of nationalities. The candidates for membership in the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR have the right, on the basis of seniority, of deciding vote when replacing the absent members of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR.

CHAPTERS II-III—*Of the Union Soviet and Soviet of Nationalities*[1] *of the TsIK of the USSR*

12. The composition and competence of the union soviet are determined by the constitution of the USSR.

13. The union soviet assembles only during the sessions of the TsIK of the USSR.

14. One-third of the members of the union soviet is required to constitute a quorum.

15. At its first session, the union soviet elects its presidium (article 25 of the constitution of the USSR), which carries out

[1] Chapter III on the soviet of nationalities is the same as chapter II on the union soviet with the two exceptions noted in footnotes. Otherwise it is necessary only to substitute the words "soviet of nationalities" for "union soviet."

all preparatory work for the sessions of the union soviet and directs the work thereof.

16. The sessions of the union soviet are convoked upon the decisions of its presidium, as well as upon the decisions of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR.

17. Questions are submitted to the union soviet by the soviet itself, or its presidium, as well as by the soviet of nationalities or presidium thereof, and also by the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR, by the sovnarkom of the USSR, individual people's commissariats of the USSR, central executive committees of the union republics, or by the members of the TsIK of the USSR.

18. All questions not submitted to the union soviet by the soviet of nationalities are submitted to the latter after examination by the former.

19. All questions submitted upon the initiative of the union soviet are introduced into the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR for its decision and further submission to both soviets thereof in order to give the bill its legal status (article 22 of the constitution of the USSR).

20. All questions which have passed through the soviet of nationalities are regarded as being accepted in final form by the TsIK of the USSR, provided that the decisions of the union soviet coincide with those of the soviet of nationalities. In this case, the decisions of the union soviet are forwarded for execution to the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR as if they were the decisions of the TsIK of the USSR. In case of disagreement between the soviets, the decisions are passed to the arbitration commission.

21. The union soviet may form provisional commissions to examine various individual problems.[1]

22. All communications of the union soviet with the soviet organs and institutions are effected through the TsIK of the USSR.

23. All questions are decided in the union soviet by an open vote, a simple majority being necessary.

NOTE: The individual vote is taken only upon a written request of not less than thirty [2] members of the union soviet.

[1] Chapter III, article 33, contains this addition "Note: In case these commissions are working on questions concerning one of the union republics or autonomous regions,—one representative from the corresponding republic or region must be included in the commission."

[2] In the case of the soviet of nationalities, chapter III, article 35, note, read "ten".

CHAPTER IV.—*Of the Arbitration Commission of the Union Soviet and Soviet of Nationalities*

36. In case of disagreement between the union soviet and the soviet of nationalities on the submitted questions, these soviets, in conformity with article 25 of the constitution of the USSR, form in each case separately an arbitration commission to settle the difficulty.

37. The arbitration commissions shall be composed of an equal number of representatives from both the union soviet and the soviet of nationalities.

38. The presiding members of the arbitration commissions shall be appointed by the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR whereby in case the presiding member is not appointed from amongst the members of the arbitration commission, he shall have only an advisory vote.

39. In case an agreement has been reached by the commission, its decision shall be submitted for ratification by each of the soviets separately: by the union soviet and the soviet of nationalities. The agreement is considered as having been reached when a majority of votes of the representatives from each soviet separately has been secured.

In case no agreement can be reached, the entire controversy, in conformity with article 24 of the constitution of the USSR, shall be submitted to the joint session of the union soviet and the soviet of nationalities.

40. The arbitration commission in its work may make use of all facilities of the TsIK of the USSR.

CHAPTER V.—*Of the Joint Session of the Union Soviet and Soviet of Nationalities of the TsIK of the USSR*

41. A quorum of the joint session of the union soviet and soviet of nationalities is reached when the quorums of both these soviets are present (articles 14 and 26 of this statute).

42. The joint session of the union soviet and soviet of nationalities is presided over by one of the presidents of the TsIK of the USSR.

43. The vote on the joint session of the union soviet and soviet of nationalities is taken separately by both bodies.

44. In case of disagreement between the majorities of the union soviet and the soviet of nationalities at the joint session, the whole controversy, upon the request of one of the soviets, shall be submitted to the congress of soviets of the USSR (article 24 of the constitution of the USSR).

CHAPTER VI.—*Of the Formation of the Central Organs of Authority of the USSR*

45. The TsIK of the USSR forms its presidium composed of 27 members, who include the presidia of the union soviet and soviets of nationalities; it elects its presidents according to the number of union republics, as well as a secretary of the TsIK of the USSR, and forms, in conformity, with article 37 or the constitution of the USSR, the sovnarkom of the USSR composed of the president of the sovnarkom of the USSR, his deputies, and people's commissars of the USSR.

[Decree of the TsIK of the USSR, dated August 21, 1925.]

CHAPTER VII.—*Of the Presidium of the TsIK of the USSR*

46. The composition and competence of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR are determined by articles 26-36 of the constitution of the USSR.

47. The presidium of the TsIK of the USSR supervises the carrying out of the constitution of the USSR, execution of all decisions of the congresses of soviets and of the TsIK of the USSR by the organs of authority of the USSR.

48. The presidium of the TsIK of the USSR prepares all materials for the sessions of the TsIK of the USSR, and submits, in conformity with the constitution of the USSR, all questions to the latter.

49. The presidium of the TsIK of the USSR issues decrees, decisions and ordinances, examines and ratifies the projects of the decrees and decisions which have been introduced by the sovnarkom of the USSR, individual departments of the USSR, central executive committees of the union republics, their presidia and by other organs of authority.

NOTE: Individual departments of the USSR submit through the sovnarkom of the USSR to the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR all projects of the decrees and decisions.

50. All questions submitted by the institutions enumerated in the preceding article must be signed by the presidents or director (or their deputies), in whose name the question has been submitted.

51. The presidium of the TsIK of the USSR has the right to repeal the decisions of the sovnarkom of the USSR.

52. All decrees and decisions concerning general norms of political and economic life of the USSR, as well as those changing fundamentally the existing practice of the state organs of the USSR, and also the codes of laws, are in all cases

subject to examination and ratification by the TsIK of the USSR.

NOTE: In extraordinary cases the questions mentioned in this article may be decided by the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR, subject to subsequent ratification by the TsIK of the USSR.

[52. The presidium of the TsIK of the USSR, in virtue of article 29 of the fundamental law (constitution) of the USSR, in the interim between the sessions of the TsIK of the USSR, has the right of ratification of international treaties and agreements.

As adopted by the first session of the TsIK of the USSR at the third meeting, May 21, 1925.]

53. The decisions of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR may be repealed by the presidia of the union soviet and of the soviet of nationalities, as well as by the central executive committees of the union republics, by submitting the matter to the session of the TsIK of the USSR.

54. All projects submitted to the TsIK of the USSR are passed by the presidium thereof to the presidia of the union soviet and soviet of nationalities (article 25 of the constitution of the USSR).

55. The questions forwarded by the union soviet and soviet of nationalities to the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR, as well as those submitted by the central executive committees of the union republics or their presidia, are either examined by the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR, or forwarded for a preliminary special investigation to the sovnarkom of the USSR, or for a preliminary opinion to the corresponding department.

56. The TsIK of the USSR and its presidium, in conformity with article 1 of the constitution of the USSR, shall have the right of amnesty throughout the USSR, including also the right of amnesty in all special cases decided by the judicial or administrative organs of the USSR.

NOTE: The right of amnesty and of rehabilitation in special cases decided by the judicial or administrative organs of the USSR, belongs, in conformity with article 69 of the constitution of the USSR, also to the central executive committee of the union republics or their presidia.

57. The order in which matters concerning amnesty are submitted to the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR shall be

determined by a special decision of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR.

58. In the sessions of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR participate, with the right of advisory vote, also the representatives of the union republics, and in questions concerning individual autonomous republics and regions, also the representatives of the latter; the right of participation may be extended also to other persons, but in each case upon a special decision of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR.

59. The relations with all state institutions and individual departments in behalf of the TsIK of the USSR are carried out by the presidium or the secretary thereof.

60. All members of the secretariat, as well as all the technical apparatus of the TsIK of the USSR, shall be under the supervision and direction of the secretary of the TsIK of the USSR.

CHAPTER VIII.—*Of the Presidents of the TsIK of the USSR*

61. The presidents of the TsIK of the USSR are elected by the TsIK of the USSR (article 27 of the constitution of the USSR and article 45 of the present statute).

62. The presidents of the TsIK of the USSR discharge their duties in rotation, the order and term of which shall be determined by the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR.

In case the president of the TsIK of the USSR must be absent during his term of office, his functions are carried out by one of the presidents who remains in Moscow, or, upon appointment by the latter, one of the members of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR.

63. The president of the TsIK of the USSR acts within the competence granted to him by the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR, and may, in the name of the latter, take all administrative measures, but must report on such actions to the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR at its next session.

64. The president of the TsIK of the USSR presides in the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR, and at the joint sessions of the union soviet and the soviet of nationalities.

CHAPTER IX.—*Of the Members of the TsIK of the USSR*

65. The members of the TsIK of the USSR have the right of legislative initiative and of inquiry in the union soviet and

soviet of nationalities, as well as the joint sessions of these bodies.

66. The members of the TsIK of the USSR have the right to attend all sessions of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR.

67. The members of the TsIK of the USSR have the right of advistory vote in all sessions of the central executive committees of the union republics, as well as in all sessions of the central and local soviet institutions throughout the USSR.

NOTE: Attendance at secret sessions is allowed only upon a special permit of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR.

68. All members of the TsIK of the USSR have free access and right of way (*vne ocheredi*) in all soviet institutions throughout the USSR upon presentation of their credentials, and may receive all necessary information therefrom. Secret information may be given to the members of the TsIK of the USSR only upon a special permit of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR.

69. All charges concerning offences committed by members of the TsIK of the USSR while in office may be made only with the consent of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR.

NOTE: In instances where such a case concerning one of the members of the TsIK has originated in the commission of inquiry dealing with matters involving non-members of the TsIK of the USSR,—such consent of the TsIK to originate the case must be secured, immediately after the member of the TsIK has been charged as a defendant, whereby simultaneously a detailed report must be submitted.

70. The members of the TsIK of the USSR may be asked by the judicial or administrative organs to appear, in a general order, as witnesses.

In case they can not appear, the members of the TsIK of the USSR, after a report on the matter, may ask to be questioned at their offices or residences.

In exceptional cases, when the member of the TsIK of the USSR for some reason finds it impossible to answer the required questions,—he must inform immediately the proper judicial authorities and submit simultaneously a report to the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR, explaining the motives of his refusal.

71. The organs of judicial investigating authority can not apply to the members of the TsIK of the USSR the measures provided for by the criminal procedure codes of the union republics concerning the refusal of witnesses to take the stand, and

must apply to the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR for necessary directions.

72. The members of the TsIK of the USSR can not be arrested or detained, searched or examined by the judicial or administrative organs without a special decision of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR.

In extraordinary cases such measures may be taken upon the consent of the president of the TsIK of the USSR, provided that a report be made by the president to the TsIK of the USSR at the next session thereof.

73. The members of the TsIK of the USSR may be sentenced by court decision or in administrative order only upon the decision of the TsIK of the USSR or its presidium. In such cases, the materials relating to the preliminary investigation, upon which the charge is based, must be submitted first to the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR. The decision in these cases may be delivered by the presidium of the TsIK at its next session only after a request has been handed to the defendant to appear in person, or to submit a written statement on the case.

74. The recall of members of the TsIK of the USSR accused of committing a crime, prior to a hearing in the court, may take place exclusively upon the decision of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR.

75. In the interim between congresses, at which the members of the TsIK of the USSR are elected, the members of the TsIK of the USSR may be expelled from that body only upon the decision of extraordinary congresses of soviets of the USSR, and, in specifically urgent cases, upon the decisions of the TsIK of the USSR, provided that a report on the action taken be submitted to the next congress of soviets.

76. All members of the TsIK of the USSR, irrespective of the place and kind of work in which they are engaged, shall receive their pay from the TsIK of the USSR according to the appropriations especially provided for the members thereof.

77. The candidates to the TsIK of the USSR, elected in conformity with the union agreement, shall have the right (by seniority in the candidates' list) of deciding vote when part of the members of the TsIK of the USSR are not present; in all other cases they have the right of advisory vote.

All candidates have the same rights and duties as provided for the members of the TsIK of the USSR by articles 65-76 of the present statute.

CHAPTER X.—*Of the Commissions of the TsIK of the USSR*

78. The TsIK of the USSR and its presidium may establish or form the commissions charged with the examination of current questions concerning legislation or administration.

79. The commission of the TsIK of the USSR shall have no organization of their own, but may use the facilities of the organization of the TsIK of the USSR.

IV

DECREE, DATED FEBRUARY 2, 1927, OF THE ALL-UKRAINIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (UKTSIK) ON RATIFICATION OF THE STATUTE OF THE MOLDAVIAN CENRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (MTSIK)[1]

The UkTsIK decrees: to ratify the following statute of the MTsIK approved by the second Moldavian congress of soviets on May 9-14, 1926.

Decision

of the second Moldavian congress of soviets (MTsIK) ratifying the statute of the MTsIK.

The second Moldavian congress of workers', peasants' and red army deputies decides to approve the following statute of the MTsIK.

CHAPTER I.—*Of the Statute of the MTsIK*

1. The MTsIK, in the interim between the Moldavian congress of soviets, is the supreme authority in the AMSSR.

2. The MTsIK is responsible for its activity to the Moldavian congress of soviets, as well as to the UkTsIK.

The decisions of the MTsIK may be repealed only by the Moldavian congress of soviets and by the UkTsIK.

3. The MTsIK is elected at the regular Moldavian congress of soviets for the period until the next congress, the number of members and candidates being determined by the Moldavian congress of soviets.

4. The powers of the MTsIK shall date from the moment of its election by the Moldavian congress of soviets, and shall cease when the new MTsIK is elected.

NOTE: The members of the MTsIK leaving it before the end

[1] *Zbirnik uzakonen'ta rozporiadzhen' robitnichoselians'kogo uriadu ukraïni* (Kharkov, February 28, 1927), 39-52.

of the term are replaced by the candidates in an order as established for the elections of the MTsIK (seniority on the list of candidates).

5. The questions falling within the competence of the MTsIK are determined by the constitution of the AMSSR.

Note: Irrespective of the supreme powers appertaining to it, in the field of local administration, the MTsIK has all the rights which are given by the legislation of the USSR to the provincial executive committees, and by the legislation of the UkSSR to the regional executive committees.

In the field of local finance, the MTsIK has all the rights granted to it by the legislation of the USSR and the UkSSR relating to local finance.

6. The relationship between the MTsIK and the organs of authority of the UkSSR and the USSR is determined by the constitution of the AMSSR, of the UkSSR, and of the USSR.

7. The MTsIK elects from amongst its members its presidium, the number of members of which shall be determined by the congress of soviets of the AMSSR, and forms the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

8. The MTsIK examines all questions submitted to it at its sessions or in the presidium.

Chapter II.—*Of the Sessions of the MTsIK*

9. There shall be ordinary and extraordinary sessions of the MTsIK.

The regular sessions of the MTsIK are convoked by the presidium of the MTsIK at least three times a year. The extraordinary sessions of the MTsIK are convoked by the presidium of the UkTsIK, upon the initiative of the presidium of the MTsIK, or upon the demand of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

10. The order of ordinary sessions of the MTsIK shall be published by the presidium of the MTsIK in the official organ of the AMSSR not later than two weeks before the session, and shall be submitted simultaneously to the UkTsIK.

11. In case an extraordinary session of the MTsIK is convoked, the notice concerning such session may be issued without the time requirements as mentioned in article 10 of this statute.

Note: Extraordinary sessions of the MTsIK may be convoked to discuss all matters which fall within its competence.

12. The following matters must be submitted to the MTsIK by its presidium for examination and ratification:

a. All questions concerning amending and supplementing the constitution of the AMSSR.

b. All questions concerning the alteration of boundaries of the AMSSR.

c. All drafts of codes, as well as of decrees and divisions which either determine the norms of political and economic life of the AMSSR, or alter fundamentally the existing practice of the present state organs of the republic.

d. The state budget of the AMSSR and reports on its execution.

e. All matters concerning local finance in conformity with the statute of the UkSSR and USSR on local finance.

Note 1: In extraordinary cases the questions mentioned in "c" of this article may be decided by the presidium of the MTsIK, provided that its decision is submitted for ratification at the next session of the MTsIK.

Note 2: The questions enumerated in paragraphs "a", "b", and "c" of this article must be submitted to the Moldavian congress of soviets.

Note 3: In case the timely approval of the budget of the AMSSR can not be secured from the Moldavian congress of soviets, the MTsIK may submit it directly to the corresponding organs of the UkSSR provided that a report on the action taken shall be made at the next Moldavian congress of soviets.

Note 4: The norms of representation and the order of elections to the congresses of soviets shall be determined by the MTsIK subject to approval by the UkTsIK.

13. Questions are submitted to the sessions of the MTsIK upon the decision of the MTsIK, by the presidium thereof, by the presidium of the UkTsIK, by the sovnarkom of the AMSSR, by the sovnarkom of the UkSSR, by regional executive committees of the AMSSR, and by the members of the MTsIK.

Note: The all-Moldavian soviet of trade unions, the central executive committee of unsettled peasants, the coöperative centers, and the red cross may submit their questions to the sessions of the MTsIK through the presidium thereof.

14. All questions examined by the MTsIK are decided by an open vote and a simple majority of votes.

Note 1: A quorum of the MTsIK is present when at least one-third of the members are present.

Note 2: Individual vote is taken only upon a written demand

of the members in a number as may be determined by the MTsIK.

15. The internal order of the work of the sessions of the MTsIK shall be determined, in a statute especially drafted for it, by the presidium of the MTsIK subject to approval by the session.

CHAPTER III.—*Of the Presidium of the MTsIK*

16. The presidium of the MTsIK, in the interim between the sessions thereof, is the supreme authority in the AMSSR, and acts in the name of the MTsIK.

17. The presidium of the MTsIK is elected by the MTsIK from amongst its members, and is composed of: the president of the MTsIK, the secretary of the MTsIK and members thereof in a number as may be determined by the congress of soviets of the AMSSR.

18. The candidates to membership in the presidium of the MTsIK are elected in a number as determined by the MTsIK, and have the right of advisory vote in the presidium thereof.

19. The presidium of the MTsIK is convoked for its sessions by the president of the MTsIK. The sessions shall be held if at least one-half of all members of the presidium are present.

20. Within the competence of the MTsIK fall:

a. Supervision over carrying out the constitution of the AMSSR, and over the execution of all decisions of the Moldavian congress of soviets and of the MTsIK, as well as of legislative acts of the USSR and of the UkSSR when applicable to the territory of the AMSSR.

b. Examination and ratification of the budget of the AMSSR, and submission of the same for ratification by the MTsIK.

c. Preparing of all materials for the sessions of the MTsIK.

d. Issuing of independent legislative acts concerning matters as enumerated in the constitution of the AMSSR, as well as of acts supplementary to the legislation of the UkSSR and to the administrative decisions of the non-unified commissariats of the AMSSR.

NOTE: The people's commissariats and other central institutions of the AMSSR submit to the presidium of the MTsIK all projects of decrees and decisions through the sovnarkom of the AMSSR. All projects of decrees submitted by the regional executive committees of the AMSSR or by their presidia are exam-

ined by the presidium of the MTsIK upon the preliminary examination in the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

e. Repeal of the decisions of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

f. Election, upon the initiative of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR, and recall of people's commissars in charge of the non-unified commissariats of the AMSSR, provided that the people's commissar for justice and the procuror of the AMSSR are elected and recalled by the MTsIK only in agreement with the people's commissar for justice of the UkSSR.

g. Election and recall, in agreement with the corresponding unified people's commissariats of the UkSSR, of the unified people's commissariats of the AMSSR, of the director of the statistical bureau of the AMSSR, and of the director of the GPU of the AMSSR.

h. Repeal of illegal decisions and ordinances of people's commissariats and other central organs of authority of the AMSSR, as well as of local congresses of soviets, executive committees, and of their presidia.

i. Right of partial amnesty (pardoning) in matters decided by the judicial and administrative organs of the AMSSR, in conformity with the laws issued for this purpose by the UkTsIK.

j. Examination of appeals and reports of the procuror of the republic.

k. Questions concerning the territorial-administrative division of the AMSSR, the decisions being subject to approval by the UkTsIK.

1. Submission for approval by the UkTsIK of all awards of the decoration of the workers' red banner, as well as application for such award to the presidium of the UkTsIK.

m. Exercise in the field of local administration of all privileges granted by the legislation of the USSR to the provincial executive committees, and by the legislation of the UkSSR to the regional executive committees, as well as the exercise of all rights appertaining thereto in matters concerning local finance.

n. Proclamation of martial law in cases as provided for by the constitution of the UkSSR.

21. The presidium of the MTsIK has the right to propose legislation in the supreme organs of the UkSSR, as well as to suspend throughout the AMSSR the decisions, circulars, and ordinances of people's commissariats of the UkSSR in cases and in the order as determined by articles 32 and 35 of the constitution of the AMSSR.

22. All legislative acts, decisions, and ordinances of the MTsIK or its presidium are indorsed by the president and secretary of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR and the secretary of the MTsIK. All correspondence in the name of the MTsIK is carried out by the president and secretary of the MTsIK.

23. In the presidium of the MTsIK is established a secretariat acting in conformity with the decree of the presidium of the MTsIK and on the basis of a statute especially provided for and ratified by the presidium of the MTsIK.

Chapter IV.—*Of the President of the MTsIK*

24. The MTsIK elects its president.

25. In case of absence or illness of the president of the MTsIK, his duties are taken over by one of the members of the presidium of the MTsIK upon the appointment by the presidium thereof.

26. The president of the MTsIK acts within the competence and rights granted by the presidium of the MTsIK, and in the name thereof takes all administrative measures, in respect of which a report must be made to the presidium of the MTsIK.

27. The president of the MTsIK presides over all sessions of the MTsIK.

Chapter V.—*Of the Secretary of the MTsIK*

28. The MTsIK elects its secretary.

29. In case of absence or illness of the secretary of the MTsIK, his duties are taken over by one of the members of the presidium of the MTsIK upon appointment by the presidium thereof.

30. In case of absence or illness of the president of the MTsIK, and until the appointment by the presidium of his substitute, the duties of the president are carried out by the secretary of the MTsIK.

The secretary of the MTsIK immediately convokes the presidium if the substitute for the president must be elected.

31. The secretary of the MTsIK carries out, in the name of the presidium of the MTsIK, all correspondence with the soviet institutions, social organizations, and private persons.

32. The secretary of the MTsIK directs the activity of the secretariat of the MTsIK.

CHAPTER VI.—*Of the Members of the MTsIK*

33. The members of the MTsIK have the right of initiative and inquiry in all matters falling within the competence of the MTsIK.

34. The members of the MTsIK must attend all sessions and meetings of commissions to which they are assigned; they have the right to attend, with the right of advisory vote, all sessions of the presidium of the MTsIK and of the central and local organs of soviet authority throughout the AMSSR. The members of the MTsIK may act in the name of the MTsIK only in cases where they have proper credentials from the presidium of the MTsIK.

NOTE: Attendance of members of the MTsIK at secret meetings of the central and local organs of authority is allowed only upon a special permit of the presidium of the MTsIK.

35. The organs of the judicial-inquiry authority have no right to take measures against the members of the MTsIK, as provided for by the statute of the criminal procedure code for taking the witness stand, and must appeal to the presidium of the MTsIK or the presidium of the UkTsIK for necessary instructions.

36. All members of the MTsIK have the right of free access to all soviet institutions throughout the AMSSR upon presenting their credentials, and may receive all necessary information therefrom. Secret information may be given to the members of the MTsIK only upon a special permit of the presidium of the MTsIK.

37. Inquiry in matters covering offences while in office, as well as offences committed by the members of the MTsIK, is carried out in an ordinary manner, as explained in the following articles.

38. The members of the MTsIK can not be arrested, searched, or investigated by the judiciary and administrative organs without a special decision of the presidium of the MTsIK or of the presidium of the UkTsIK.

In extraordinary cases the arrest may take place in agreement with the president of the MTsIK or of the UkTsIK, provided that a report on the matter shall be made at the next meeting of the presidium of the MTsIK or of the presidium of the UkTsIK.

39. The members of the MTsIK may be tried and administrative measures may be taken against them only upon the decision of the presidium of the MTsIK or of the UkTsIK. In such cases the materials relating to the offences committed by the

members of the MTsIK must be previously submitted to the presidium of the MTsIK or of the UkTsIK. The decision on these matters may be delivered only upon a demand either for the personal appearance of the accused, or for a written statement on the inquiry of the presidium of the MTsIK or of the UkTsIK at their next sessions.

40. The discharge from office of the members of the MTsIK accused of offences prior to the trial may take place only upon the decision of the presidium of the MTsIK or of the UkTsIK.

41. Dismissal from membership in the MTsIK, in the interim between the sessions of the Moldavian congress of soviets, may take place only upon the decisions of the extraordinary Moldavian congresses of soviets, and in extraordinary cases upon the decision of the MTsIK, provided that this decision is later submitted for final approval at the next Moldavian congress of soviets, or upon the decision of the UkTsIK.

42. The pay for the members of the MTsIK is determined by a special decision of the presidium of the MTsIK in accordance with the directions adopted at the sessions of the MTsIK.

43. The candidates of the MTsIK (in accordance with the seniority on the candidates' list) have the right of deciding vote when a certain number of the members of the MTsIK is absent; in all other cases they have the right of advisory vote.

The rights and duties of the members of the MTsIK enumerated in this chapter are extended also to the candidates of the MTsIK.

CHAPTER VII.—*Of the Commissions of the MTsIK*

44. The MTsIK and its presidium may create provisional and permanent commissions for discussion of matters concerning current legislation and administration, which commissions shall act in conformity with decrees and statutes especially provided for by the MTsIK.

45. The provisional and permanent commissions established in the MTsIK may use the facilities of the secretariat of the MTsIK, if the statute does not provide for other technical means.

Balta, May 9-14, 1926.

President of the second Moldavian congress of soviets:
STARII.

Secretary: BUBNOVSKII.

Kharkov, February 2, 1927.

President of the UkTsIK: G. PETROVSKII.
Secretary of the UkTsIK: VLASENKO.

CHAPTER IX

SOVIETS OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS

The congress of soviets and the central executive committee are constitutionally the supreme organs of authority in the soviet structure, but the actual administrative work devolves upon still another body. This administrative organ, which may be compared to the cabinet or ministry in parliamentary governments, is called the soviet of people's commissars, or, in its usual abbreviated form, the sovnarkom.

The origin of the term has been traced to a conversation between Lenin and Trotskii at the very outbreak of the bolshevik revolution. "What name shall we use", Lenin considered aloud. "Not minister, that is a repulsive worn-out designation." "We might say commissars", suggested Trotskii, "but there are too many commissars now.[1] Perhaps chief commissars. . . . No, 'chief' sounds bad. What about people's commissars? Well, this may be all right." "And the government as a whole—the soviet of people's commissars", continued Lenin; "this will be splendid: it smells of revolution." [2]

Chosen by the military-revolutionary committee of the soviets, the first soviet of people's commissars approved by the second congress of soviets of the RSFSR on November 8, 1917, was declared to be the "provisional workers' and peasants' government" pending the convocation of the constituent assembly.[3] In this body were

[1] At the time there were commissars for army units, factories, etc.

[2] 2 *Entsiklopediia gosudarstva i prava,* 1095. See also the version given in Leon Trotzkii, *Lenin,* 132.

[3] *Sbornik dekretov 1917-1918,* 1.

included the most important bolshevik leaders assembled from nearly every corner of the world. Lenin, returned from his apparently none too unpleasant 'exile' in neighboring Finland, was the first president of the soviet of people's commissars. He assumed no portfolio, but without his approval no commissar could take any action.[4] In charge of special commissariats were such revolutionary leaders as Rykov for interior, Lunacharskii for education, Trotskii for foreign affairs, and Stalin for nationalities. Altogether there were thirteen commissariats, the same number as of ministries under the tsarist régime. Soon afterwards five new commissariats were created. Several of the early commissars, in contrast to the above-mentioned ones, were little known and could have had no real influence. In view of the very great power of Lenin and the inner group of revolutionaries, it is to be presumed that the inclusion of unimportant persons in important positions was intentional.

When the third congress of soviets of the RSFSR met in January 1918, following the dissolution of the constituent assembly, it was resolved that the system of authority in existence should cease to be called 'provisional'. Instead it should become the only legal authority, and the soviet of people's commissars should become "the government" of the RSFSR. This action by the third congress of soviets was completed in July 1918 when the constitution of the RSFSR was adopted. From that time the soviet of people's commissars was recognized constitutionally as having "the general direction of the affairs of the republic" and, in the course of its duties, the right to issue decrees, orders, and instructions and to "take all general measures necessary to secure prompt and orderly administration". Though from the beginning theoretically responsible to the congress of soviets and to the central executive committee of the RSFSR, as has been pointed

[4] 2 *Entsiklopediia gosudarstva i prava,* 1097.

out, during the first years of the revolution the administrative body was the principal organ in the soviet constitutional structure. Article 41 of the constitution gave it the right to enforce on its sole authority "measures of extreme urgency". The decision of the eighth congress of soviets in December 1920 that every decree or state measure not permitting of delay, including all legislation referring to military matters and all measures concerning foreign affairs involving obligations upon the RSFSR, must be investigated and confirmed by the soviet of people's commissars gave this body an additional legal basis for its comprehensive jurisdiction.

In view of its important rôle, the organization of the soviet of people's commissars and its internal structure and division of authority are of special significance. At the head of each commissariat is a people's commissar, theoretically elected and recalled by the all-Russian central executive committee. In reality this power belongs to the leaders in the polit-bureau of the central committee of the Russian communist party; they determine the composition of the soviet of people's commissars and then submit the list to be approved by the above-mentioned committee without discussion. This was true when the military revolutionary committee decided on the composition of the first soviet of people's commissars; it has been the case ever since: it is the essence of soviet methods as dictated by the communist party.

Then, in keeping with the soviet system of control, it was natural that some check should be placed on the activity of each people's commissar. The power of the all-Russian central executive committee in this respect was not sufficient. So, when the constitution of the RSFSR was adopted in July 1918, it was stipulated that there should be attached to each people's commissar, and under his presidency, a collegium, the members of which would be confirmed in their appointments by the soviet of people's

commissars as a whole. The commissar was obliged to inform the collegium of every decision made, and in case any member of the collegium was not in agreement the matter could be brought before the soviet of people's commissars as a whole or before the presidium of the all-Russian central executive committee.

Composed of persons chosen because of their special position in the Russian communist party and appointed by the polit-bureau of the central committee of the party just as a people's commissar is appointed, the members of the collegium afford one of the many illustrations of the fact that the soviet structure is based on universal suspicion. An analogy to this system of control would exist in the case of a member of the President's cabinet in the United States if he were required to direct the affairs of the department under the surveillance of a committee who could watch his actions and report them to the President when they were not in agreement with him. Undivided responsibility of a trusted appointee does not exist in any part of the soviet structure.

Since the soviet of people's commissars is charged with carrying out all current affairs of administration, its duties are, obviously enough, numerous. To enable it better to perform its work and at the same time to secure a centralized direction, two auxiliary organs were established. They were the small soviet of people's commissars and the soviet of labor and defence, the latter usually known by its abbreviated form STO.

Created on October 18, 1921, the small soviet of people's commissars was intended "to prepare and work out in detail all questions of a legislative character falling within the competence of the soviet of people's commissars" [5] and to decide all matters of an administrative nature entrusted to it by the all-Russian central executive committee, the soviet of people's commissars, and the soviet of labor and

[5] *Piat' let vlasti sovetov,* 132.

defence. Also, it was given jurisdiction in questions which it might bring up upon its own initiative or which might be raised by the several people's commissars or the all-Russian central union of consumers' societies.

The same statute provided that the small soviet of people's commissars should supervise the execution of all decrees of the soviet of people's commissars as a whole. It was to examine all questions of national importance or of foreign policy submitted to it by a special decision of the soviet of people's commissars or the president thereof. In turn all decisions of the small soviet of people's commissars had to be submitted to the president of that soviet as a whole. This official could in turn approve such measures outright or could submit them for examination to the entire soviet of people's commissars. Orders of an administrative character when issued by the small soviet of people's commissars enter into force immediately but may be repealed either by the soviet as a whole or by the all-Russian central executive committee.

In a statute on the small soviet of people's commissars issued on October 31, 1922,[6] the statute of 1921 was slightly amended in order, it was stated, to facilitate the functioning of the small soviet. The competence, however, remained the same. A special provision was introduced to the effect that "all current legislative questions, requests of people's commissariats for additional appropriations, protests against the actions and orders of the people's commissariat for finance concerning the execution of the budget, as well as other questions submitted to the soviet of people's commissars such as: non-fulfillment or suspension of the decisions of the soviet of people's commissars, disciplinary punishment of officials, inter-departmental controversies . . . are introduced through the small soviet of people's commissars." The personnel of the small soviet remained the same under the new statute: it included a president

[6] *Konstitutsiia RSFSR*, 59-63.

and two members appointed by the soviet of people's commissars, representatives appointed by the all-Russian central union of consumers' societies, of people's commissariats for finance, food, labor, justice, nationalities, and agriculture. This composition was not changed until August 1923 when it was provided that the small soviet should consist of a president and four members appointed by the soviet of people's commissars as a whole. In other words, a centralization of the body was then effected and the representative element disappeared.

The small soviet of people's commissars had been established to carry out various duties of that soviet as a whole. A special organ also was created to exercise jurisdiction in the most important problems then facing the new régime. This was the "soviet of worker's and peasants' defence" created by the all-Russian central executive committee on November 30, 1918.[7] Formed three years before the small soviet of people's commissars, this organ was a product of necessity and of prevailing conditions. Because of a serious need of supplies for the army and for industrial centers, the system of production and transportation of the country had to be reformed. The early revolutionary doctrines had succeeded in destroying the army and the economic life of the country: it was necessary for the new leaders to rebuild what they had torn down.

The decree creating the soviet of workers' and peasants' defence provided that it should have "supreme authority in mobilizing the forces and resources of the country in the interest of defence by declaring all its decisions unconditionally compulsory for all central and local departments and institutions, and also for all citizens". Elastic as this authority was, in April 1920 the soviet began to exercise wide authority in purely economic matters. At that time its name was changed to soviet of labor and defence.

In the membership of the soviet of labor and defence

[7] *Sbornik dekretov 1917-1918,* 239-240.

from this time were included the president of the soviet of people's commissars and his three deputies, the people's commissars or their deputies for war, people's economy, labor, ways of communication, agriculture, and the workmen's and peasants' inspection, of one representative of the all-Russian central union of consumers' societies, and, with an advisory voice, of the director of the central statistical department. The competence of the soviet of labor and defence was specifically extended to a wide range of questions relating in one way or another to the defence of the country and to problems of economic development. The latter function was of special importance after the introduction of the new economic policy in March 1921. In carrying out its duties the soviet of labor and defence could issue any orders and instructions and take measures for their execution. It maintained its authority in the local areas through the creation of economic conferences directly dependent upon it. Not only were such bodies formed in the larger political units; by a decree issued on June 30, 1921, the same organization was introduced in the counties and even in the rural districts.

The soviet of labor and defence was formed as a part of the soviet of people's commissars in order to assist the latter in the fulfillment of its duties. Then in turn some organ was needed to assist the soviet of labor and defence itself. A decree of the soviet of people's commissars on February 22, 1922, ratified a statute on the "general state planning commission [gosplan] attached to the soviet of labor and defence". The purpose of this commission, which had really been in existence since April 1921, was to work out a general economic plan designed to carry out the electrification program adopted by the eighth congress of soviets in December 1920. At that time, as often since, the soviet leaders regarded electrification as the means to make Russia powerful economically and invulnerable against her enemies.

But it is easier to formulate plans than to realize them. Especially is this true in Asiatic countries. The work of the state planning commission was not to be of real importance until some time later. Overlapping with other departments, having no exclusive jurisdiction, and not centralized as is necessary in work carried out in a soviet atmosphere, the state planning commission became a practical organ only after all parts of Soviet Russia were knitted together into one compact whole. Its rôle, as well as that of the small soviet of people's commissars and the soviet of labor and defence from that time, is given later.

Although the soviet of labor and defence and the small soviet of people's commissars exercised wide powers in the early period, their work does not overshadow that generally accredited to the soviet of people's commissars itself. Starting with the famous decrees on the nationalization of land and property, this administrative body alone of the soviet organs as the mouthpiece of the communist party set forth the fundamental political, economic, and social bases of the new régime. In this early period the principles of the new order were formulated, while in addition it was necessary to carry out plans for the preservation of that order in the face of foreign and domestic danger and opposition.

Throughout the critical epoch from 1918 to the end of 1921, the soviet of people's commissars and the soviet of labor and defence, were in the heyday of their control and power. Operating vigorously as a result of their thoroughly centralized organization, they brought the new régime safely through the first danger period. Then, when the crisis of internal disintegration was practically ended, in the case of the soviet of people's commissars there was a return to constitutional forms. That body became really subordinate to the all-Russian central executive committee, the parliament of the soviet structure. It then remained for the latter to undergo a process of centralization that it

might exercise authority in much the same manner as had the soviet of people's commissars.

The development of the soviet of people's commissars as traced applies only to the RSFSR. Simultaneously in the other parts of the former Russian Empire there were corresponding organs of authority. The constitutions of the Ukraine, of White Russia, of the three Transcaucasian republics, of Bukhara, and of Khorezm all provided for a body composed, in most cases, of commissariats similar to those which existed in the RSFSR.

In theory under these constitutions the commissariats of the several republics owed no external allegiance. The practice, however, was different. The nature of the authority of the soviet of people's commissars of any republic other than that of the RSFSR is to be found best in the treaties concluded in each case with the RSFSR. Those treaties, or their subsequent interpretation, as given in detail already, uniformly provided in a general way for the predominance of the RSFSR in such questions as war, foreign affairs, ways of communication, posts and telegraphs, and other matters of general state importance. Commissariats for these matters existed in the various republics, but they were a useless adornment, a simulacrum of desired authority which none dared to assert.

When the drafting of a treaty of union of all soviet republics was undertaken in 1922, the determination of the soviet of people's commissars of the future union was not difficult. It was necessary only to codify the practices of that organ in the case of the RSFSR. The soviet of people's commissars of the RSFSR had in reality served for some time as an all-Union body; if it was taken as a model, no change need to be made in existing conditions.

The precise composition and prerogatives of the soviet of people's commissars of the USSR, as well as its relation to the similar body in the various union republics, are enumerated in the constitution adopted in July 1923. As

in the case of the decree of November 8, 1917, creating the first soviet of people's commissars, this body, according to the fundamental law of the USSR, is the "executive and directive" organ of the central executive committee of the Union, by which it is elected. Within the competence provided in the constitution, the soviet of people's commissars issues decrees and resolutions for the entire Union, and its acts can be repealed only by the central executive committee or its presidium. Similarly analogous to the collegium in each commissariat of the RSFSR was the provision for a collegium to be attached to each commissariat of the Union with the right to protest against the acts of the corresponding people's commissar.

Altogether ten people's commissariats were provided for the USSR. These were divided into two categories: (1) people's commissariats of the whole Union, and (2) unified people's commissariats of the Union. A third category of commissariats, called the non-unified, was provided for each of the union republics but is not to be found in the central organs.

The people's commissariats for the entire Union were established for those matters over which the RSFSR had long exercised jurisdiction in all soviet republics. The treaties of alliance between Moscow and the other political entities outside of the RSFSR had uniformly provided that questions of foreign affairs, war and navy, foreign trade, ways of communication, posts and telegraphs should fall within the province of the authorities of the RSFSR. Thus, once the USSR was formed, it was only natural that commissariats for these questions should be declared all-Union in competence. What had fallen under the jurisdiction of the RSFSR was merely transferred to the USSR. The personnel of the commissariats remained practically the same.

The second category of commissariats as mentioned above were established for questions over which the RSFSR had

not been accustomed to exercise absolute jurisdiction. In other words, in certain affairs the various soviet republics had maintained a degree of independence of Moscow. This was true in questions concerning food, labor, finance, workmen's and peasants' inspection, and the soviet of people's economy. Because of this tradition of theoretical local governmental power and the fact that questions of this nature had to be considered from a local or regional as well as from a central point of view, 'unified' commissariats were created. These commissariats as established in each of the union republics were merely organs to carry out the directions of the corresponding commissariats for the USSR. In the different republics they were later to be called 'directive' because of their double subordination, first to Moscow or the USSR and then to the respective union republics.

The powers of the people's commissariats of the USSR are analogous to those of the ministries or cabinets in most federal governments. On July 17, 1923, shortly after the constitution of the Union entered into force, the soviet of people's commissars of the USSR ordered the central executive committees and soviets of people's commissars of all the constituent or union republics and likewise the people's commissars of the USSR to submit to it all matters which, in conformity with the constitution, fell within the competence of the central soviet of people's commissars.[8] In addition to this, however, it was necessary to establish in detail the jurisdiction of the adminis-

[8] The anouncement was worded as follows: "You are hereby informed that, in conformity with the decision of the presidium of the central executive committee of the USSR, dated July 13, 1923, the soviet of people's commissars, appointed at the second session of the central executive committee of the USSR, has begun its work and orders all central executive committees and soviets of people's commissars of the union republics, as well as people's commissars of the USSR, to submit to it all matters that fall within its competence according to the constitution. *1 Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov SSSR*, 30-31.

trative body of the USSR. The constitution was not specific, to cite only one example, concerning the legislative power of the soviet of people's commissars, whether that body had the right to initiate legislation or whether it could only supplement measures of the central executive committee of the Union. Thus just as a special statute had defined the competence of the all-Russian central executive committee in 1919, so in November 1923 the central executive committee of the USSR issued as a supplement to the meager constitutional provisions regulations in which the duties and competence of the soviet were set forth in detail.[9] These standing orders were in the form of a "statute" [10] and a "general statute".[11]

The statute covered the composition of the soviet of people's commissars, there being little difference from the original articles in the constitution. Then it enumerated in detail the specific categories of questions falling within the competence of the sovnarkom. Thirteen divisions of authority were declared to appertain thereto, these including such matters as the direction of the activity of the all-Union and unified commissariats, the examination and execution of all measures necessary for the general administration of the USSR, approval of treaties and concessions, and settlement of differences between the soviets of people's commissars of the union republics in matters falling within the competence of the soviet of people's commissars of the USSR, as well as differences between the people's commissariats of the USSR and the commissariats of the union republics.

The right of the soviet of people's commissars of the USSR to arbitrate differences between the corresponding bodies in the union republics resulted in a mild difference of opinion in the central executive committee of the Union

[9] *Tret'iia sessiia TsIK SSSR. Stenograficheskii otchet.*
[10] See document I, this chapter.
[11] See document III, this chapter.

when the statute was being discussed. It is really an extraordinary event when opposing views occur in soviet discussions, so the point is worthy of mention. One delegate, Skrypnik, an Ukrainian, opposed the provision just mentioned on the ground that it reëstablished a power overthrown by the constitutional commission of the presidium of the central executive committee of the USSR. He considered this power contrary to the constitution since, in his opinion, it removed the dependency of the soviet of people's commissars of the union republic from the central executive committee thereof. Such, in fact, seems to be the case. An argument of this nature, however, took into consideration rather the interests of the republics than the intentions of the Moscow authorities and was thus *ipso facto* invalidated.

The general statute on the soviet of people's commissars was drawn up in order to avoid repetition of provisions given in detail for each people's commissariat separately.[12] Beginning with an outline of the type of commissariats, such as is given in the constitution, the general statute proceeds to state the duties of each commissariat. It is specifically provided that the all-Union commissariats remain directly subordinate to the soviet of people's commissars of the USSR, by which they are appointed; that they may participate in the meetings of the corresponding bodies in the union republics with the right of advisory voice; and, in general, that they must see to the execution of all orders of the central government. In the case of the unified commissariats, the local commissariat is declared to be responsible to the local central executive committee, but each commissariat must carry out the orders of the corresponding central organ. It is specifically set forth that the unified commissariat of the USSR shall direct the work of the corresponding organs in the union republics, suspend and repeal such decisions as may conflict with all-Union

[12] See statement by Enukidze in *Tret'ia sessiia,* as cited, 16-17.

legislation, and work out the economic plans of the subordinate organs of the union republics.

Separate mention may now be made of the various commissariats. Those common to the whole Union, that is, for foreign affairs, war and navy, foreign trade, ways of communication, and posts and telegraphs, are mentioned first.

Prior to the formation of the Union, the people's commissariat for foreign affairs [narkomindel] was not unified, though from the time of the Genoa conference in the summer of 1922 the RSFSR represented all soviet republics in foreign relations. Thus, naturally, when the Union was formed all matters relating to relations with other countries were declared to fall within the exclusive prerogatives of the Union and to be in charge of a special commissariat.

From the very beginning the commissariat for foreign affairs was directed by the Russian communist party. This close relationship between the inner circle of the party was remarked by Lenin when, in praising the work of the commissariat, he stated that "one can hardly fail to notice that in such people's commissariats as that for foreign affairs this consolidation [soviet and party] is of an extraordinary advantage and has been practised from the very beginning".[13] Upon the suggestion of Lenin, the centralized organization of the commissariat for foreign affairs was taken as the model for the organization of the other commissariats.[14]

The decree of peace of November 8, 1917, the declaration of rights of November 15, 1917, the appeal to the oppressed peoples of Europe on December 19, 1917—such were a few of the early steps in the career of the first commissariat for foreign affairs of Soviet Russia. Shortly after the

[13] 2 *Entsiklopediia gosudarstva i prava,* 1165. Also Ananov, as cited, 74, 80.

[14] 18 *Sobr. soch.,* 120-124.

November revolution there were already fourteen departments of this commissariat. After more than three years of rather kaleidoscopic experience with wars and a series of treaties which need not be mentioned here, the soviet of people's commissars issued, on July 6, 1921, the first statute on the commissariat for foreign affairs, in which were set forth the sphere of competence of each of the departments of the commissariat.

It was not until after the formation of the Union and the meeting of the central executive committee thereof in November 1923, however, that the duties of this commissariat were defined in detail. The statute then adopted gave the nature of the internal organization. It supplemented the statement of the powers naturally falling within the competence of this commissariat as stated in a very general form in the constitution.

In conformity with the new statute the focus of the whole diplomatic organization was at Moscow. The union republics no longer have their former independent diplomatic representation abroad. They are supposed to have a right to have appointed from the republics certain of the secretaries of the various missions. As to the duties, there is nothing which may be called original: protection of political and economic interest of the USSR, supervision over the execution of treaties, and safeguarding the political rights of the various parts of the federal Union: these are duties common to all departments of foreign affairs. What is unique is the soviet conception of diplomacy as a means to achieve international aims as opposed to national interests. In the words of Rakowskii, formerly the soviet ambassador in Paris, "the utilization of the contradictions existing between the capitalist states, between bourgeois and petty bourgeois groups in various capitalist countries, *being one of the means of diplomatic manoeuvring,* is of relative nature compared with the [attitude of the international] working class. . . . The working class is our

bulwark, both in our party, the communist international, and the government policy." [15]

The structure of the commissariat centers in the people's commissar and the collegium which controls his acts. As in most foreign offices, special departments are concerned with certain groups of countries or questions.

The conduct of foreign relations was inevitably a matter of federal jurisdiction. The same was true of the armed protection of the country. The treaties of alliance between the RSFSR on the one hand and the other soviet republics on the other at the very beginning of soviet rule had shown the necessity for a unified command of armed forces. The soviet leaders had fought discipline, leadership, and in general every basis of armed strength so long as the army of Imperial Russia remained intact. After they had destroyed that army by propaganda and other means, they set out to rebuild a soviet army along orthodox lines.

In the soviet of people's commissars created on November 8, 1917, there was a committee for the army and navy. Headed by persons of no known ability and certainly of no real importance, this committee was merely a subterfuge for the real direction of the armed forces as undertaken by Lenin and Trotskii. The institutional development of the soviet army would deal with such organs as the all-Russian collegium, the supreme war soviet, the supreme military inspection which concerned itself with the organization of local military forces, the red guard, and finally, the new red army and navy. The latter dates from January 1918. In the beginning it represented only a motley mass of former soldiers and bolsheviks. Entirely lacking in discipline, this army was accustomed only to plunder in accordance with soviet propaganda. The development of this caricature of an army into an efficient and disciplined

[15] *Report of the XV congress of the communist party of the Soviet Union* (London 1928), 104-105.

body under the leadership of a brilliant opportunist Jew, Trotskii, was a feat remarkable in military history. The success of the new army, however, can not be attributed solely to the new leaders of Russia. The foundation of its strength lay in the support of officers and men of the army which had fought an external enemy from 1914 to 1917. Many Russians, by no means in sympathy with the new forces in control of their country, were still willing to fight for their fatherland under whatever leadership and despite trying circumstances such as had existed for them ever since the beginning of the world war in 1914.

The present structure of the red army of Soviet Russia is based on a statute issued by the central executive committee of the USSR on November 12, 1923. The people's commissar for war and navy has the customary rights of a commissar. Further, he may take "under personal responsibility all necessary available means for the protection of the interests of the USSR".[16] There is no collegium attached to this commissariat; instead, there is a military-revolutionary soviet.

The soviet army is at present the largest in the world. As in Tsarist Russia, it is apparently not realized that in modern warfare quality is of more importance than quantity. This, however, applies particularly to external conflict. Within the country the red army has served to impress the masses by virtue of its very numbers. Instilled with communist propaganda, it has served as an agency of propaganda from the larger cities to the remotest hamlet. It has been a prominent factor in restoring order in place of the Tatar barbarity and anarchy that prevailed in the early revolutionary years.

The military protection of a country can not be perfected unless auxiliary services are well organized. Of primary importance is the existence of an efficient system of communications. Recognizing this fact, in concluding

[16] 1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov* SSSR.

the early treaties of alliance with the smaller soviet republics the authorities of the RSFSR decreed a unification not only of the armed forces but also of rail and water transport and posts and telegraphs. Special commissariats were provided for in the various republics in order to carry out the directions sent from Moscow.

At first the administration of ways of communication was divided into two different parts: for land and for the waterways. This lasted until January 1920, when they were unified. A statute on the railways issued in the same year completed the control of the central commissariat. When the Union was formed and the constitution of the USSR entered into force in 1923, the organization of ways of communications remained practically unchanged from what it had been under the RSFSR.

This was true also of posts and telegraphs. In the period of civil war special attention was given of necessity to this service. Starting with the locality in this case instead of from the center, the service was gradually organized and by 1921 was well centralized.

From a period of complete breakdown and chaos, the system of communications in the USSR has been brought to a fair degree of efficiency. The railways between the principal cities are in good condition. Water transport continues, but has been curtailed as has nearly all economic activity in the areas under soviet rule. Almost perfect safety and order prevail throughout the areas where communications exist in any form.

Thus far the matters placed under the jurisdiction of the authorities of the USSR naturally fall there in a federal system. They were the result of necessity. But the new rulers in Russia were not bound by customary practices. They had certain theories which had long had no field for experiment, but which they now wished to put into effect. Of first importance among their doctrines was the state monopoly of trade.

To create such a monopoly and to declare it to exist were not sufficient: it was necessary to try to control the entire economic life of the country, certainly no mean task for any system of authority. Central organs were established with virtually dictatorial powers.

The first organ to control trade was created in November 1917 and called the people's commissariat for trade and industry. In 1920, when the direction of industry was handed over to the supreme soviet of people's economy, it became known as the commissariat for foreign trade. The days of 'pure' communism were still in force, so trade was of no great importance, whether foreign or domestic.

After the introduction of the new economic policy under which private trade was restored but was subject to many restrictions such as can be conceived of only by an Asiatic mind, commercial activity within the country increased.[17] In view of the growing importance of internal trade, the soviet of labor and defence issued, on May 9, 1922, a statute on a "commission for regulating questions on internal trade", this body to be attached to the soviet of labor of defence itself. The powers of the commission were given in a circular letter sent by the soviet of labor and defence on October 4, 1922, to the regional and provincial economic soviets. It was then stated that the commission should have the exclusive right to issue compulsory regulations in its field and to submit to the legislative organs projects intended to regulate internal trade as a whole. Then by an additional statute of October 6, 1922, the soviet of labor and defence charged the commission with the coördination of the trade policy of the state bank, the supreme soviet of people's economy, and other institutions and organizations in order to regulate the movement of prices on the

[17] Possibly the best account to date of the economic development of Soviet Russia is by Maurice Dobb, *Russian economic development since the revolution* (London 1928).

markets and to maintain the purchasing value of the paper money".[18] The latter was a formidable task.

Shortly after the formation of the USSR a decree issued by the soviet of labor and defence revised the original statute of the commission as it existed under the RSFSR. Composed of three members appointed by the soviet of people's commissars of the USSR but forming an integral part of the soviet of labor and defence, the jurisdiction of the commission was declared to extend to such matters as:

(1) Examination and submission, through the soviet of labor and defence, to the legislative organs of all questions concerning internal trade throughout the Union;

(2) Issuance of ordinances regulating internal trade;

(3) Working out of general principles of economic policy in this field;

(4) Regulation and coördination of the trade policy of all organs in the USSR and supervision over institutions promoting trade;

(5) Preliminary examination of all questions on internal trade which are to be submitted to the soviet of people's commissars and the soviet of labor and defence;

(6) Control over the statutes and registration of trusts, and participation in the examination of applications for concessions.

In each of the union republics a commission on internal trade, attached to the economic conference of each republic, was likewise established. The purpose was the same as in the case of the all-Union organ. Finally, on May 9, 1924, the central executive committee of the USSR decided that, in view of the importance of questions of internal trade, the establishment of a full-fledged commissariat was warranted. A people's commissariat for internal trade[19] was declared to exist, and to have all the rights and prerogatives which appertained to other commissariats.

While internal trade was growing, the partial abandon-

[18] 2 *Entsiklopediia gosudarstva i prava,* 1127-1131, being a general account of this commissariat.

[19] *Sobranie zakonov,* 1925, art. 590.

ment of theories learned in socialist text books made possible the resumption of commercial relations with other countries. As was to be expected, the formation of the USSR resulted in the establishment of a special commissariat for foreign trade. In general its functions may be placed in a sixfold division:

(1) Carrying out of general measures to develop trade with foreign states and to *monopolize all trade;*
(2) Administrative regulation of foreign trade as based on the general import-export plans;
(3) Supervision over the customs;
(4) Control over the activity of trade and other organizations engaged in foreign commerce in which the commissariat participates;
(5) Taking measures to guarantee the functioning of foreign trade in such fields as transport, insurance, and storage;
(6) Supervision over the execution of laws and regulations concerning foreign trade.[20]

In the statute on the commissariat adopted on November 12, 1923, the regulative functions are strictly separated from the operative duties. The former remain within the competence of the commissariat organization; the actual foreign trade operations are not carried out by the central administration but by the commercial representatives abroad and by the state trade organizations located in the different republics, as well as by various other trade organizations.

The commercial representatives abroad take care of all buying and selling operations.[21] Enjoying diplomatic privileges in the same manner as commercial representatives of countries where foreign trade is not a state monopoly, the trade agents of the USSR remain under the direct control of the people's commissariat for trade and under the people's commissariat for foreign affairs as far as that body must concur in their appointment by the soviet of people's commissars. Agents of a particular union republic may be

[20] 2 *Entsiklopediia gosudarstva i prava,* 1113.
[21] 1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov SSSR,* 94.

sent to those countries where the republic may have special economic interests, though such representatives of course have no special powers.

While soviet trade agents are supposed to be concerned with purely business transactions between the country to which they are sent and their own country, in actual practice there has been much question as to whether their duties stop there. It is the contention of various governments that the commercial representations of the soviet authorities are selected by a source other than the soviet of people's commissars and that their duties are as closely connected with those of the communist international as with the soviet trade organs which, according to soviet legislation, they are supposed to represent. An analysis of the evidence in this matter is not made here, but a fair estimate may be made on the basis of the diplomatic correspondence between the soviet and British authorities in recent years and to be found in "White Papers" published by the British government.

The monopoly of foreign trade remains a fundamental part of the soviet program. In recent years, the restriction of private initiative has even increased. On the other hand, greater centralization has occurred in the administration of the state trade organs. Since November 18, 1925, foreign and internal trade have been brought under the strict control of the USSR. On that date the people's commissariat for internal trade, which had existed only one year, and the people's commissariat for foreign trade were consolidated into one commissariat called the people's commissariat for foreign and domestic trade.[22]

Such are the commissariats for the whole Union. Their constitutional jurisdiction may be compared to the corresponding departments in the American federal government. But federal jurisdiction does not stop entirely with questions concerning foreign affairs, defence, and interstate

[22] *Sobranie zakonov*, 1925, art. 590.

commerce in the United States. Similarly in the Soviet Union the central authorities have a wider field of jurisdiction in which their prerogatives are little short of exclusive and final. Such is the case with questions concerning labor, finance, people's economy, and inspection of the many state organs. These are under the charge of the so-called unified commissariats.

Of the unified commissariats the most important is that for workmen's and peasants' inspection. This body well illustrates the fact, to which repeated attention has been drawn here, that the essence of the soviet system is a form of control arising from suspicion. In Soviet Russia it is not believed that a person is honest unless he proves the contrary, but rather that all men are dishonest and, therefore, must be watched or have some superior person or authority to control their actions. So far as Russia is concerned, it must be said that there has been much to justify this opinion.

Immediately after the revolution of November the entire administration of the state—and it is to be remembered that in Russia the state is almost everything—was made the field of activity of a special department which had as a principal object the elimination of needless paper work and bureaucracy. Noted as were the Russians under the tsarist régime for their fondness for 'documents' and all that goes by the name of bureaucracy, under the soviets this trait was even more in evidence. So cumbersome did the system become that real work almost became impossible.

To remedy this situation, the people's commissariat for workmen's and peasants' inspection, the new name for the old organ called "state control", began work in earnest in 1922. Its fundamental purposes, as then outlined by Lenin, have since remained the same. Its duty is to assist the communist party in attaining its real objectives, one of the most important of which at the time was to bring about some degree of cordiality between the peasantry and the

industrial workers. A further objective was the removal of old bureaucratic conditions.

The most detailed statement of the duties and prerogatives of the workmen's and peasants' inspection is given in the statute adopted in November 1923 when its position as a unified commissariat of the USSR was defined. This document begins with the very comprehensive statement that the people's commissariat for workmen's and peasants' inspection is the "main organ of soviet authority concerned with carrying out all measures taken to improve the state apparatus, to manage it properly, and to adjust the same to the final ends of socialist construction".[23]

After this general and elastic provision, the statute proceeds with a long enumeration of the duties of the commissariat. These range from the fundamental problems of administration to the system of bookkeeping in any administrative department. The commissariat is given power to make any changes it desires. The work of various organizations—state, administrative, and economic—or almost every activity in Russia, is declared under the jurisdiction of the commissariat. As regards the budgets of the USSR and all other territorial or administrative units it has wide powers.

The structure of the commissariat for workmen's and peasants' inspection is complicated, as is natural in view of the many questions which fall under its jurisdiction. At the head, of course, is the people's commissar and the collegium. Then, since this is a 'unified' commissariat, similar organs are to be found in the union republics, as well as in the various autonomous or local administrations. In the latter case these are merely representatives sent out by the central commissariat.

Within the commissariat various departments are established. There are four central departments known as (1) the operative division, (2) the division for the improve-

[23] See document VII, this chapter.

ment of the state apparatus, (3) the division for accounting and bookkeeping, and (4) a general division. These in turn are divided into various sections. The operative division, for example, has separate sections for industry, trade, agriculture, finance, transport and communications, army and marine, administration, culture and education, and labor, health, and social welfare. "Independent departments" exist for (1) information and the press, (2) judicial matters, and (3) claims and applications.

The basis of the extensive authority of the people's commissariat for workmen's and peasants' inspection lies in its relation to the Russian communist party. Throughout the country it works through the central control commission of the communist party. The two organs, the one a soviet and the other a party organ, are interdependent: they form the system of control of the Soviet Union.

The other unified commissariats have less extensive jurisdiction than that for workmen's and peasants' inspection. In 1924 it was found possible to abolish altogether the commissariat for food provided for in 1923. The matter of food supplies had been of first importance in the early revolutionary days, and it was logical to set up a special body to deal with the question. Conditions had changed by 1924. The functions of the existing body were distributed between the people's commissariat for finance and the people's commissariat for internal trade, which was created by the same decree which terminated the commissariat for food.

One of the unified commissariats of the USSR was for a matter which is not usually subject in its entirety to federal legislation. That was the people's commissariat for labor. Prior to the formation of the USSR, this commissariat of the allied republics was not unified with the corresponding body in the RSFSR, except in the case of White Russia and the Ukraine. The other soviet republics exercised jurisdiction in labor matters independently of the

RSFSR. On the other hand, all of them adopted the labor code of the RSFSR.[24]

In the early revolutionary period this commissariat was concerned principally with the demobilization of industry, the struggle against sabotage, the organization of trade unions, and legislation in behalf of the proletariat. The eight-hour day decreed on October 29, 1917, the prohibition of labor by children under fourteen years of age on the same day, a decree, in November 1917, on obligatory social insurance at the expense of the employer, a decree of December 11, 1917, providing for insurance against unemployment, and finally the labor code adopted on December 26, 1918, formed the social basis of the new régime.

Following the nationalization the former private enterprises and beginning with the period of civil war, the labor question entered a new phase. The principal problem then was the distribution of labor in order to increase production. Contrary to all socialist theories, production had not increased but had become practically nil.

Upon the introduction of the new economic policy in 1921 there was a decrease in the great number of laborers organized by the state under the constitutional doctrine that "he who does not work shall not eat". The general communist theories of the soviets were grudgingly altered so as to afford some scope for private industry, and thus the problem of labor organization automatically became less complex.

When the time came to draft a constitution for the USSR, the central authorities decided that labor questions should come under the federal jurisdiction. Highly centralized economic organs having been established, control over labor was regarded as their necessary complement. For this reason the people's commissariat for labor was declared to be a unified commissariat of the USSR. It was given general supervision over conditions of labor, wages, insur-

[24] Annanov, as cited, 119.

ance, labor legislation, and those duties common to most departments of labor.

As is the case with all unified commissariats, the corresponding organ in the union republic serves to carry out the directions of the center and also the decisions of the central executive committee, soviet of people's commissars, and economic conference of the republic. The instructions of Moscow are, of course, supreme. Still the union republic has greater freedom in carrying out its labor policy than would an autonomous republic. From such areas down to the smaller territorial units the centralized direction from Moscow insures a uniform labor policy throughout the USSR.

Two unified people's commissariats remain to be mentioned: the commissariat for finance and the supreme soviet of people's economy.

The commissariat for finance has duties such as its name implies. Its functions are in part determined by the constitutional provisions concerning the all-Union budget, the determination of federal taxes and revenues, and approval of additional appropriations. The statute on the commissariat adopted in November 1923 defined its general rights as an organ of the USSR, besides covering such functions as supervision over the corresponding body in the union republics and in the autonomous republics and regions. All in all this is the most centralized of the unified commissariats.

The supreme soviet of people's economy was a product of the economic theories of the rulers who came into power in Russia in November 1917. It represented an attempt to establish one central economic authority to unify and coördinate the work of all people's commissariats and other bodies affecting in any way the economic life of the country. It was sanguinely believed that it was possible to draw up on paper a plan of production and distribution which

would actually work out not merely for a single year but for several years. In most countries, in such a relatively simple matter as drawing up a state budget, it has been found that the calculations are often far from the final results. An attempt to conduct the entire economic life of a country on the basis of such fixed formulas, at least on the basis of a five-year plan as is now the case, seems to belong to the realm of metaphysics rather than to that of practical economics.

The supreme soviet of people's economy, created in 1918 on the same basis as an ordinary people's commissariat, was intended thus to regulate all economy. Beginning with supervision over the nationalized industries, it served as the central directing force of many local economic conferences and other economic bodies. It was not, however, to become the all-powerful organ directing all economic activity including finance, labor, industry, agriculture, and the like. Instead, the point of view was to prevail of those who considered that the soviet should become only a commissariat for industry. At the eighth congress of soviets in December 1920 it was resolved, in effect, that it was not the supreme soviet of people's economy which should become the supreme economic organ but rather the soviet of labor and defence, a sort of interdepartmental body formed within the soviet of people's commissars. After the decision of the congress of soviets the supreme soviet of people's economy became in effect a people's commissariat for industry. Even its rôle in this respect was changed at the beginning of 1922, when it was decided that thereafter it should concern itself only with the giving of general directions.

When the USSR was formed, the constitution provided that the supreme soviet of people's economy should form a unified commissariat. The statute then adopted is mentioned, for it shows the nature of its powers as they stand

at present.[25] This soviet was charged with the "regulation, direction, and administration of industry and subordinate trade enterprises throughout the USSR". There is a marked difference between this phrasing and the original decrees on this organ. Even the larger nationalized enterprises have been taken from its jurisdiction; it is in reality a department of minor importance, concerning itself with lesser affairs which may require a certain amount of technical knowledge.

While it has the prerogatives of a unified people's commissariat, the supreme soviet of people's economy occupies a special position of inferiority in relation to the soviet of labor and defence. For one example, in the formulation of plans of production and industrial budgets of national importance, as well as in drafting a general plan of production for the USSR, the proposals of the former must be submitted through the state planning commission for ratification by the soviet of labor and defence. In other words, the state planning commission has the right to coördinate the projects of the soviet of people's economy with its own plans.

As enumerated in the statute the jurisdiction of the supreme soviet of people's economy extends to the following questions:

(1) General regulation of state industry and assistance in its development in the USSR;

(2) Supervision of a general nature over the activity of the supreme economic conferences of the union republics;

(3) Supervision over state industrial enterprises of general state importance;

(4) Settlement of questions concerning the organization of new industries, rationalization—to use a favorite soviet expression—of industry and its technical improvement;

(5) Concessions;

(6) Financing of industry;

[25] Decree November 12, 1923. 1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov SSSR,* 139-146.

(7) Miscellaneous matters such as industrial statistics, convocation of industrial congresses, and the like.

Such are the unified commissariats of the USSR and their antecedents. Neither in this category or in that of the all-Union commissariats, but very closely resembling an all-Union organ in structure, is the body, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, which succeeded to the wide powers originally planned for the supreme soviet of people's economy. That is the soviet of labor and defence, a commission of the soviet of people's commissars which has "immediate supervision over the people's commissariats of the USSR in the field of economic measures and measures concerning defence".[26]

This provision from the decree of the soviet of people's commissars on the soviet of labor and defence, dated August 21, 1923, is amplified in later articles. The soviet of labor and defence is declared competent to examine and to enforce all financial and economic plans of the USSR, to take all measures necessary to improve the military conditions of the country, to examine and take measures to increase the development of the different branches of economy, to supervise the economic conferences of the union republics and various commissions such as the state planning commission, and to approve the statutes of trusts and joint-stock companies. All decrees, ordinances, and instructions issued by the soviet of labor and defence in these respects are compulsory for all central and local organs of authority throughout the USSR. Only the soviet of people's commissars has the right, according to the constitution, to suspend or repeal the decisions of the soviet of labor and defence.

The most important of the organs attached to the soviet of labor and defence is the state planning commission, the original purpose of which has been mentioned already. Not until the formation of a union of all soviet republics

[26] See document X, this chapter.

was the duty of this body to formulate a common plan of all national economy along the lines originally postulated for the supreme soviet of people's economy carried out. In a statute dated August 21, 1923, however, the state planning commission was given new life, and an attempt was made to define its jurisdiction in carrying out the plans for electrification of the country and for regulating national economy throughout the Soviet Union as a whole.[27] This work was to be performed by the state planning commission acting as an organ of the soviet of labor and defence.

To plan the economic life of an entire country is necessarily a large undertaking. The work of the state planning commission is even difficult to conceive of in countries where most of the economic activity is not a government monopoly. In a country where state industry predominates, in a centralized system of administration under which one bureau can decide what shall be done throughout the country, however, it is possible to draw up a balance sheet of economic activity for one year, and perhaps for five years, as is now done by the state planning commission.

The practical working of the scheme drawn up, however, may prove difficult. For example, the state planning commission may decide that a certain number of power plants shall be built, that they shall be completed within a specified period, that they shall cost a fixed sum. These are the initial steps toward planned economy in this one field. It appears to have been the rule so far, however, that construction work requires much longer than was planned and that the total cost is usually more than double the original estimate.[28] Thus, even in the simplest aspects

[27] See document VIII, this chapter.

[28] "Building goes on without ratified plans, drafts and estimates; work is not completed to time; the dates fixed for the completion of work in the different departments and forms of construction do not tally; we have high costs and low quality of building; there is chaos and disorder in the supply of building material and the importation of implements (things coming too late, etc.); the general administrative expenditure is too high (twenty per cent. of the cost of building, equalling in some cases one

of planned economy difficulties are to be faced. To take a broader field, the drawing up of a plan of imports and exports, it is obviously difficult for the state planning commission to determine in advance how much grain it can export, especially when everything depends on the weather. Still, the plans are made, and there are those who are confident that the principles of planned economy are sound.

Mention remains to be made of a third category of people's commissariats provided for in the constitution of the USSR. These are the non-unified commissariats to be found in each of the union republics and similarly in the various autonomous areas. They have no equivalent in the structure of the central government. Such are the commissariats for interior, education, health, social welfare, justice, and agriculture.[29] In each case these bodies are subject to the local central executive committee and soviet of people's commissars, of which they execute all orders and instructions in their respective fields. A brief account is given of each commissariat.

Although the post of people's commissar for interior of the RSFSR was provided for in the first soviet of people's commissars, the duties were not determined before 1922. Presided over by Rykov, in the early revolutionary period the commissariat for interior appears to have concerned itself principally with the organization of local soviet organs of administration. It took a leading part in developing and standardizing local congresses of soviets, executive committees, and elections to these and other local bodies.[30] Questions such as carrying out the separation of the church from the state, compulsory labor, food supplies, and the struggle with speculation and sabotage were among its

hundred per cent. of the wages)." From the report of Ordzhonikidze to the fifteenth party congress in November 1927. *Report of the XV congress of the communist party of the Soviet Union* (London 1928), 184. See also the report by Rykov on the five-year plan of economic development, in *ibid.*, 340-350.

[29] For the statutes now in force see *Konstitutsiia RSFSR*, as cited.

[30] See M. Vladimirskii, *Soveti, ispolkomy i s'ezdy sovetov.*

many undefined duties. A special militia was placed under the commissariat to assist it in carrying out its work.

The statute of 1922 sets forth three categories of powers as appertaining to the commissariat for interior of the RSFSR. As an executive organ of the presidium of the all-Russian central executive committee, it was given supervision over the local organs of administration, over the execution of the administrative decisions and ordinances of the local authority, and, finally, over the organization and development of communal economy. By the end of 1922 questions concerning labor, migration, and centralized control over the militia no longer appertained to it. Already a definition of power was being made between questions which belonged to more truly federal organs and those commissariats which had been concerned rather with local affairs.

In the case of the RSFSR the present statute on the commissariat for interior dates from September 11, 1925. The same threefold division of duties remains as before the formation of the USSR. The safeguarding of the revolutionary order and public safety, supervision over the organs of communal economy, and the organization of prisons fall under its competence. These functions, however, no longer have their pristine importance. To take the first category of duties as an example, the powers of the commissariat now cover only routine matters: grants of passports or visaes for Russians or foreigners to leave the country, supplies for the militia, study of criminal conditions, and generally unimportant matters. But when a matter of importance for the safety of the revolution is at stake, it is not the commissariat for interior which has competence, but a truly all-Union body with troops much superior to the old militia of this commissariat, namely, the OGPU, a body described later.

In the field of communal economy, the commissariat for interior of the RSFSR concerns itself with the building of roads, measures for the prevention of fires, and other duties, which are certain not to conflict with the prerogatives of

some higher organ. The former principal duty, supervision over the local soviet organs, is now concentrated in the hands of the central executive committee and soviet of people's commissars of the RSFSR. Almost all that is left for the commissariat to do is to record the result of elections, draw up statistics showing how many workers, peasants, and other classes participated, and determine the number of communists in relation to non-partisan delegates. In brief, this non-unified commissariat of the union republics and autonomous republics now has limited duties of a purely local character.

The functions of the people's commissariat for health are practically the same as in the case of the same department in any country. Substantial progress has been made in the way of establishing clinics, medical education, and even in securing necessary equipment.[31] In receiving treatment communists are, of course, always provided for, while free clinics are open to persons who can show a social insurance card. Others are often brutally rejected and receive treatment in urgent cases only after long delay. In matters of health, as in other affairs, the class principle is observed.

The people's commissariat for social welfare is concerned in a limited way with the problems covered by its title. Headed by the commissar, his deputy, and a collegium, there are separate departments for social welfare, social welfare institutions, organization, and general. Two special commissions deal with (1) the assignment of pensions and subsidies and (2) pensions for scientific workers.

In the autonomous republics of the RSFSR the local commissariat for social welfare, like other non-unified commissariats, is but a reproduction of the corresponding body in the RSFSR. Guided in its activity by the codes and decisions of the legislative organs of the RSFSR, the

[31] An accurate and the best available presentation of conditions of health in Soviet Russia has been given by Dr. W. Horsley Gantt in a series of articles in the *British Medical Journal* in 1926 and 1927.

local commissariat is responsible not only to the local central executive committee and soviet of people's commissars but also to the all-Russian central executive committee. All appropriations and credits of the commissariat in the autonomous republics are included in the general budget of the commissariat for social welfare of the RSFSR.

The people's commissariat for education is of special interest. The efforts made to 'liquidate' illiteracy by means of spreading communist propaganda have had no historical parallel. Despite a great amount of inefficiency, it is evident that no little amount of progress has been made in a country where education had to begin from the ground up. Had the tsarist government, during its long lease of power, made a similar attempt to increase the number of persons able at least to read and to write, the Russia of to-day would be a different country. By overthrowing the old order, including the orthodox church, the communists were able to begin the struggle against the widespread illiteracy such as has so often prevailed where an absolute monarchy and a state religion are ascendant.

Among the duties of the people's commissariat for education enumerated in the statute are: (1) assistance to local organs of public instruction, (2) supervision over the social education of children and youth, (3) assistance in the development of the communist movement among younger people, (4) furthering of research activities, (5) the organization of state publishing, (6) protection of monuments of nature, art, and of the 'historical' past, and (7) the organization of and supervision over theaters and cinemas.

Special mention may be made here of the strict control exercised over publications. It is a specific duty of the people's commissariat for education to establish a "political-ideological censorship of printed matter". This task is facilitated at the start by the centralization of all publications. The principal publishing house is the state printing office [*gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo*]. Its headquarters are

in Moscow and Leningrad, but branches are to be found throughout the Soviet Union. In each of the union republics there is a special state printing office for the republic. The publishing houses which exist, other than the state printing office, are controlled as to their output in exactly the same manner as the latter. The general organ of censorship, known as the "glavlit", exercises complete control and strict supervision over all printed matter to be found in the Soviet Union. Hence the naïve and uncritical nature of many soviet publications.

Possibly the most important of the divisions of the commissariat for education is the "central political-educational committee". This body has for its purpose the "unification of and supervision over the state propagation of communism among the adults and youth of the republic". It is realized in Russia that communism can not prevail over a long period of time unless its principles are imbedded in now youthful minds. No effort is being spared to insure the existence of a communist state in the future. The organization of "young pioneers", modelled after the boy scout organization in other countries or the organizations of fascist youth in Italy, is the central institution of the communist propaganda to be inculcated in the youth of Russia. The maxims of the young pioneers are those of the boy scouts. In addition they are taught that the primary duty of a young communist is the worship of Lenin and his principles. The young pioneer must fight for the 'toiling masses'; class warfare must be his guiding motto as it is of his elders.

The propagation of communist doctrines among the youth is to be observed throughout Russia. The uniformity of methods employed in the large cities and in the small villages is striking. Speakers give the same orations throughout the country with as much uniformity as American congressmen recite the same pieces of poetry; brass bands play the "international" and other revolutionary songs on iden-

tical occasions and practically in the same manner as in Moscow; parades of young pioneers are organized to protest against British imperialism in a Kirgiz aul as well as in a large industrial center.

If the bolshevik leaders are successful in their attempt to make loyal communists of the youth, the permanence of doctrines and aims now existent will be rendered probable. It will be as natural for future generations of Russians to be communists as it is in the United States for a voter to be a republican because his father voted the republican ticket. The same applies to fascism in Italy. In the case of Soviet Russia, it may not properly be called education to fill the minds of illiterate people with the platitudes of communism. It may be asserted that the harmless ignorance of the masses during the days of tsarism was preferable to the doctrines of class hatred and other principles of communism, with which the people are now imbued. To this the communist replies, certainly not without some basis, that the bourgeoisie have their own methods of propaganda which they use in the lands where they bear sway. Whatever the value of such arguments may be, it would be difficult to assert that when propaganda leads to a desire of the masses to know how to read and write, as is the case in Russia at present, its influence can be wholly pernicious.

The people's commissariat for agriculture is another of the non-unified commissariats. Having special departments dealing with such questions as administration and finance, rural economy, land tenure, veterinary matters, and forestry, the nature of its jurisdiction and organization is, for the field covered, no different from that of the other organs already mentioned. The same is true of the people's commissariat for justice, the rôle of which in the soviet system is shown in the following pages to be unimportant. In general it can be stated that the doctrine of state rights is practically non-existent in Soviet Russia, that there has not been and could hardly be any document comparable to the

"solemn declaration and protest of the Commonwealth of Virginia on the principles of the constitution of the United States of America, and on the violations of them".[32] There have been practices of the central authorities in enlarging their "own powers by constructions, inferences, and indefinite deductions from those directly given" such as that document protested against, but the union republics in Russia did not have the same right to protest as did the American states. Above all, it is to be reflected that in the history of all federal governments the trend is to greater centralization of power in the federal branch. In view of this fact and considering the unimportance of the questions left to local jurisdiction from the very beginning in Soviet Russia, it is to be inferred that even the non-unified commissariats will be absorbed by the central government entirely in practice but perhaps not in theory.

The people's commissariat for justice of the RSFSR was created in the early revolutionary days. Its history is related to that of the development of a system of courts, though the commissariat played a very minor part in the activity of the latter. It was not at their head as was the ministry of justice before the revolution. At the beginning, as ever since, this commissariat is to be regarded principally as an administrative organ concerned with such duties as were defined in its statute ratified on February 1, 1923.[33] In this document it was vested with the duties enumerated herewith:

(1) General supervision over and organization and direction of the judicial institutions in the RSFSR;

(2) Supervision over the activity of land and arbitration commissions, economic conferences, and similar bodies having judicial prerogatives;

(3) Organization of legal aid for the population;

[32] 27 *The writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington, D. C., 1903), 442-448.

[33] The commissariat was of importance, of course, when the criminal, land, labor, and other codes were formulated.

(4) Decision of disputed questions concerning the competence of organs of justice on the one hand and organs of other departments on the other;

(5) Preliminary examination of all proposed bills to be submitted to the supreme organs of authority;

(6) Publication of laws and ordinances of the government and supervision over the private publication of laws; and

(7) Supervision over the prisons.

In all of these matters there is little evidence of the activity of the commissariat outside of the publications which it issues. The system of courts is only in part subject to it, for legal matters fall directly within the jurisdiction of the central executive committees. Justice and its administration are more the prerogatives of a legislative than a judicial body.

The judicial system of Soviet Russia, so far as it is manifested in the system of courts built up since 1864, dates from a decree of November 24, 1917,[34] establishing a system of "people's courts" (*narodnyi sud*). This decree automatically destroyed the old system of courts and justice; the old and the new were diametrically opposite. The frankly stated purpose of the new system was the establishment of class justice, the deprivation of all but the 'toiling masses' of any legal rights or protection. Composed exclusively of workers and the poorer peasantry, the decisions of the new people's courts were final. The system of appeals was abolished on the ground that it was nonsense to have the same cases tried several times.[35] The county congress of local people's justices (*uezdnyi s'ezd mestnykh narodnykh sudei*), however, could revise decisions of the local courts from the

[34] *Sobranie uzakonenii,* 1917, No. 4, art. 10.

[35] Before the revolution there were courts of three instances in Russia: the circuit court (*okruzhnyi sud*) in the chief provincial towns, the law chamber (*sudevnaia palata*) covering several provinces, for purposes of appeal, and the senate in St. Petersburg as the final instance of cassation. See Basil Maklakov, "Local justice in Russia", in 2 *The Russian Review,* November 1913, 127-146.

point of view of legality and conformity with revolutionary 'ideology'.

The system of courts in Russia and the conception of justice are covered in a book, entitled *Five years of the supreme court, 1918-1923,* written by Kurskii, the people's commissar for justice of the RSFSR. In this book the rôle of the court under soviet organization is declared to be basically different from the rôle of a bourgeois court. "Our court", writes Kurskii, "fulfills three fundamental functions: first, it is a political tribune which the proletariat uses in order to conduct agitation for revolutionary organization and ideas to be furthered by the proletarian dictatorship; second, the court is a school of law, as an organizing factor of economy; and, third, the court by its repression guards the soviet state from those elements of the old organization or new organizations which are dangerous to the state itself. We base ourselves on each of these principles separately."

Perhaps a still more significant statement of the principles of soviet justice is that given by Krylenko, deputy commissar for justice and first assistant public prosecutor of the RSFSR, in a book on the *Court structure of the RSFSR,* published in 1924. "For us, for the workers' and peasants' state," writes Krylenko, "no form of court is acceptable except one which always and under all conditions will guarantee the defence of the interests of the workers. . . ."

Krylenko continues in this book by giving the formulae of the soviets for the courts, as follows:

(1) All state authority is nothing but a weapon of social force and constraint, with the aid of which a given governing class in a given society realizes its political sovereignty and guards its economic sovereignty;

(2) Every court in every society always has been, is and will continue to be, nothing more than one of the means of effecting such constraint and force, for so long as class society continues to exist;

(3) Every court, on the basis of the preceding theses, has

the task of defending the interests of a given governing class and is distinguished from other means of defence only by its specific form and nothing more.

(4) Consequently, the formulator of court practice, in deciding the question of the structure of a judicial system, must consider it from this point of view: I must construct that kind of judicial system which will most nearly fulfil the task of defending the interests of a given governing class in a given society, effecting this defence by all measures of constraint and force provided for and formulated in law; and the merit of this judicial system will be the greater, the more correctly it is regulated and constructed so as to give the minimum of errors in court decisions.

Since the foregoing statements give the real nature of soviet justice, it is hardly necessary to trace the development of the soviet courts by means of cases tried or decisions handed down. It is necessary only to give in addition the foundation of the system of courts as determined by legislation.

Following the above-mentioned decree of November 1917, a second decree issued in 1918 [36] established circuit (*okruzhnye*) people's courts. Composed of a permanent member and of four temporary people's jurors for civil cases and twelve for criminal cases, this instance was supposed to deal with the more important cases which might arise. As a matter of fact these courts never developed into a permanent system.

Along with the 'peaceful' courts there was introduced another body with judicial powers: the "workers' and peasants' revolutionary tribunals". Composed of one president and six temporary members elected by the provincial soviets, these courts dealt mainly with cases where sabotage, counter-revolution, and similar offences were involved. They were regarded as a temporary system made necessary by prevailing conditions of civil war and general anarchy, but

[36] *Sobranie uzakonenii*, 1918, No. 25, art. 347.

while they existed they were of much greater significance than the regular courts.

From 1918 on the procedure of and regulations affecting the courts changed rapidly. At one moment, as in other branches of the soviet structure, the courts in the localities were given wide independent jurisdiction; again, as became permanently the case, the entire hierarchy was strictly controlled from the centre. The turning point in the development of the entire system came with the introduction of a new economic policy in 1921, when a whole series of questions relating to property rights and such matters of an economic character as are common to the courts of most countries served to necessitate a uniform procedure and at the same time to extend the jurisdiction of the courts. In keeping with this change, in October 1922 the all-Russian central executive committee adopted a new statute on the entire judicial system. This statute, together with a similar one in its field on the procurature and on attorneys adopted a few months before, forms the basis of the new structure in the RSFSR.

When the USSR was constituted in 1923, the RSFSR had already a uniform system of judicial institutions: people's courts, provincial courts (regional and circuit), and the supreme court. Above these bodies, after the formation of the Union, stands the supreme court of the USSR as provided for in the constitution of the Union.

Having in their competence only the simplest cases, the people's courts, on which sit only members of the working class or peasantry, function through one permanent people's judge. More important cases are tried by a permanent judge and two assessors.[37] The people's court is the basic

[37] The two systems existed under the old régime. Courts of elected justices of peace had jurisdiction over petty civil and criminal cases along the lines of their English model. Tribunals presided over by appointed judges sat with or without jury to hear cases on the basis of their French model.

judicial unit; through it pass, it is stated, more than 90 per cent. of all matters requiring judicial settlement.[38] It has jurisdiction over the great body of the peasantry which, even according to the bolsheviks, "are quite completely unaware of the existence of many laws".[39]

The people's court is the foundation of the attempt to establish a single court system. It is the keystone of the policy of class justice, which may be a quite different matter from unqualified justice. From the beginning, however, the soviet leaders were not concerned on this score. They wished to see in their court "an organ of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the poorest peasantry".[40] This statement by Lenin is in conformity with that of the French communist Sadoul made at the well-known trial of members of the socialist revolutionary party in Moscow in 1922. "The court", stated Sadoul, "is not the court of one political party over the other but a class court. . . . Inasmuch as the communist party stands at the head of the working masses of the soviet republic, supervision over the class court is naturally in its hands."[41]

The provincial courts have a jurisdiction in their field analogous to that of the other soviet organs. They supervise the work of the different courts in the given province or region; they settle more important cases than the people's courts, and also examine complaints against the decisions of the latter. As in the case of the central executive committee of a province, a presidium, consisting of the president and two other court officials who stand at the head of the civil and criminal sections of the

[38] See the outline in *Sovetskoe stroitel'stvo v diagrammakh,* 36.

[39] *Izvestiia,* August 23, 1925. To overcome ignorance of the law, the people's commissariat for justice of the RSFSR advertised widely and distributed at a cost of seventy-five cents a "law library accessible to every one". The books related to questions of daily life: land, legal assistance to the peasants, military service, marriage, and how the RSFSR is ruled.

[40] 2 *Entsiklopediia gosudarstva i prava,* 1275.

[41] "Partiia es'serov pered sudom proletariata", in *Ezhenedel'nik sovetskoy iustitsii,* No. 21-22, 1922, 15.

court, has general supervision over the work of the court.

At the head of the system of courts in each of the union republics is the supreme court. In the case of the RSFSR this court consists of a presidium formed by the president of the court, his deputy, and the presidents of the collegia. The presidium is entrusted with the direction of all current affairs of the court and supervision over all inferior tribunals.[42] In addition to the presidium there is a plenum composed of all members of the court present at a given moment, together with the procurator of the republic or his first assistant. It is the duty of the plenum to interpret the laws and to examine and ratify the more important decisions of the presidium. Exactly the same principle applies as in the organization of the all-Russian central executive committee. Other bodies are the collegia of appeal of the supreme court for criminal and civil affairs, each of these bodies consisting of a president and four members. The duties of the collegia are the same as those of the corresponding branch in the provincial courts. Finally there is a disciplinary collegium of three members elected by the plenum from the members of the court.

To this structure may be compared the supreme court of the USSR. Unlike the corresponding body in the union republics, the federal supreme court is provided for in the constitution. Established to "confirm revolutionary legality",[43] the supreme court of the Union is attached directly to the central executive committee of the USSR. Thus it is in no respect an independent branch of the government, as is the supreme court in the United States, or as was the case in Tsarist Russia when the judicial and administrative functions were separate. To the soviets the latter organs were "bourgeois institutions" quite disconnected from the

[42] See *Verkhovnyi sud RSFSR. Sbornik tsirkuliarov verkhovnogo tribunala VTsIK'a za 1921, 1922 gg. i Verkhovnogo suda RSFSR za 1923 god.* . . . (Moscow, Narkomiusta RSFSR, 1924).

[43] Art. 43.

"voice of the people", as the central executive committee is fondly termed.

It is the duty of the supreme court to give guiding interpretations to the corresponding courts in the union republics in questions of general legislation of an all-Union character, to examine and protest against before the central executive committee any decisions of the courts of the republics judged contrary to the interests of one of the republics or to all-Union legislation, to advise the central executive committee on the legality of resolutions of the united republics from the point of view of the constitution, to decide legal conflicts between the six republics, and finally to examine cases of accusations against the "highest officials" of the USSR.[44]

Somewhat analogous are the powers of the supreme court of the RSFSR within its own territory. It naturally supervises the decisions of the provincial courts; it acts as a court of first instance in cases of exceptional importance. In one respect, namely that it is a court of cassation, the supreme court of the RSFSR has a power which does not appertain to the federal organ.

A further detailed analysis of the structure of the supreme courts would cover the prerogatives and duties of the procurator, various special legal tribunals to try criminal and civil cases of exceptional importance, and decisions which have been handed down. The data, however, would have no special significance. It is possible to give a detailed analysis of the decisions of the courts as based on the various codes,[45] criminal, civil, and others, but here too the entire story must go back to the cardinal point of class justice. In addition to this, the judicial structure and procedure are

[44] For the statute and other documents on the court, see 4-5 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov SSSR*, 82 and following.

[45] See, for example, two publications of the Osteuropa-Institut in Breslau: 1) H. Freund, *Strafgesetzbuch gerichtsverfassungsgesetz und strafprozessordnung Sowjetrusslands* (Berlin, etc., Bensheimer, 1925); 2) R. Maurach, *System des Russischen strafrechts* (Berlin, Sack, 1928).

still subject to a badly determined division of power among different organs. The workmen's and peasants' inspection exercise the rights of preliminary inquiry, the rights of an organ of administrative justice, and the right to exercise the functions of the procurature.[46] Moreover, there exists by the side of the court structure another body, likewise constitutionally provided for, which is the virtual arbiter of the land. That is the police and espionage system under the soviets, the present OGPU.

Soon after the power of the soviets was established in Petrograd and Moscow, an "extraordinary commission to combat counter-revolution, speculation, and sabotage", the cheka, was created. Established directly by the more aggressive members of the communist party, the cheka soon asserted authority greater than that of the organs in the soviet or regular government structure. The accounts in the soviet press of 1918 of the number of counter-revolutionaries shot show its power. After the introduction of "mass terror", following the attempt of a Jewish left socialist revolutionist to shoot Lenin in 1918, the cheka, under Dzerzhinskii, became the virtual master of Russia. It symbolized a state within a state, a body which "is completely independent and requisitions, arrests, and shoots, presenting afterwards reports to the soviet of people's commissars and to the all-Russian central executive committee".[47] The decree of the soviet of people's commissars on the "red terror", issued on September 5, 1918, constituted the basis of this extraordinary power. In the words of a soviet professor "throughout the republic was introduced the extraordinary condition . . . which granted to the administrative organs of the political inspection and struggle against political offences unrestricted rights, including execution on the

[46] As mentioned in the statute of the commissariat already treated. See also article by Gromov entitled "Sovetskaia iustitsiia i RKI" in *Ezhenedel'nik sovet'skoy iustitsii,* No. 14-15, 1922, 2-4.

[47] Circular of the cheka dated September 29, 1918, cited by L. Bach, *Le droit et les institutions de la russie sovietique,* 150.

spot".[48] The decree as mentioned contained no formal conditions to limit the activity of those organs: they could take any measures they judged expedient.

The basis of the cheka or OGPU as it now exists is to be found in a decree of the all-Russian central executive committee issued on February 8, 1922.[49] At the ninth all-Russian congress of soviets a furtive opposition had developed against the practices of this organ. Certain members of the congress even appeared to fear that, though good communists, they themselves might be in danger of arrest, or, to use a term heard frequently at the time, "entered to the expense account". Of more importance several leaders in the soviet and party structure were fearful lest the cheka should get completely beyond even their control.

As a result of this situation, the congress recommended, half apologetically, that the activities of the cheka be placed on a peace-time basis. The above-mentioned decree of the all-Russian central executive committee attempted to carry out this resolution. The cheka and its local organs were declared "abolished". The people's commissariat for interior was to execute, in the RSFSR, the following tasks: suppression of counter-revolutionary outbreaks and banditry, espionage, protection of railways and water transport, "political policing" of the boundaries of the RSFSR, combatting of contraband and the crossing of the borders of the republic without proper permission, and "executing special orders of the presidium of the all-Russian central executive committee or of the soviet of people's commissars for protecting the revolutionary order".

Obviously enough this commissariat could not take over these important duties without establishing a special organization for the purpose. Thus the decree provided that a state political administration (GPU) should be "attached to the people's commissariat for interior". Stated in another

[48] V. Kobalevskii, *Ocherki sovetskogo administrativnogo prava* (Gosizdat Ukrainy 1924).

[49] See page 482 concerning the difference between GPU and OGPU.

form, it was declared that the cheka should be called thereafter the GPU; the personnel and methods of the former were merely renamed. The suppression of the cheka was but a soviet version of the history of the "third section" under Alexander II in 1880, when that secret police system was no longer attached to the imperial chancery but became a department of the ministry of interior, though in a few years it was more important than all the rest of the ministry.

Departments of the GPU were set up in the autonomous republics and regions and other areas, but in all cases these local branches remained directly subordinate to the central body in Moscow.

Special army detachments, the size of which was determined by the soviet of labor and defence, were declared a part of the GPU. In the beginning these troops were composed in particular of Letts and Chinese, and in general of the refuse of many lands. They formed the bulwark of the soviet system against internal political difficulties or counter-revolution. Side by side with the forces in uniform there existed possibly an even greater number of agents without any mark of identification. These were and remain the secret employees of the GPU, the hidden forces of terror which have turned Russians into pitiful examples of abject fear, submission, and mental enslavement.

The statute of February 1922 laid down certain general principles of arrest, search, and seizure. The tenor of these provisions was that the head of the cheka or the political sections thereof must be informed of arrests and that within two months the person detained must be freed or permission for continued imprisonment obtained from the presidium of the all-Russian central executive committee. Finally, in the case of "crimes directed against the soviet structure or representing violations of the laws of the RSFSR" judgment was to rest thereafter either with the revolutionary tribunals or the courts. The provisions were possibly intended to remain on paper but not to be applied.

By renaming the cheka the soviet leaders showed that

they did not intend to let this body slip completely from their control. Otherwise it is difficult to see in what respect the decree itself altered the rôle of that body. Though placed under the commissariat for interior, the GPU was never administered as a subordinate part of that organ. Instead, though not given the rank of a commissariat, it functioned as an independent body subject only to the presidium of the all-Russian central executive committee. Were its powers not so wide, its authority so comprehensive, prior to the formation of the USSR, the GPU could best be called a unified people's commissariat of the RSFSR. It was that, but it was much more.

When the Union was formed in 1923, the exact legal status of the OGPU was left very much to inference. In the constitution of the USSR three different articles dealt with this body. They were:

(1) That the OGPU was created to combine the revolutionary efforts of the union republics in the fight with political and economic counter-revolution and that it should be attached to the soviet of people's commissars of the USSR;

(2) That the central OGPU should direct the work of the local organs; and

(3) That the procurator of the supreme court of the USSR should supervise the legality of the actions of the OGPU.

No longer was the OGPU declared, even in theory, to form a part of any commissariat. Instead, it is merely "attached" to the soviet of people's commissars. In relation to the union republics, which retain the same body, the status is that of a unified commissariat. On the other hand, since the central OGPU sends a plenipotentiary to each union republic on exactly the same basis as an all-Union commissariat, its status for all practical purposes is not that of a unified but of an all-Union organ.

In addition to the constitutional provisions, the special statute on the OGPU adopted by the presidium of the cen-

tral executive committee of the USSR in November 1923 treats of its composition and competence. Appointed by that presidium, the president and deputy president of the OGPU are members of the soviet of people's commissars with the right of advisory vote. A special collegium of control body is formed as in the different commissariats.

The competence of the OGPU is stated along the lines of the statute of 1922. Stress is laid on the military units, which are declared to have all rights of units of the red army. Then the uninformed personnel of the OGPU has a status similar to that of soldiers in active military service.

Recruited, it seems, from the most intelligent elements of the Slavic population, the uniformed personnel of the OGPU is now of a very high type. Throughout the country —on the trains, river boats, in the smallest hamlets—this remarkably efficient police force carries out its difficult task of preserving order. The ordinary courts exercise jurisdiction principally when some matter of class justice is at stake, while in other instances it is the OGPU which acts as the police and the judge as well. It may be said that if a man or a group of men, as is more likely to be the case, lie drunk in the street, no one has jurisdiction. If, by chance, such person or persons are run over, the local police take charge of the case. But if a hold-up of a train, or, in brief, anything which can be construed as relating to *public safety* occurs, the OGPU intervenes with full powers.

The tribute which must be paid to the uniformed personnel of the OGPU in the course of their work does not apply to the ununiformed agents or to the general practice of espionage, which is possibly the principal characteristic of Soviet Russia. The freedom of no Russian is assured; his very existence is often rendered miserable by the possible presence of paid secret informers of a vast organization which still has in practice power of life or death over all citizens, regardless of the official system of courts. The ununiformed agents who are responsible for most arrests—arrests which are usually classed as 'political'—are, as a rule,

the opposite in character of the intelligent uniformed personnel.

Whatever distinction may be made between the classes of employees, the leaders of the OGPU must accept responsibility for the practices and methods of their men. That they have acquired reputations for cruelty and terrorism rarely equalled in history is no doubt in part the fault of their wide powers.

Under the guise of such ill defined crimes as 'counter-revolution' and 'economic espionage', the OGPU has continued to exercise almost in full the powers of its predecessor, the cheka. In a few cases a spectacular trial has been staged to show the working of soviet justice. The Shakhta trial, concerning the so-called 'technicians' plot', in the spring of 1928 is one example. The ordinary course of justice, however, is that pointed out in a note of the government of Finland to the soviet authorities on June 18, 1927. This note mentioned "the news of the sentence to death of Colonel Elvengren, a citizen of Finland, outside of normal judicial procedure, by decision of the collegium of the OGPU, and of his execution in virtue of this decision without the government of Finland having been informed in any manner. . . ."[50] This unrefuted statement of one case shows what is of more importance in practice than volumes dealing with the theoretical structure of the supreme and other soviet courts. To obtain a true picture of the work of the OGPU in its rôle outside of ordinary and legitimate police duties, it is only necessary to understand that the statement of the government of Finland is merely a specific illustration of the general course of daily life throughout Russia. Still, it must be remembered that contemporary conditions have made this type of justice almost inevitable.

[50] The text is given in the *Bulletin périodique de la presse russe*, No. 165, for the period May 26-June 30, 1927. The claim made by the soviet government that the person shot was not a Finnish subject has no bearing on the methods of judicial procedure.

DOCUMENTS TO CHAPTER IX

I. Statute on the soviet of people's commissars of the USSR.
II. Decree on attendance at the soviet of people's commissars.
III. General statute on the people's commissariats of the USSR.
IV. Decree concerning the carrying out of the orders of the soviet of people's commissars.
V. Decree on the abolition of the extraordinary commission (cheka) and the creation of the state political administration (GPU).
VI. Statute on the OGPU.
VII. Statute on the people's commissariat for workmen's and peasants' inspection.
VIII. Statute on the state planning commission of the USSR.
IX. Statute on the people's commissariat for foreign affairs.
X. Statute on the soviet of labor and defence.
XI. Statute on the soviet of people's commissars of the Autonomous Moldavian Socialist Soviet Republic.

I

Decree, Dated November 12, 1923, of the Central Executive Committee (TsIK) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) on the Act Organizing the Soviet of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) of the USSR, and Amendments Thereto [1]

1. The sovnarkom of the USSR is formed by the TsIK of the USSR and is the executive and administrative organ thereof.

2. The sovnarkom of the USSR is composed of:

[*a*) The president of the sovnarkom of the USSR;

(*b*) The deputy president of the sovnarkom of the USSR;

(*c*) People's commissars for foreign affairs, army and marine, foreign and internal trade, ways of communication, posts and telegraphs, workmen's and peasants' inspection, labor, finance, and president of the supreme soviet of people's economy.

Note: In the sessions of the sovnarkom of the USSR participate, with the right of advisory vote, also the representatives of the union republics, the members of the TsIK of the USSR,

[1] 1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov SSSR,* 31-33.

the president of the OGPU, as well as the presidents of the sovnarkoms of the union republics, and also, upon special permit of the sovnarkom of the USSR, other persons.

[Resolution of the TsIK of the USSR on October 24, 1924, (*Sobranie zakonov SSSR*, 1924, No. 19, 182) [1] and on November 18, 1925.[2]]

3. Within the competence of the sovnarkom of the USSR fall:

(*a*) Direction of the activity of all all-Union and unified people's commisariats;

(*b*) Examination and ratification of the decrees and decisions of all-Union importance within the competence as provided for by the constitution of the USSR, the act organizing the TsIK of the USSR, and other decisions of the TsIK of the USSR or its presidium, as well as the examination and execution of all measures necessary for the general administration of the USSR;

(*c*) Preliminary examination of the drafts of all decrees and decisions submitted, in accordance with the constitution of the USSR, for ratification by the TsIK of the USSR or its presidium;

(*d*) Examination of all matters which the TsIK of the USSR or its presidium shall find necessary to submit to the sovnarkom of the USSR;

(*e*) Examination of treaties and agreements with the governments of foreign states, as well as confirmation of those treaties which do not require special ratification;

(*f*) Examination and approval of concessionary agreements;

(*g*) Examination and submission of the all-Union budget for ratification by the TsIK of the USSR;

(*h*) Examination and submission, for approval by the TsIK of the USSR or its presidium, of all drafts of decisions concerning the introduction of new or the increase of already existing taxes;

(*i*) Examination of records of the activity of all-Union and unified people's commissariats of the USSR;

(*j*) Settlement of differences which may arise between the sovnarkoms of the union republics in matters falling within the competence of the sovnarkom of the USSR, as well as of dif-

[1] In the original text a people's commissariat for food was included; when the people's commissariat for internal trade was formed on October 24, 1924, it was not included, though the commissariat for food was then abolished.

[2] On November 18, 1925, the separate people's commissariats for foreign trade and for domestic trade were consolidated into one: the people's commissariat for foreign and internal trade. *Ezhegodnik narodnogo komissariata po inostrannym delam 1926*, 26.

ferences between the people's commissariats of the USSR or between the latter and the sovnarkoms of the union republics;

(*k*) Examination of protests and appeals against the decisions of the STO [soviet of labor and defence], or commissions formed in the sovnarkom and the STO and having administrative-executive powers, as well as against the actions of the people's commissariats of the USSR;

(*l*) Ratification of the personnel lists of the people's commissariats and other institutions of the USSR;

(*m*) Submission to the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR of recommendations concerning the appointment of deputy people's commissars, and approval of the appointment of members of the collegia of the people's commissariats, of the USSR, members of the STO, presidents and members of the gosplan [state planning commission], general concessions committee, legislation drafting committee, administration-finance commission, collegium of the OGPU, director of the central statistical department, president of the state bank, as well as of other officials, provided that the Union legislation is consulted.

[Resolution of the TsIK of the USSR on October 24, 1924. *Sobranie zakonov SSSR,* 1924, No. 19, 184.]

4. In addition to the TsIK of the USSR the right to introduce questions for examination by the sovnarkom of the USSR is granted to:

(*a*) The presidents of the sovnarkom of the USSR and of the STO, as well as their deputies and members of the sovnarkom of the USSR;

(*b*) The STO;

(*c*) The central executive committees of the union republics, their presidia, and sovnarkoms;

(*d*) The gosplan, general concessions committee, the OGPU, the central statistical department, the legislation drafting committee, the administration-finance commission, and other permanent commissions of the sovnarkom of the USSR;

(*e*) The persons who have the right of advisory vote in the sessions of the sovnarkom of the USSR as mentioned in the note to article 2 of the present statute.

[Resolution of the TsIK of the USSR on October 24, 1924. *Sobranie zakonov SSSR,* 1924, No. 19, 184.]

5. All proposals are introduced in the sovnarkom of the USSR with the signatures of the presidents of corresponding supreme organs of the USSR and union republics, people's commissars, or directors of the departments and institutions enumerated in

article 4 of this statute. In case of absence or sickness of these officials, the proposals are submitted by their deputies.

6. The sessions of the sovnarkom of the USSR are held when at least half of the members having the right of deciding vote are present.

7. On all its decisions and conclusions the sovnarkom of the USSR reports to the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR within three days after the decisions have been made.

8. All decisions of the sovnarkom of the USSR may be protested by its individual members by presenting their protests to the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR. This protest, however, does not suspend the execution of the decision.

9. In the sovnarkom of the USSR is formed an administrative bureau, the competence of which shall be determined by a special act.

10. The order in which questions submitted to the sovnarkom of the USSR are prepared and examined is determined by special decree subject to ratification by the sovnarkom of the USSR.

11. All communications with other state institutions and departments in the name of the sovnarkom of the USSR are carried out by the president or deputy president thereof.

II

Decree, Dated August 7, 1923, of the Soviet of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) on the Persons Having the Right to Attend the Meetings Thereof [1]

The sovnarkom of the USSR decrees:

1. At the meetings of the sovnarkom of the USSR the following persons shall have the right to be present:

(*a*) The president of the sovnarkom, his deputies, and people's commissars of the USSR—with the right of deciding vote;

(*b*) The deputies of the people's commissars of the USSR—with the right of advisory vote in cases when the people's commissar is present, and with the right of deciding vote in cases when the people's commissar is absent from Moscow;

(*c*) The members of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR, the presidents of the central executive committees and sovnarkoms of the union republics, as well as the plenipotentiaries of the latter;

[1] 1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov SSR,* 33-34.

(*d*) The director of the central statistical bureau of the USSR, president of the state planning commission, chairman of the general concessions committee, president of the OGPU, president of the all-union central soviet of trade unions, president of the all-Russian central soviet of consumers' societies, president of the state bank, presidents of the administrative-finance commission and of the legislative drafting commission, president of the conferences of the non-unified people's commissariats in the sovnarkom of the USSR, director of the bureau of administration of the sovnarkom of the USSR, the consulting deputy of the sovnarkom and the soviet of labor and defence,—all with the right of advisory vote;

(*e*) The people's commissars of the union republics, in cases where the matters under discussion have been submitted by them,—with the right of advisory vote;

(*f*) Members of the collegia of the people's commissariats, in cases where the people's commissar or his deputy is absent, provided that not more than one shall be present from each people's commissariat and that the proper permit from the people's commissar has been given,—these members having the right of advisory vote;

(*g*) The deputy and assistants of the director of the bureau of administration of the sovnarkom, the secretary and the deputy-secretary of the sovnarkom, the editor of the *Ekonomicheskaia Zhisn'*, the representative of the press bureau, as well as the technical personnel necessary for the sessions of the sovnarkom. All these persons may be given the right of vote, in case of necessity, by the president of the sovnarkom, in each case upon his own decision.

2. The order in which the speakers representing the departments and respective organs are admitted to the sessions of the sovnarkom is determined by a special decree.

III

Decree, Dated November 12, 1923, of the Central Executive Committee (TsIK) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), on the General Act Organizing the People's Commissariats of the USSR [1]

Chapter I.—*On the Formation of the People's Commissariats of the USSR*

1. In conformity with article 37 of the fundamental law

[1] 1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov SSR*, 68-72.

(constitution) of the USSR, to the TsIK of the USSR shall be attached people's commissariats which shall be classified into:

(*a*) All-Union people's commissariats—common for the whole USSR;

(*b*) Unified people's commissariats of the USSR.

2. The all-Union people's commissariats of the USSR shall be the commissariats for:

Foreign affairs,
War and marine,
Foreign trade,[1]
Ways of communication,
Posts and telegraphs.

3. The unified people's commissariats of the USSR shall be the commissariats for:

Supreme soviet of people's economy,
Internal trade,[1]
Labor,
Finance,
Workmen's and peasants' inspection.

4. The people's commissariats of the USSR carry out all decisions of the congresses of soviets, the TsIK, its presidium, the sovnarkom of the USSR, and of the soviet of labor and defence, which fall within their jurisdiction.

5. All people's commissariats of the USSR, acting in conformity with the present statute, fulfil their duties on the basis of special acts ratified by the TsIK of the USSR, as well as on the basis of the decisions of the presidia of the TsIK and the sovnarkom of the USSR.

6. The people's commissariats of the USSR are charged with:

(*a*) General direction of the activity of all institutions subordinate thereto; supervision over the legality of the execution of all laws and ordinances of the supreme organs of the USSR; taking, in a proper order, of all necessary means for the immediate suppression of illegal acts.

(*b*) Drafting, within their competence and in conformity with the orders of the supreme organs of the USSR, as well as upon their own initiative, of projects of decrees and decisions, and

[1] Combined into a unified commissariat for foreign and domestic trade on November 18, 1925. The people's commissariat for internal trade was originally formed in 1924 when the original people's commissariat for food was liquidated.

submitting them either to the sovnarkom of the USSR or to the soviet of labor and defence.

(*c*) Issuing, within their competence, of decisions, ordinances, instructions, circulars, and orders, etc.

(*d*) Drafting the budgets and the personnel lists of the people's commissariat and submitting them for ratification in a fixed order.

(*e*) Settling appeals from the acts and ordinances of institutions and persons subordinate thereto; forwarding these appeals to the proper authority, provided they relate to matters not falling within the competence of the people's commissariat.

7. The decrees of the people's commissariats of the USSR may be suspended or repealed by the TsIK of the USSR, its presidium, or by the sovnarkom of the USSR. The president of the sovnarkom of the USSR and his deputy have the right to suspend the orders of the people's commissariats provided that a report on the action taken is submitted to the sovnarkom of the USSR.

8. The orders of the people's commissariats of the USSR may be suspended by the central executive committees of the union republics provided they conflict with the constitution of the USSR, legislation of the Union, or with the legislation of the union republics. The central executive committees or presidia of the central executive committees of the union republics must immediately notify the sovnarkom of the USSR or the corresponding people's commissariat of the USSR of such suspension in every case.

Chapter II.—*Of the All-Union People's Commissariats of the USSR*

9. The all-Union people's commissariats (article 2 of the present act) are in charge of the corresponding federal departments throughout the USSR.

10. The all-Union people's commissariats of the USSR appoint their plenipotentiaries to the union republics; they remain directly subordinate to the corresponding people's commissariats of the USSR.

11. The plenipotentiaries of the people's commissariats are elected directly by the people's commissariat of the USSR, or upon the suggestion of the TsIK of the USSR, and are approved by the sovnarkom of the USSR. All candidates must be recommended by the central executive committees of the union republics which have the right to reject the appointment.

NOTE: The appointment of deputy-plenipotentiaries of the all-Union people's commissariats is approved in the same order as that of the plenipotentiaries.

12. The plenipotentiaries of the all-Union people's commissariats participate in the meetings of the sovnarkoms of the union republics with the right of advisory or deciding vote upon the decision of the central executive committee of the union republic or of the presidium thereof. The plenipotentiaries of the people's commissariats inform the central executive committees, their presidia, and the sovnarkoms of the union republics of the activity of the all-Union people's commissariat and report on their activity to the corresponding people's commissariat of the USSR, as well as to the sovnarkoms and central executive committees of the corresponding union republics.

13. The ordinances of the all-Union people's commissariats are compulsory for immediate execution throughout the USSR, and, as a general rule, are carried out through the respective plenipotentiaries appointed to the sovnarkoms of the union republics. In case an order has been issued by the all-Union people's commissariat to the local organs, the plenipotentiary of the given people's commissariat appointed to the sovnarkom of this union republic must be informed simultaneously.

NOTE: In case the plenipotentiary of the all-Union people's commissariat has received an order conflicting with the legislation of the USSR or of the union republic, he must make a report immediately to the corresponding people's commissar of the USSR, also informing the sovnarkom of the union republic simultaneously of the order received.

14. The decisions of the central executive committees, their presidia, sovnarkoms, and of the economic conferences of the USSR, which do not conflict with the all-Union legislation, within their competence are compulsory also for the plenipotentiaries of the all-Union commissariats of the USSR.

CHAPTER III.—*Of the Unified People's Commissariats of the USSR*

15. The corresponding people's commissariats of the union republics shall be the organs of the unified people's commissariats of the USSR.

The corresponding people's commissariats of the union republics which remain subordinate to the central executive committees and to the sovnarkoms of the union republics carry out in

their activity also the directions and orders of the corresponding people's commissariats of the USSR.

16. The unified people's commissariats of the USSR carry out all their orders and directions through the corresponding people's commissariats of the union republics.

17. People's commissars appointed and recalled by the central executive committees of the union republics are in charge of the people's commissariats of the union republics corresponding to those of the USSR.

18. In addition to the functions enumerated in article 4 of this act, the unified people's commissariats shall:

(*a*) Give directions and orders to the corresponding people's commissariats of the union republics and supervise the execution thereof;

(*b*) Suspend and repeal the decision of the corresponding people's commissariats of the union republics provided they conflict with their directions or with all-Union legislation, informing the sovnarkom of the given union republic simultaneously:

Note: This right shall not include cases where the orders of one people's commissariat of the republics are based on the exact orders of the sovnarkom of the given republic. In such cases the corresponding people's commissariat of the USSR may send only a note of protest to the sovnarkom of the union republic.

(*c*) Establish the order and forms of reports compulsory for the corresponding people's commissariats of the union republics;

(*d*) Coördinate, in a fixed order, the bases of organization of the corresponding people's commissariats and their local organs;

(*e*) Work out the economic plans of the subordinate organs of the union republics carrying out the orders of the sovnarkom of the USSR; (*f*) supervise, in a fixed order, the all-Union funds of the given people's commissariat.

Chapter IV.—*Of the People's Commissars of the USSR*

19. At the head of each people's commissariat of the USSR stands a people's commissar elected and recalled by the TsIK of the USSR (article 37 of the constitution) who shall supervise and direct the activity of the given people's commissariat of the USSR, as well as have control and supervision over the institutions and personnel subordinate to him.

20. The people's commissar may make his own decisions in all questions falling within the competence of the people's commissariat, provided that he informs the collegium of the decision taken. In particular, the people's commissar shall have the right

to (*a*) determine the sphere of activity of each one of his deputies, and of members of the collegium; (*b*) appoint, transfer, and recall, in accordance with the existing acts, the personnel of the people's commissariat; (*c*) supervise the activity of the institutions and persons subordinate to him; (*d*) distribute the credits of the given people's commissariat of the USSR and approve the drafts of budgets, in conformity with existing rules; (*e*) appeal to the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR on the decisions of the sovnarkom of the USSR, the central executive committees, and their presidia, of the union republics, as well as protest to the sovnarkom of the USSR on the decisions of the sovnarkoms of the union republics, provided that these protests shall not suspend the execution thereof.

21. All decisions issued in the name of the people's commissar of the USSR, appeals to the sovnarkom of the USSR, and communication with the supreme organs are signed by the people's commissar.

22. The people's commissars of the USSR are responsible to the TsIK of the USSR, its presidium, and to the sovnarkom of the USSR.

CHAPTER V.—*Of the Deputy People's Commissars of the USSR*

23. The deputy people's commissars of the USSR are the immediate assistants of the people's commissar in administering the people's commissariats.

24. In case of absence or illness of the people's commissar his duties are carried out by his deputy.

25. The deputy-people's commissar participates in the meetings of the sovnarkom with the right of advisory vote. In case of absence of the people's commissar the deputy shall have the right of deciding vote.

CHAPTER VI.—*Of the Collegium*

26. To each people's commissar and under his presidency is attached a collegium, whose members are appointed by the sovnarkom of the USSR. The number of the members of the collegium in each people's commissariat is determined by the sovnarkom of the USSR.

27. In case of disagreement with a decision of the people's commissar, the collegium has the right to appeal from this decision, without suspending its execution, to the sovnarkom. The same right appertains to each member of the collegium.

IV

Decree, Dated February 17, 1924, of the Soviet of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) on Regulations Concerning the Order and Time of Execution of the Ordinances Thereof [1]

In order to secure the exact and timely execution of ordinances of the sovnarkom of the USSR by all institutions and officials thereof, the sovnarkom hereby decrees:

1. All ordinances of the sovnarkom of the USSR must be executed exactly and at the time as determined in the decisions or ordinances of the sovnarkom. The postponement of the execution may be granted only upon the consent of the president of the sovnarkom of the USSR, provided the application concerning such delay is on hand not later than three days prior to the expiration of the term.

Note: The time of issuing instructions concerning the application of the decisions of the sovnarkom of the USSR shall be determined in conformity with the decision of the TsIK and sovnarkom of the USSR on June 27, 1924. (*Vestnik TsIK, SNK, i STO,* 1924, no. 6, p. 214.)

2. The general supervision over the exact and timely execution of all ordinances is charged to the bureau of administration of the sovnarkom of the USSR, which, in twenty-four hours from the issuance of the decree, must notify the department charged with the execution thereof. In cases where two or more departments are charged with the execution, the decrees of the sovnarkom shall specifically provide which department shall be responsible for the execution thereof.

The departments shall appoint special responsible officials whose duty shall be to supervise the execution of the work in the department, and to report thereon to the bureau of administration of the sovnarkom.

The execution of duties of the foregoing responsible officials must be entrusted either to the director of the office or to the secretaries of the collegia and other responsible workers, who, by their political and potential qualifications, would correspond to the officials of the categories just mentioned.

3. The persons mentioned in article 2 are charged with: continuous supervision over the exact and timely execution of all

[1] 1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov SSR,* 34-36.

work within the subordinate apparatus in relation to the carrying out of ordinances of the sovnarkom of the USSR, with the execution of which the department, as the immediate executor, has been charged, as well as all communication with other departments and with the bureau of administration of the sovnarkom of the USSR on all matters concerning the execution of the ordinances of the latter.

4. The departments charged with the execution of the ordinances must lend all kinds of assistance and mutual help by presenting upon request and at determined times all materials, information, and conclusions by taking over part of the work by sending their representatives to the commissions, conferences, etc.

Note: The failure of the assisting department to present its conclusion on the given project at the proper time will not hinder the examination of the matter and the execution thereof at the time as ordered by the sovnarkom of the USSR.

5. The officials mentioned in article 2 and especially appointed by the departments shall be personally responsible for the exact and timely execution and for the fulfilment of other requirements determined by the present regulations in order to ascertain the timely execution of all ordinances of the sovnarkom of the USSR. Furthermore, the responsibility is extended also to the officials of the departments which are charged with assistance in the execution of the ordinances of the sovnarkom of the USSR.

6. The people's commissariat for workmen's and peasants' inspection of the USSR is charged with the submission of a draft of a decree concerning the regulations of the work of the commissions in order to secure the timely execution and arrival of the members of the commissions at the sessions thereof.

V

Decree, Dated February 8, 1922, of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) on the Abolition of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission (Cheka) and on the Creation of a State Political Administration (GPU)[1]

In accordance with the resolution of the ninth all-Russian congress of soviets on the reorganization of the cheka for the struggle with counter-revolution, speculation, and offences connected

[1] *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporiazhenii,* April 1, 1922, No. 16.

with official duties, and on the local organs of the cheka, the VTsIK decrees:

1. That the cheka and its local organs shall be abolished.

2. That the people's commissariat for interior shall, together with the other tasks indicated in paragraph 1 of the acts concerning the people's commissariat for interior, execute throughout the entire territory of the RSFSR the following tasks:

(*a*) Suppression of open counter-revolutionary outbreaks, including banditry;

(*b*) Taking measures to prevent and combat espionage;

(*c*) Guarding rail and water transport;

(*d*) Political policing of the borders of the RSFSR;

(*e*) Combating contraband and crossing of the borders of the republic without proper permission;

(*f*) Executing special orders of the presidium of the VTsIK or of the sovnarkom for protecting the revolutionary order.

3. For the fulfilment of these tasks there is to be formed in connection with the people's commissariat for interior a state political administration (GPU), under the personal chairmanship of the people's commissar for interior or of his deputy, who is to be appointed by the sovnarkom, and in the local places there are to be political sections; in the autonomous republics and regions the political sections are to be connected with the central executive committee and in the provinces with the executive committees thereof.

4. The political sections connected with the central executive committees of the autonomous republics and regions remain directly subordinate to the central GPU attached to the people's commissariat for interior, on the same principles as the other unified people's commissariats and administrations of the autonomous republics and regions.

5. The political sections of the provincial executive committees shall act in accordance with a special act referring thereto, approved by the presidium of the VTsIK.

Note: Special sections and transport sections forming part of the GPU and the political sections conduct the struggle against crimes in the army and on the railroads according to special regulations concerning them, approved by the presidium of the VTsIK.

6. At the direct disposal of the GPU there are special army detachments, the size of which shall be determined by the decisions of the soviet of labor and defence, under the orders of a

special staff of the troops of the GPU of the people's commissariat for interior, this staff being part of the GPU.

7. Owing to the necessity of adopting measures for stopping the activities of those who take part in counter-revolutionary attempts, in banditism, espionage, thefts on the railways and waterways, contraband, and crossing the frontiers without permission, the GPU, the political sections, as well as their representatives in the districts, have the right to undertake searches, seizures and arrests as follows:

(*a*) In the case of persons caught in the act of committing a crime, the arrests, searches, or seizures by agents of the GPU or of the political sections may be effected without a special decision of the GPU, or of the political sections, or a special order containing the approval of the chairman of the GPU, within 48 hours from the time such procedure was resorted to; in all the other cases the arrest, as well as the searches and seizures, are admissible only upon special decision of the OGPU or the political sections, over the signature of their representatives, according to special orders which are issued in the manner stipulated by the instructions elaborated by the GPU, and confirmed by the people's commissariat for justice.

(*b*) Not later than two weeks after the arrest the indictment shall be submitted to the prisoner.

(*c*) Not later than two months after the day of the arrest the GPU must either free the arrested person or ask the presidium of the VTsIK for permission to continue the detention of the arrested person, provided this is warranted by special circumstances, for a period determined by the presidium of the VTsIK, or it shall refer the matter to the courts.

8. All general criminal cases concerning speculation, offences committed in connection with official duties, and other offences which, before the publication of this decree, were in the hands of the all-Russian cheka and its organs, shall be transmitted within two weeks to the respective revolutionary tribunals or people's courts, and in the future all cases concerning crimes directed against the soviet structure or representing violations of the laws of the RSFSR shall be exclusively judged by the courts, either by the revolutionary tribunals or by the people's courts, according to the case.

9. The people's commissariat for justice shall supervise the execution of articles 7 and 8.

10. The acts concerning the powers of the people's commis-

sariat for interior shall be complemented in accordance with this decree.

Signed: President of the VTsIK: M. Kalinin.
Secretary of the VTsIK: A. Enukidze.

VI

Decree, Dated November 15, 1923, of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee (TsIK) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), Ratified at the Second Session of the Central Executive Committee (TsIK) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), October 24, 1924, on the Act Organizing the Unified State Political Administration (OGPU) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and on the Organs Thereof [1]

1. In conformity with article 61 of the constitution of the USSR, and in order to consolidate the revolutionary efforts of the republics in their struggle against the political and economic counter-revolution, espionage, and banditism, the OGPU shall be created in the sovnarkom of the USSR.

2. The president of the OGPU and his deputy are appointed by the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR. The president and his deputy are members of the sovnarkom of the USSR with the right of advisory vote.

3. To the president of the OGPU of the USSR is attached a collegium, the members of which are appointed with the consent of the sovnarkom of the USSR and have all rights of the members of the collegia of people's commissariats of the USSR.

4. Within the jurisdiction of the OGPU fall:

(*a*) Direction of the activity of all state political administrations of the union republics and special departments of the military circuits subordinate thereto, as well as of the activity of all organs of transportation of the state political administrations on the rail and water ways throughout the corresponding union republics.

(*b*) Immediate direction of and supervision over the special departments of the frontiers and armies.

(*c*) Organization of the protection of the boundaries of the USSR.

(*d*) Immediate operative work on an all-Union scale.

5. The OGPU and its local organs have the rights of active

[1] 1 *Sistematishcheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov SSR,* 194-195.

units of the red army in all matters relating to the use of rail, water and air ways, as well as of the state means of communication (telephone, mail, telegraph, etc.); in relation to the equipment of these special departments, frontier branches, and of the personnel of the OGPU with supplies and clothing.

6. The agents of the OGPU and of the local organs thereof in their rights and duties, as well as in all other aspects, have a status similar to those in active military service.

7. The OGPU has its own separate budget, approved by the sovnarkom and included in the budget of the USSR. In the budget of the OGPU are included likewise the budgets of special branches thereof engaged on the fronts and in the armies, as well as the budgets of the state political administrations of the union republics, including also the budgets of all special branches in the military circuits and of the organs of transportation subordinate thereto.

8. At the immediate disposal of the OGPU are special military units whose number shall be determined by the STO; they are subordinate in all respects to the president of the OGPU or his deputy.

9. The OGPU directs the activity of the local organs of the state political administrations through its plenipotentiaries accredited to the sovnarkom of the union republics and acting in conformity with special statutes ratified in a legislative manner.

10. The OGPU, state political administrations of the union republics, special units, the frontier organs, as well as all organs of transportation act in conformity with the decisions of the VTsIK, dated February 6, 1922, October 16, 1922, and March 22, 1922, as well as of the central executive committees of the union republics, and in conformity with the decision of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR on November 2, 1923.

11. The OGPU has its representative in the supreme court of the USSR, subject to the consent of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR as provided for in article 45 of the constitution of the USSR.

12. Supervision over the legality of the actions of the OGPU of the USSR lies within the jurisdiction of the prosecutor of the supreme court of the USSR in an order and within the limits as determined in the statute on the supreme court of the USSR ratified at the third session of the TsIK of the USSR, and in special decisions of the presidium of the TsIK of the USSR.

VII

Statute Adopted at the III Session of the Central Executive Committee (TsIK) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), I Meeting, on November 12, 1923, on the People's Commissariat for Workmen's and Peasants' Inspection (RKI)[1]

Chapter I.—*General Provisions*

In conformity with chapter VIII of the fundamental law (constitution) of the USSR, there shall be established the RKI of the USSR.

The RKI is the main organ of the soviet authority concerned with carrying out all measures taken to improve the state apparatus, to manage it properly, and to adjust it to the final ends of socialist construction.

In conformity with this, the RKI is entrusted with the following:

Chapter II.—*Duties of the RKI*

1. The practical and theoretical study of the administration; criticism of the defects and emphasis on the positive side of the working of the existing administrative organs; removal of the former and furthering the latter; carrying out experimental tests and taking practical measures to rationalize the technique of administration, office routine, and records; working out of the most effective methods of accounting, bookkeeping, and balances; drafting new plans of desirable changes in the structure of state organs in order to improve their work, as well as to create simultaneously such normal working condition as to facilitate supervision by the state.

2. Directing the state, administrative, and economic organs toward the improvement of their organization; lending them all possible assistance in this respect, recording their experiments, and coördinating and unifying all measures taken by them.

3. General supervision over and unification of the activity of all institutions engaged in the scientific organization of labor, production, and technique of the administration through their representation in the RKI acting on the basis of a special act; organization, in certain cases, of experimental centers which may be of state importance, as well as the organization of institutions

[1] 1 *Sistematischeskoe sobranie zakonov SSR,* 179-186.

and nuclei which would assist in improving the governmental machinery.

Note: The nuclei promoting the improvement of the governmental apparatus shall be established on the basis of a statute especially provided for and worked out by the RKI, subject to approval by the sovnarkom of the USSR.

4. Detailed examination of the quarterly and yearly budgets of the USSR, of the union and local republics, and analysis of the working of same from the point of view of their financial reality and economic rationality; giving opinions on the working of state appropriations made by the people's commissariats for finance of the USSR and of the union republics; examination and analysis of the plans of production and of their execution by the economic organs, as well as carrying out the plans of administrative and cultural-educational organs; revision of the activity of all state and other organs enumerated in article 12 of this act from the point of view of the actual results of their work, as well as systematic inspection thereof on the basis of collected materials and scientific data.

5. Appraisal and examination of the work of the heads and assistants of the administrative and economic organs of the USSR; lending them assistance in the form of selecting for them the necessary personnel; taking necessary measures for the practical training of workers and peasants for holding responsible offices, as well as helping the party workers most devoted to the cause.

6. Examination and study of the causes of offences and negligence by superior officials and agents of the state organs; fight against bribery by issuing appropriate directions which shall be in conformity with legal and administrative provisions.

7. Give special and careful attention to improving the governmental apparatus and economic organs where they come into immediate contact with the population; systematic and planned utilization of the soviet, party, and trade press, for the purpose of carrying out a merciless struggle against all officials in the state organs who neglect the interest and needs of workers and peasants, especially illiterate ones, as well as the workers of the nationalities; struggle against all kinds of offences, economic as well as those connected with official duty, neglect, bureaucracy, etc.

8. Studying the methods of bookkeeping and office routine in the state and communal organs of the USSR, as well as

control and supervision over workers in this field. Establishment of proper methods of bookkeeping, of drawing up balance ledgers, and also the enforcement of uniform units of measure. Establishment in the RKI of a body of expert state bookkeepers.

9. Carrying out special orders and directions of the supreme organs of the USSR, as well as control and supervision over the gradual execution of decrees and decisions of these organs, and first of all of those aiming to improve the state apparatus.

10. Publication on a large scale of information about questions concerning the scientific organization of labor, production, and administration, as well as the revisional inspectional achievements.

11. Supervision over the work of the RKI in the union republics in matters concerning the carrying out of the work entrusted to them.

CHAPTER III.—*The Prerogatives of the RKI*

To carry out its duties, the RKI shall enjoy the following prerogatives:

12. Complete or partial revisional-inspectional investigations of all central, regional, and local, state, and communal organs and establishments, as well as of unions thereof, including coöperative and trade organs of the USSR, stock and miscellaneous companies, concessional enterprises, and any kind of communal organizations which receive a subsidy from the state or which operate with the assistance of state capital; communal taxes, or other revenues.

NOTE: State enterprises leased to private individuals or organizations, as well as privately owned or concessional enterprises, are examined by the RKI only within the limits provided for in the agreements between the state and the owners of such enterprises.

13. The right to request from all state and communal organizations of the USSR all kinds of information, materials, documents, acts, memoranda, reports, and other data illustrating the condition and activity of the institutions, enterprises, and organizations; the right to request the personal appearance of the persons in charge, as well as of officials of the investigated organs, for giving personal testimony, or for participation in joint meetings, sessions, or sub-commissions, in order to discuss questions which may arise in the course of such investigation.

14. The right to propose to all state organs, enterprises, or organizations under investigation: (a) to remove all defects observed, (b) to take necessary measures to rationalize the whole apparatus, (c) to discharge and recall officials for serious offences and neglect, (d) to fix disciplinary punishment within the limits determined by law.

NOTE: In case of disagreement with the proposals of the RKI, the heads of organs and enterprises enumerated in article 12 must immediately submit their objections to the RKI. In case these objections are not accepted by the RKI as sufficient, the matter is submitted to the appropriate legislative organs.

[As adopted by the TsIK and sovnarkom of the USSR, November 14, 1924.]

15. To submit to the central and local organs of the USSR and to the central organs of the union republics all concrete proposals worked out on the basis of inspections concerning the simplification of the administrative apparatus and the removal of overlapping and inefficiency; to submit concrete proposals concerning the forms of coördination of the activity of individual commissariats or their local organs, as well as the reorganization of the whole system of routine procedure in the institutions or individual departments thereof.

16. The organization and ratification, either directly or through the people's commissariats of the RKI of each union republic, of acts on the organs for the rationalization of the departmental apparatus (bureaus of planning and organization experimental centers, nuclei promoting the improvement of the state apparatus); approval of forms for permanent official reports of those organs on the work and condition of the institution, as well as the discharge of the personnel of these organs.

17. The closing and complete liquidation of departmental organs for the rationalization of the state apparatus of the USSR, of individual scientific research, labor and administrative institutions, and of controlling and inspectional organizations and groups in case their work or their personnel are insufficient.

18. The convocation of meetings, conferences, and congresses for the discussion of problems of the scientific organization of labor, production, and the technique of administration; for establishing efficient methods of economics and administration, orders of accounting, annual reports, etc.; for drafting plans and programs of education, together with the organs of education and trade unions, and training of various qualified workers in

the scientific organization of labor, production, and the technique of administration.

19. Participation, with the right of advisory vote, in all commissions and meetings organized by the supreme organs in the center or in the localities; in meetings of the collegia of people's commissariats, executive committees and their presidia, as well as in all congresses, conferences, meetings, and administrative sessions of the state organs, enterprises, or their unions, or of communal and coöperative organizations, etc.

20. The suspension of evident illegal orders and acts of the inspected organs or of the officials thereof.

NOTE 1: The right of suspension of the orders and acts belongs to the RKI of the USSR and of the union republics, and to the heads of the regional and provincial (circuit) organs of the RKI respectively.

NOTE 2: The suspension of acts and orders of institutions by organs of the RKI may be declared void only by the supreme organs of the RKI. The suspension of acts and orders of institutions, approved by the RKI of the USSR, may be declared void only by the TsIK or the sovnarkom of the USSR, or by the STO.

NOTE 3: This right of the RKI of the USSR does not extend to the decisions and orders of the central executive committees and sovnarkoms of the union republics, to the people's commissariats of the USSR or of the union republics, save to the RKI of each union republic and to local executive committees or their presidia, as well as to the decisions and sentences of the judicial organs or orders of inquiry and procurature within the limits of their competence.

21. The initiation of administrative and judicial prosecution of officials accused of committing offences disclosed in the course of the work of the RKI, with subsequent orders to the judicial authorities and procurature to proceed with further investigation of the case.

22. Orders (direct or through the RKI of each union republic) to the institutions and enterprises concerning claims for compensation for losses suffered by the state, as well as independent submission of these claims.

23. Publication in the press by the people's commissar or by the collegium of the RKI of the USSR of the list of officials accused of offences while in office, incapacity, and neglect of the interests of the working masses, but only in cases where these

offences are not protested by the heads of the departments and institutions.

CHAPTER IV.—*The Structure of the RKI of the USSR*

24. The RKI of the USSR is composed of:

A. The people's commissar and collegium;

B. Four central departments:

(*a*) operative division,

(*b*) division for the improvement of the state apparatus,

(*c*) division for accounting and bookkeeping,

(*d*) general division;

C. Three independent departments:

(*a*) division of information and press,

(*b*) judicial division,

(*c*) central bureau of claims and applications.

25. The central departments are composed of the following inspections, sections, and divisions:

A. The operative division consists of nine inspections:

(*a*) industry,

(*b*) trade,

(*c*) agriculture,

(*d*) finance,

(*e*) transport and communications,

(*f*) army and marine,

(*g*) administration,

(*h*) culture-education,

(*i*) labor, health, and social welfare.

B. The division of the improvement of the state apparatus consists of two sections:

(*a*) labor and production,

(*b*) administrative technique.

C. The division of accounting and bookkeeping consists of two sections:

(*a*) bookkeeping,

(*b*) accounting.

D. The general division consists of three sub-divisions:

(*a*) general offices and secretariat,

(*b*) organization and instruction,

(*c*) economic and financial.

CHAPTER V.—*Competence of the Central Organs of the RKI of the USSR*

26. The operative division of the RKI is charged with the

supervision over all inspectional-revisional work of the inspections included in its composition. The central inspections carry out their work according to the functional division, the main object being the activity of corresponding people's commissariats. The exact division of competence of separate central inspections shall be determined by the RKI of the USSR.

27. The division for the improvement of the state apparatus is charged with:

In the section of labor and production: (a) the working out of rational methods of working processes, (b) the working out of problems concerning the rationalization of the technique of production, standardization, and increase of the productivity of labor; (c) the establishment of norms of production and of protection of labor.

In the section of administrative technique: (a) the working out of rational methods of running the administrative apparatus of the state, economic, and communal institutions and establishments; (b) determining the structure of the state apparatus, personnel, office routine, etc., and working out rational methods of administration.

28. The division of accounting and bookkeeping is charged with determining and working out in the soviet institutions the most perfect forms of accounting, bookkeeping, balance, etc.

29. The general administrative office is charged with:

In the division of general administration and secretariat: (a) the correspondence of the collegium of the RKI of the USSR; (b) the preparation of materials on matters to be submitted by the RKI to the supreme legislative organs; (c) the carrying out of special orders and duties (not provided for in this act); (d) correspondence, general registration, dispatch, and supervision over the general archives and library of the RKI.

In the division of organization and instruction: (a) supervision over the execution by all organs of the RKI of all orders and instructions thereof; summarizing and preparing material on questions concerning the structure, forms, and methods of working of all organs of the RKI; (b) drafting of general reports and statistical data on the institutions of the RKI; (c) determining the staff list and supervision over the personnel of the RKI of the USSR.

In the division of economics and finances: (a) drafting the budgets and financing the central and local institutions of the RKI of the USSR; (b) control over the proper distribution by

them of funds and material; (c) economic and technical assistance to the central organs of the RKI.

30. The division of information and press is charged with publishing and distributing periodical organs, pamphlets, as well as all kind of printed matter, books, magazines, etc., and information of the periodical organs on the activity of the RKI of the USSR.

31. The judicial division is charged with: (a) the study of the reasons, on the basis of the material of the RKI, as well as of the organs of inquiry and judicial procedure, for the increase of state, economic, and official offences, and working out measures to prevent further increase; (b) the delivery of judicial opinions on various questions, and also the initiative of prosecution in an administrative-judicial order, through the collegium of the RKI of the USSR, of all offences disclosed in the course of the work of the RKI.

32. The bureau of claims and applications is charged with: (a) the receipt of applications and claims, which indicate or show the imperfection of the state apparatus, or negligence by officials of the needs of the working masses, or bureaucratic idleness, etc.; (b) inquiry into these questions, as well as taking decision thereon, according to a special act on the central bureau of claims and local organs thereof, subject to ratification by the TsIK and the sovnarkom of the USSR.

CHAPTER VI.—*Of the RKI of the Union Republics and of the Local Organs of the RKI of the USSR*

33. The acts of the people's commissariat and local organs of the RKI of the union republics are determined by the respective RKI in conformity with the present act, and are then, upon approval by the RKI of the USSR, submitted for ratification to the central executive committee of the union republics.

34. The local organs of the RKI of the USSR are: (a) the office of the plenipotentiary of the RKI of the USSR; (b) inspections of the USSR: army and marine, transport and communications, which work on the basis of special orders issued by the RKI of the USSR.

VIII

STATUTE, DATED AUGUST 21, 1923, OF THE STATE PLANNING COMMISSION (GOSPLAN) OF THE USSR [1]

1. In order to coördinate the plans of people's economy of

[1] 1 *Sistematischeskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov SSR*, 54-56.

the individual republics composing the USSR and to outline a common Union perspective plan of people's economy, on the basis of the plan of electrification adopted by the ninth congress of soviets, and in order to outline simultaneously, on the basis of a common plan of agricultural taxation, the yearly calendars, supervising at the same time the execution of this common Union plan and regulating people's economy as a whole,—in the soviet of labor and defence [STO] shall be formed a gosplan of the USSR.

2. The gosplan of the USSR shall be charged with:

(*a*) Drafting a common all-Union perspective plan of people's economy, and on the basis thereof the yearly calendars of the same, as well as the order of their execution;

(*b*) The examination of the draft of the all-Union budget and submission of the report thereon to the sovnarkom of the USSR;

(*c*) The examination of fundamental questions concerning monetary circulation, credit, and banking;

(*d*) The examination of all questions concerning the general division of the USSR into regions (*raion*);

(*e*) The examination and coördination with the all-Union plan of all production plans and planning problems of all people's commissariats of the USSR, as well as of other organs of the USSR in all matters falling within their jurisdiction or concerning internal trade, and also the determination of an order in which the proposed work shall be carried out;

(*f*) The unification and coördination of work carried out in various departments for standardizing industrial manufacture and regulating the activity of all organs engaged in research concerning productive forces in the republics, as well as the organization of research work necessary for the execution and carrying out of the general plan of all-Union people's economy;

(*g*) The regulation of the activity of all planning commissions of the union republics;

(*h*) The examination of the measures of all-Union character concerning the simplification and reduction of the expenses of mass production, as well as examination of the measures necessary for the timely and rational trade education of the workers and administrative personnel in the republics;

(*i*) The giving of final opinions on the most important decrees and decisions concerning economic and financial matters submitted by the departments to the sovnarkom of the USSR and to the STO.

NOTE: The president of the gosplan of the USSR has the right of appeal to the president of the sovnarkom of the USSR or of the STO on the postponement of the matters on which no decision of the gosplan of the USSR has been secured.

3. (*a*) In its work the gosplan is guided by the planning commissions of the union republics and their organs which draw up, in conformity with the preliminary directions of the gosplan of the USSR, all plans relating to people's economy in the regions of the USSR, and submit these plans to the gosplan of the USSR for final revision and submission to the sovnarkom of the USSR or the STO.

NOTE: The planning commission of the union republics, mentioned in paragraph "*a*" of article 2, as well as their organs, function on the basis of the acts specially provided for them.

(*b*) The gosplan of the USSR, in accordance with the orders of the sovnarkom of the USSR and STO, works out all principal questions relating to the plans of people's economy, and also submits to the sovnarkom of the USSR and to the STO, upon its own initiative, all drafts of the decisions and decrees, together with the opinions of the corresponding departments.

(*c*) In discharging its duties, the gosplan of the USSR has the right of direct communication with all state institutions of the USSR.

(*d*) All state institutions of the USSR must present to the gosplan of the USSR all necessary information and materials, as well as furnish all additional data.

(*e*) The presidium and members of the gosplan of the USSR are appointed by the sovnarkom of the USSR.

(*f*) All expenses for the upkeep of the gosplan of the USSR and the organs thereof are charged to the all-Union budget under the account of the sovnarkom of the USSR.

IX

DECREE, DATED AUGUST 21, 1923, OF THE SOVIET OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS (SOVNARKOM) OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS (USSR) ON THE ACT ORGANIZING THE SOVIET OF LABOR AND DEFENCE (STO) OF THE UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS (USSR)[1]

1. In order to formulate the economic and financial plans of the USSR, to make proper changes therein in accordance

[1] 1 *Sistematishcheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov SSR*, 52-54.

with the economic and political situation, as well as for the purpose of the immediate supervision over the people's commissariats of the USSR in the field of economic measures and measures concerning defence, a soviet of labor and defence (STO) is formed in the sovnarkom of the USSR.

2. The sovnarkom shall determine personally the membership of the STO.

3. Within the competence of the STO fall:

(*a*) The examination and practical execution of all economic and financial plans of the USSR;

(*b*) The examination of all questions concerning the defence of the country, and taking of all measures necessary to improve the military conditions thereof;

(*c*) The examination of the conditions of different branches of people's economy (finance, industry, trade, and transport) which are of all-Union importance, as well as taking proper measures to increase the development thereof;

(*d*) Supervision over the people's commissariats of the USSR dealing with people's economy and the defence of the country;

(*e*) Immediate supervision over all economic conferences of the union republics, the gosplan, arbitration commission, and other permanent commissions of the STO, as well as examination of the reports thereof;

(*f*) The ratification of the statutes of the various trusts having all-Union importance, and the regulation or settlement of all matters falling, in conformity with the acts of the said trusts, within the competence of the STO;

(*g*) The ratification of the acts of various joint-stock companies operating throughout the USSR;

(*h*) The examination of all other questions which, in virtue of separate decisions of the congresses of soviets, of the TsIK, and of the sovnarkom of the USSR, are placed under the competence of the STO, or which the sovnarkom shall find necessary to transfer to the STO;

(*i*) The decision of questions concerning the distribution of property among individual state organs and republics entering into the composition of the USSR.

4. In accordance with the enumerated questions, the STO issues decrees, ordinances, and instructions which are compulsory for all central and local organs of authority throughout the USSR.

5. All matters may be submitted to the STO only by the

persons and institutions specifically provided for in the act on the sovnarkom, as well as by the economic conferences of the union republics.

6. In matters concerning individual people's commissariats of the USSR, as well as concerning the economic conferences of the union republics, representatives of the corresponding people's commissariats and the plenipotentiaries of the union republics may participate in the sessions of the STO.

7. All decisions of the STO are forwarded immediately to the sovnarkom of the USSR, which has the right to suspend or repeal such decisions.

8. Any appeal of decisions of the STO may be submitted to the sovnarkom of the USSR by individual members thereof and by other people's commissars of the USSR within three days, and by the sovnarkom of the union republics without any time limit. Such appeal shall not suspend the execution of the decisions of the STO.

9. Upon the decision of the STO, within it may be formed commissions to work out special problems; these commissions may be composed of members of the STO, as well as of other persons upon the decision of the STO.

10. The order of submission of matters to the STO, as well as the order of procedure, and of the relation of the STO to other state institutions of the USSR, shall be determined by a special decree which shall be subject to ratification by the STO after preliminary notification of members of the sovnarkom of the USSR.

X

Act Organizing the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs (Narkomindel) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) Adopted by the Central Executive Committee (TsIK) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) on November 12, 1923 [1]

Chapter I.—*General Provisions*

1. In conformity with articles 49 and 51 of the fundamental law (constitution) of the USSR, the narkomindel shall be formed.

[1] 1 *Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov SSR,* 73-78. See *Sobr. zak. SSR,* 1925, No. 34, 1926, No. 60, and 1927, No. 25, for the text of amendments or supplements which are not given here.

The narkomindel is charged with carrying out the diplomatic relations of the USSR and of all component union republics with other states.

CHAPTER II.—*Duties of the Narkomindel of the USSR*

2. Among the duties of the narkomindel are:

(*a*) Safeguarding of the political and economic interests of the USSR, as well as of citizens of the USSR abroad.

(*b*) Carrying out the decisions concerning the conclusion of treaties and agreements with foreign countries.

(*c*) Supervision over the proper execution of treaties and agreements concluded with foreign states, and also assisting in exercising the rights secured in these agreements by the organs of the USSR and of the union republics.

(*d*) Supervision over the execution by the corresponding organs of authority of all treaties, agreements and acts concluded with the foreign countries.

CHAPTER III.—*The Structure of the Narkomindel of the USSR*

3. The narkomindel of the USSR is composed of:

(*a*) The people's commissar and a collegium.

(*b*) The secretariat.

(*c*) The administrative division.

(*d*) The division for western affairs.

(*f*) The economic-legal division.

(*g*) The division for the press.

4. In addition to the central organs, in the composition of the narkomindel of the USSR are included also representations abroad, consular offices of the USSR, and plenipotentiaries of the narkomindel accredited to the union republics, as well as other plenipotentiaries of the narkomindel of the USSR throughout the USSR, who act in conformity with the acts approved by legislative procedure.

CHAPTER IV.—*Subjects Falling within the Competence of the Central Organs of the Narkomindel of the USSR*

5. The secretariat of the narkomindel is charged with: (a) keeping the minutes of the collegium; (b) supervision over the execution of decisions; (c) receiving and keeping the correspondence of the members of the collegium; (d) supervision over the organization and upkeep of the archives; (e) supervision over

the divisions for secret correspondence and the code; (f) supervision over the protocols.

6. The administrative division of the narkomindel is charged with: (a) carrying on general non-secret office communications; (b) telegraph, telephone, and courier communication; (c) organization and supervision over the passport and visa office within the competence as provided for in the laws; issuance of documents and visaes for domicile in the USSR for certain categories of foreigners; organization and supervision over the issuance of diplomatic passports for representatives of the USSR abroad, as well as the issuance of documents and permits for entrance into the USSR; (d) certifying, in conformity with special legislation, of signatures of the officials of the USSR and of the union republics to all kinds of documents, which are to be sent abroad, as well as certifying that these documents are in accord with the laws of the republic; (e) supervision over the personnel of all organs of the people's commissariat; (f) organization of the organs of the commissariat; (g) drafting and passing through proper legislative channels of all financial budgets of the commissariat; (h) execution of these budgets and the distribution of the sums appropriated; (i) examination and submission of financial reports to the appropriate organs of the USSR; (j) immediate assistance, in the form of financial appropriation, for the central organs of the narkomindel; (k) examination of all other questions of financial, budgetary, accounting and recording character; (l) economy of the central organs of the narkomindel; (m) recording and preservation of all kinds of inventory and property belonging to the narkomindel; (n) protection of all foreign representations in the USSR, as well as of the central organs of the commissariat; (o) supervision over the quarters and technical personnel of the buildings occupied by the commissariat; (p) transport in service of representations abroad and of the central organs of the commissariat; (q) supervision over the activity of the "burobin" [travel bureaus, including a hotel].

7. The division of the narkomindel for western affairs is charged with: diplomatic relations with Europe and America; studying the political and economic conditions therein, as well as examination of economic and other intercourse of other organs of the USSR with these states, their relations with the representations, communication with their diplomatic agents in the USSR, and with furthering this interrelation.

8. The division for eastern affairs of the narkomindel is charged with the same duties as enumerated in article 7, but only in reference to Asia and Africa.

9. The economic-legal division of the narkomindel is charged with: (a) preparation, in agreement with the departments concerned, of all materials for treaties and agreements with foreign states; drafting of these instruments, and giving opinions during the negotiations with foreign powers; (b) supervision over the execution of these treaties, and assisting all other soviet organs in this respect; (c) legal questions that may arise in the course of international relations; (d) consular affairs of the USSR abroad, and the foreign consulates in the USSR; (e) legal status, rights and duties of citizens of the USSR abroad, and of foreigners in the USSR.

10. The division for the press of the narkomindel is charged with: (a) the collection of materials, making of informatory summaries on the political and economic life of the foreign states, as well as on the activity of the narkomindel and its organs; (b) informing the plenipotentiaries of the USSR abroad on all the most important news concerning the economic and political life of the USSR and of the union republics; (c) editing of all publications of the commissariat; (d) relations with the organs of press published in the USSR, as well as with the foreign press; (e) informatory work of the representations abroad; (f) supervision over editorial work and libraries.

CHAPTER V.—*Of the Plenipotentiaries of the Narkomindel Accredited to the Sovnarkoms of the Union Republics, and of the Plenipotentiaries and other Agents of the Narkomindel Throughout the USSR*

11. The narkomindel of the USSR has its plenipotentiaries accredited to the sovnarkoms of the union republics, whose appointment and recall, as well as prerogatives and duties, are determined by the general act organizing the people's commissariats of the USSR.

NOTE: The agents of the narkomindel may be appointed in the most important sea ports of the USSR, as well as in the localities with a considerable number of foreigners. The agents of the narkomindel are appointed by the plenipotentiaries thereof accredited to the sovnarkoms of the corresponding union republics.

12. Within the competence of the plenipotentiary of the narkomindel fall: (a) defending before the narkomindel of all questions initiated by the union republics which are of great importance for them in the field of forming the policy of the USSR; (b) relations with the consular and all other official representatives of foreign states in the USSR, permanent as well as provisional, and lending them all available assistance; (c) supervision over the execution of treaties, agreements etc.,—acts concluded by the USSR with foreign governments; (d) communication with the central and local authorities of the USSR on all questions falling within the competence of the narkomindel of the USSR throughout the territory thereof; (e) information on all questions concerning the narkomindel; (f) assisting the corresponding organs of the USSR and of the union republics in exercising their rights secured in virtue of treaties and agreements concluded with foreign governments; (g) immediate supervision over all organs of the narkomindel throughout the given union republic; (h) immediate coördination with the counselors and secretaries appointed in conformity with the present act, on all matters concerning information, and technical problems relating to special interests of given union republics; (i) issuing, in conformity with the instructions of the narkomindel of the USSR, of passports and visaes within the limits as provided for by law, as well as issuing to certain categories of foreigners, upon the sanction of the narkomindel of the USSR, of documents and visaes for residing in the USSR; (j) certifying, according to instructions of the narkomindel of the USSR, of signatures of the officials of the USSR and of the union republics on all kinds of documents to be mailed abroad, and certifying also the conformity of these documents with the laws of the republic.

CHAPTER VI.—*Of Representatives of the USSR Abroad*

13. The plenipotentiaries of the USSR accredited to foreign governments, as well as heads and members of the delegations appointed to negotiate international agreements, subject to ratification, are appointed and recalled by the decision of the TsIK of the USSR or of the presidium thereof.

14. Letters of credence and of recall are issued to the representatives of the USSR, and to the heads and members of the delegations appointed to negotiate international agreements subject to ratification, with the signature of the president and

secretary of the TsIK of the USSR, and countersigned by the people's commissar for foreign affairs.

15. The heads of embassies and missions with rank inferior to that of plenipotentiaries, the representatives of the USSR in various international commissions convoked in conformity with treaties concluded with the USSR, and also the heads and members of delegations appointed to negotiate international agreements, not subject to ratification, are appointed and recalled by the sovnarkom of the USSR.

16. The letters of credence of persons enumerated in the preceding article of this act are issued with the signatures of the president of the sovnarkom of the USSR, countersigned by the people's commissar for foreign affairs.

17. The narkomindel appoints: (a) *chargés d'affaires* who substitute the plenipotentiaries during their absence or after their recall until a new plenipotentiary shall be appointed; (b) agents, counselors, secretaries, *attachés* of the embassies and other diplomatic missions and delegations.

NOTE: To the embassies of the USSR in cities which may be of particular interest to some of the union republics, the narkomindel shall appoint the counselor and secretaries in agreement with the government of the interested union republic.

[As provided in articles 13-14 of the decree of the presidium of the TsIK and sovnarkom of the USSR, May 22, 1925].

18. The military and naval *attachés* and their deputies are appointed in agreement with the narkomindel and people's commissariat for war and marine.

19. The persons enumerated in articles 17 and 18 of this act receive their letters of credence or mandates from the narkomindel.

20. The consuls general, consuls, vice-consuls and consular agents receive their consular powers signed by the people's commissar for foreign affairs.

21. The plenipotentiaries or agents of other people's commissariats of the USSR and union republics abroad shall receive their letters of credence signed by the corresponding people's commissars of the USSR or of the corresponding union republic, but counter-signed by the people's commissar for foreign affairs of the USSR or his plenipotentiary in the sovnarkom of the given union republic.

XI

On the Ratification of the Act Organizing the Soviet of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) of the Autonomous Moldavian Socialist Soviet Republic (AMSSR)[1]

The UkTsIK decides to ratify the following act on the sovnarkom of the AMSSR approved by the second Moldavian congress of soviets on May 9-14, 1923.

THE DECREE

of the second Moldavian congress of soviets of workers', peasants', and red army deputies on the ratification of the statute on the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

The second Moldavian congress of soviets of workers', peasants', and red army deputies decides to ratify the following statute on the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

Of the Statute on the Sovnarkom of the AMSSR:

1. The sovnarkom of the AMSSR is formed by the TsIK of the AMSSR and is the executive and administrative organ thereof.

2. The sovnarkom of the AMSSR is composed of:

a. The president of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

b. The deputy president of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

c. People's commissars for: interior, justice, and procuror of the republic, education, social welfare, health, agriculture, finance, internal and foreign trade, workmen's and peasants' inspection, labor, president of the soviet of people's economy, and the director of the central statistical bureau; and

d. Other persons, with the right of deciding vote, who shall be appointed to the sovnarkom of the AMSSR by the TsIK of the Moldavian republic.

Note: The delegates have the right of deciding vote in case the above-enumerated people's commissars of the AMSSR do not participate in the sessions of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

3. In the sessions of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR with the right of advisory vote participate:

(*a*) Representatives of the plenipotentiaries of the all-Union commissariats in the UkSSR accredited to the AMSSR.

(*b*) The head of the GPU organized in the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

(*c*) The chairman of the permanent commissions established in the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

[1] *Zbirnik uzakonen'ta rozporiadzhen' robitnichoselians'kogo uriadu ukraïni* (Kharkov, February 28, 1927), 53-59.

(*d*) The director of affairs of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

(*e*) All other persons upon special decision of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

4. Furthermore, in the sessions of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR, participate with the right of advisory vote:

(*a*) Members of the TsIK of the USSR, members of the UkTsIK, MTsIK, and of the sovnarkom of the UkSSR.

(*b*) Presidents of the regional executive committees of the AMSSR and their delegates.

(*c*) Deputy people's commissars of the AMSSR.

(*d*) Members of the collegia of the people's commissariats of the AMSSR.

(*e*) The president of the all-Moldavian soviet of trade unions.

(*f*) Other persons upon special decision of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

5. The sovnarkom of the AMSSR is responsible to the MTsIK and to the UkTsIK for its activity, and discharges its duties under the direction of the MTsIK, the UkTsIK, the sovnarkom of the UkSSR, or of the Ukrainian economic conference.

6. The sessions of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR are held when at least half of the members of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR having the right of deciding vote are present.

7. The decisions of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR are taken by a simple majority of votes.

8. Within the competence of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR fall:

(*a*) Supervision over the activity of the people's commissars and of all departments of the AMSSR.

(*b*) Supervision over the activity of the regional executive committees of the AMSSR within the limits of the existing legislation.

(*c*) General supervision over the activity of the representatives of the plenipotentiaries of the all-Union people's commissariats in the UkSSR accredited to the AMSSR; the coördination of their activity among themselves as well as with other people's commissars or departments of the AMSSR, and supervision over their activity within the limits determined by all-Union legislation.

(*d*) Examination and ratification of the decisions and taking administrative measures within the limits as provided for by the constitution of the AMSSR, by the act on the MTsIK, and other decisions of the supreme legislative organs of the AMSSR, the UkSSR, and of the USSR.

(*e*) Preliminary examination of the drafts of decrees and decisions, as well as of codes, submitted for ratification by the MTsIK or its presidium.

(*f*) Examination and settling the questions which the MTsIK shall find necessary to transfer to the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

(*g*) Preliminary examination and delivery of opinions on the drafts of decrees, decisions, and codes which are subject to ratification by the supreme organs of the UkSSR, provided that they shall be submitted, in such cases, for ratification to the presidium of the MTsIK.

(*h*) Examination and submission of the budget of the AMSSR to the MTsIK for ratification, as well as preliminary examination of drafts of the budgets of the representatives of the plenipotentiaries of the all-Union commissariats in the UkSSR accredited to the AMSSR.

(*i*) Examination of reports on the activity of the people's commissariats of the AMSSR, and of the representatives of the plenipotentiaries of the all-Union commissariats in the USSR accredited to the AMSSR.

(*j*) Settling all differences which may arise between the people's commissariats of the AMSSR and the representatives of the plenipotentiaries of the all-Union commissariats in the UkSSR accredited to the AMSSR, and also between them and the regional executive committees on all matters falling within the competence of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

(*k*) Examination and decision of all protests against the decisions of the commissions formed in the sovnarkom of the AMSSR, as well as on appeals and claims on the acts of the people's commissariats of the AMSSR, and in certain cases also on the actions of the representatives accredited to the AMSSR by the plenipotentiaries of the all-Union commissariats in the UkSSR.

(*l*) Ratification of staff lists of the people's commissariats and other institutions of the AMSSR.

(*m*) Submission to the presidium of the MTsIK of suggestions, upon the approval of the permanent representative of the AMSSR accredited to the UkSSR, of deputy people's commissars of the AMSSR and of persons in charge of the statistical bureau and of the GPU of the AMSSR, as well as ratification of the appointments of: the members of the collegia of the people's commissariats of the AMSSR, the presidents, deputy presidents, and members of the commissions formed in the sovnarkom of

the AMSSR, the director in charge of affairs of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR, and of other officials in conformity with existing legislation of the AMSSR.

(*n*) Suspension of and recommendations to the presidium of the MTsIK to repeal the decisions of the regional executive committees of the AMSSR, as well as immediate repeal of the same in urgent cases, provided that a report on the action taken shall be made to the president of the MTsIK.

(*o*) Examination of accounts and reports of the local executive committees.

(*p*) Distribution of sums given to the AMSSR by the UkSSR from the reserve, subventions, and other funds.

(*q*) Settlement of all other questions falling within the competence of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR in virtue of existing legislation.

NOTE: The rights of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR in matters concerning local finance are determined by the act on local finances of the USSR.

9. Questions may be submitted to the sovnarkom of the AMSSR by:

(*a*) The sovnarkom of the UkSSR and by the Ukrainian economic conference.

(*b*) The members of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

(*c*) The commissions formed in the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

(*d*) The regional executive committees.

(*e*) The persons who participate in the meetings of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR according to the present act.

(*f*) All other persons to whom such right has been granted by special decrees of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

10. All decrees and decisions of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR, in the competence thereof, are compulsory for all institutions, officials, and private persons throughout the AMSSR and may be repealed or suspended by the MTsIK, the UkTsK or by the presidia thereof.

NOTE: The sovnarkom of the UkSSR has the right to suspend the decisions of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR, provided that a report on the action taken shall be submitted to the presidium of the UkTsIK.

11. The decisions of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR may be protested and appeal may be made to the presidium of the MTsIK by the procuror of the AMSSR, individual members of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR, representatives of the plenipo-

tentiaries of the all-Union commissariats in the UkSSR accredited to the AMSSR, and by the regional executive committees.

Such appeals and claims do not suspend the execution of the decisions of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

12. The president of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR directs the sessions thereof and represents the sovnarkom of the AMSSR in all communications with the officials and institutions, with the representatives of the population, and in all other necessary cases.

13. The president of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR and his deputy have the right to suspend the orders of the people's commissariats and other central organs of the AMSSR, provided that a report on the action taken shall be submitted at the next meeting of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

14. The limits of the competence of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR in matters concerning administrative measures in the name of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR, as well as division of duties between the president of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR and his deputy, are determined by a decree subject to ratification by the sovnarkom of the AMSSR, and also by other decisions thereof.

15. Within the sovnarkom of the AMSSR may be formed permanent and provisional commissions acting in conformity with special acts approved by the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

16. Within the sovnarkom of the AMSSR is formed the office of the sovnarkom, the activity of which is determined by a special act approved by the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

17. At the head of the office of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR is a director appointed by the sovnarkom of the AMSSR; he shall be responsible to the sovnarkom of the AMSSR for the general activity of the office.

18. The order of the office work of the sovnarkom of the AMSSR shall be determined by a decree subject to approval by the sovnarkom of the AMSSR.

Balta, May 9-14, 1926.

President of the second Moldavian congress of soviets: STARII.

Secretary of the second Moldavian congress of soviets: BUBNOVSKII.

Kharkov, February 2, 1927.

President of the UkTsIK: PETROVSKII.

Secretary of the UkTsIK: VLASENKO.

CHAPTER X

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONALITIES, 1923-1929

Soviet Russia now stands at the crossroads in dealing with her national minorities. Many promises have been made to the numerous nationalities under her rule. As has been pointed out, however, the communist principles of administration are the antithesis of local freedom, independence, or self-determination. If theories alone were considered, it could be said that it is in dealing with minorities that the communist experiment in Russia has made its greatest contribution to political science. At a time when complaints from minorities have emanated from divers corners of Europe, when frankly avowed policies of assimilation of new conquests have been enforced, in Russia the communist leaders have proclaimed a doctrine under which all peoples are equal and have a right to their own language, customs, and traditions.

The present policy of the central authorities at Moscow as respects the divers nationalities is an outgrowth of the resolutions adopted by the communist party at its twelfth congress in April 1923.[1] These resolutions give the clearest and most precise available outline of the policy which the governing authorities perhaps desire to enforce. They represent, so to speak, a final statement of the views of Stalin on the problem of solving the national problem. Incidentally, from the point of view of style and presentation of a case, few pieces of communist literature surpass the resolutions in question.

Like the divers and well known 'theses' of Lenin, the

[1] The text is given in the minutes of the congress and in *I. Stalin, Natsional'nye momenty v partiinom i gosudarstvennom stroitel'stve,* 31-43.

party resolutions on the problem of nationalities adopted in 1923 begin with a general statement of the case, the hypothesis on which the communist policy is predicated. The development of capitalism, it is declared, has tended to internationalize methods of manufacture and trade, to terminate national isolation, to draw all peoples closer together, and to unify great territories into one compact whole. The growth of world markets and the export of capital still further increased this tendency and promoted the interdependence of the world. According to the theory of modern communists, this process of unification, reflecting as it does the increase of productive forces, is a "progressive process" which will pave the way for the "future world socialist economy".

As carried out under the aegis of the bourgeoisie, however, the growth of mutual dependence demonstrates the deficiencies of the capitalistic organization of society. The process of unification has not affected all peoples "as equal units" but has occurred in the form of oppression of one people by another, by the exploitation of the less advanced by the more advanced. To quote directly from the resolution of the communist party:

"Colonial robberies and conquests, national inequality and oppression, . . . colonial slavery and national lawlessness, and, finally, the struggle of 'civilized' nations among themselves to gain supremacy over the 'uncivilized' peoples—such were the forms under which the process of economic unification of the peoples were forging ahead. Consequently, along with the tendency towards unification, there was also gradually developing a tendency towards the overthrow of these methods of force and towards the liberation of the oppressed colonies and nationalities from imperialistic oppression. Since this second tendency signified the revolt of the oppressed masses against the imperialistic forms of unification, and since it necessitated the unification of peoples on the basis of coördination and voluntary union,

it was and still remains a progressive tendency, for it prepares the intellectual date for the future world socialist economy."

The foregoing statement of the case may be said to sum up the philosophy of the communists as respects the national minorities. Communism, like capitalism, is in favor of unification. Both doctrines represent a Hamiltonian conception of world economy. The difference between the two social systems, according to the communists, is that the capitalistic organization of society has not protected all peoples alike, that, just as labor is exploited on a class basis, so are the weaker colonial and other peoples oppressed and exploited by stronger nations. The theory may be said to be excellent; as to the practice, one may judge from the account given in preceding chapters on the forms of administration of autonomous republics and the status of the republics constituting the Soviet Union.

The resolutions of the communist party adopted in 1923 continue by attributing the downfall of Tsarist Russia, Austria Hungary, and Turkey, as well as the troubles of Great Britain and Germany, to the conflict between imperialistic oppression on the one hand and the revolt of the oppressed peoples on the other hand. The world war, it is maintained, was the final proof that the bourgeoisie could not solve the national problem.

The policy of the communist party, however, is considered to augur well for a real solution of the oppression of weaker peoples. The "organic instability of the bourgeois colonial states" has served as a lesson. The communist party, therefore:

". . . has postulated the right of nations to self-determination and to an independent state existence as the fundament of our entire policy regarding this problem. Even during the first days of its existence, at its first congress in 1898 when the conflict of capitalism with nationalism had not developed so clearly, the party recognized this indis-

putable right of nations. Later it constantly set forth the same program in special decisions and conferences, including the November *coup d'état*. . . . The significance of these decisions consists of: (*a*) the firm denunciation of any kind of forcible treatment of nationalities; (*b*) the recognition of the equality and sovereignty of the people in determining their own fate; (*c*) the recognition that a firm consolidation of peoples may be effected only on the basis of unification and their own free will; and (*d*) the announcement of the fact that such unification may come into being only after the destruction of the power of capital."

This was the policy that the communist party had decreed. Its results are to be found in the revolution of November 1917. The resolution of the party sets forth those results as follows:

"While the Russification policy of tsarism caused a deep break between tsarism and the nationalities of the old Russia, and while the semi-imperialistic policy of the mensheviks and social revolutionaries caused the break between the best elements among these nationalities and Kerenskii, the policy of liberation pursued by our party gained the confidence and support of large masses of these nationalities in the struggle against tsarism and the Russian imperalistic bourgeoisie. There can hardly be any doubt but that this confidence and support were one of the most important factors in deciding definitely our victory during the November days."

In the discussion of the origins of the soviet constitutional structure it was pointed out that, once in power, it was necessary for the communist leaders to apply their theories. This was true of their policy as respects the divers nationalities. According to the party resolution of 1923, the revolution "severed the chains of national oppression, weakened the old antagonism of nationalities, paved the way for the unification of peoples, and secured for the Russian proletariat the confidence of its non-Russian brothers

not only in Russia but also in Europe and Asia." This confidence and support enabled the soviets to drive out the armies of Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel, and others. The triumph of the nationalities, however, could not be complete until the dictatorship of the proletariat was established in central Russia and until the peasants and other petty bourgeois elements submitted to that proletariat. "The victory of the soviets and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat are the only fundamental bases on which the fraternal unification of peoples into a single union state can be effected."

So much for the general philosophy back of the handling of the nationalities by the communists. The general policy was sufficiently elastic to be adapted to changing conditions such as were to be encountered. "During the first period of the revolution, when the working masses of the nationalities for the first time felt themselves to be independent national units, and when the danger of foreign intervention could not yet be expected, the unification of peoples did not have its definitely planned forms. During the period of civil war and intervention, when the cause of military self-defence became the primary concern of the national republics, and when the economic problem had not yet become the most vital question, the unification took the form of a military union. And, finally, during the post-war period when the questions of reconstruction came to the front, the military union was supplemented by an economic union. The unification of the national republics into the USSR is the final stage in the course of the development of this coördination, which now took the form of a military-economic-political union of peoples into a single multi-national soviet state. Thus the proletariat has found in the soviet system a correct approach to the solution of the problem of nationalities; it has discovered in this system an organization of a stable multi-national state on the principle of equality of nationalities and self-determination."

Since 1898 the communist leaders had been unsparing in their criticism of the bourgeois "multi-national states", both because of their commissions and omissions. The new soviet multi-national state, however, was likewise to have its difficulties. The mere finding of a proper road to a solution of the difficulties confronting the bourgeois state did not mean, according to the resolutions of 1923, the "complete solution and concrete, practical application" of the principles characteristic of the unified soviet state. "For a proper execution of the national programme which was brought into being during the November revolution we must overcome also the obstacles that were left after the period of national oppression, which can not be eradicated overnight."

The summary of the 'inherited obstacles' facing the new state given in the party resolution in 1923 is no other than a confession of how the soviet programme has not functioned smoothly. The observations made in 1923 remain equally true to the present.[2]

"These 'inherited' obstacles consist, first of all, of the survivals of the imperialistic chauvinism arising from the former privileged status of the Great Russians. This survival is still alive in the psychology of our soviet workers, both central and local; it remains in our central and local state institutions, and is supported, in the form of 'new *smyenovekh*',[3] by Great Russian chauvinistic theories which are gradually growing stronger because of the NEP [new economic policy]. In practice, it is manifested by a contemptuous and bureaucratic attitude of the Russian officials towards the needs of the national republics. The multi-national state may become really strong, and the coördination therein actually fraternal, only under the condition that these survivals shall be eliminated from our

[2] See A. S. Enukidze, "Dva god natsional'nogo stroitel'stva", in *Sovetskoe stroitel'stvo*, No. 4 (9), April 1927, 36-50.

[3] White guard or anti-bolshevik elements which work with the soviet régime in the hope of its degeneration into capitalism.

state institutions without delay. The situation in several national republics (the Ukraine, White Russia, Azerbaijan, and Turkestan) is greatly aggravated by the fact that the greater part of the working classes, who are the mainstay of the entire soviet system, belong to the Great Russian stock. In these regions, contact between the city and the village, between the working class and the peasants, is met with a great obstacle, as has been mentioned, in the form of the survival of chauvinism, not only within the party itself, but also in the soviet organs. Under such conditions, the conversations about the predominance of Russian culture, and the preaching of the necessity of admitting that the most developed culture will survive, while that of backward nations (the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kirgiz, etc.), will disappear,—are nothing else than an attempt to establish firmly the predominance of the Great Russian nationality. Therefore, the merciless struggle with these survivals of Russian chauvinism is one of the first duties of our party.

"Second, these 'inherited' obstacles consist in the economic and cultural inequality of the nationalities composing the union of republics. The legal equality secured by the revolution of November is, indeed, a great victory of the nations, but it does not solve *ipso facto,* so to speak, the problem of nationalities. A series of republics and peoples who have not seen, or have almost not passed through, the stage of capitalism, who have almost no proletariat of their own, and who, consequently, have remained backward, are unable fully to utilize the rights and possibilities given to them by this principle of equality of nationalities; they are unable, without effective and unceasing external assistance, to raise themselves to the highest degree of devlopment and to place themselves on an equal footing with the nationalities which have already advanced in this respect. The reasons for this actual inequality lie not only in the historical past of these peoples, but also in the policy of

tsarism and of the Russian bourgeoisie which always aimed to convert the boundary regions into markets for raw products where the manufacturing central regions could exercise their exploiting methods. To do away with this inequality, or to overcome this obstacle in one or two years is impossible.

"The tenth congress of our party has already declared: 'the abolition of the actual national inequality is a very long process which requires an insistent and difficult struggle against all survivals of national oppression and of colonial slavery.' But this has to be done. And to accomplish this is possible only by the Russian proletariat lending effective and continuous assistance to the backward peoples of the Union, not only in their economic but also in their cultural development. This assistance must be effected, first of all, in the form of practical measures which will promote the establishment of manufacturing centers in the republics where the peoples have been oppressed hitherto, whereby a maximum of the population will be connected with such establishments. . . . The fight for liquidation of the actual inequality of the nationalities, the fight for the economic and cultural development of the backward peoples, therefore, is the second necessary problem of our party.

"These 'inherited' obstacles consist, finally, of the survivals of the national sentiment of the peoples themselves, who, after having passed through years of national oppression, could not forget the feeling of affront which they had to overcome. The practical manifestation of this feeling may easily be found in a national coolness and want of a more sincere confidence in the measures which the Russians are now undertaking in behalf of the formerly oppressed nationalities. Besides this, in some republics which shelter several nationalities, this defensive chauvinism changes its character and becomes an offensive chauvinism of the stronger nationality directed against the

weaker nationalities of the given republic. The chauvinism of the Georgians (in Georgia) directed against the Armenians, Osetiians, Adzhars, and Abkhazians; the chauvinism of Azerbaijan directed against the Armenians; the chauvinism of the Uzbeks (in Bukhara and Khorezm) against the Turkmen and Kirgiz nationalities; Armenian chauvinism, etc.,—all these variations of chauvinism, supported in addition by the NEP and competition, are one of the greatest evils which might turn some of these national republics into areas of open conflict and disorder. It goes without saying that all this hinders the actual consolidation of the peoples into a single union state. Inasmuch as the survivals of nationalism are exposed in the form of defence against the all-Russian chauvinism, the merciless struggle against the latter will be one of the most effective measures for abolishing this obstacle. But since these facts are being manifested in local chauvinism, directed, as has been said, against the weaker nationalities in individual republics, it is a direct duty of every member of the party to take part in the present struggle with this danger. Therefore, the struggle with the nationalistic sentiment, and primarily with its chauvinistic methods, is the next, the third, duty of our party.

"One of the most visible survivals of olden times is the fact that the union of republics is considered by a great majority of the soviet officials, central as well as local, not as a union of equal states, which is called upon to further the development of the national republics, but as a step toward the abolition of republics, *i.e.*, toward the formation of the so-called 'one and indivisible'.

"About of the same character is also the fact that some of the departments of the RSFSR have a tendency to bring under their control all 'autonomous' commissariats of the autonomous republics, and to continue thus the policy of liquidation of these republics.

"Condemning such interpretation as anti-proletarian and

reactionary, and announcing once more the absolute necessity for the existence and further development of the national republics, the congress orders all members of the party to see that the unification of the republics and consolidation of their commissariats shall not be interpreted wrongly by the soviet officials as a means to hide their attempts to ignore the economic and cultural needs of the national republics. The act of consolidation of the commissariats is something of a test for the soviet apparatus. If in practice it should acquire an autocratic character, then the party must take extreme measures, including the revision of such consolidation until the whole apparatus of soviets shall be re-educated in the sense of real proletarian and fraternal assistance in the needs and wants of smaller backward nationalities.

"The union of republics, created on the basis of equality and self-determination of the workers and peasants of separate republics, is the first experiment of the proletariat aiming at the regulation of international relations among the independent countries, and the first step *toward the creation of the future World Soviet Republic of Labor.* Inasmuch as the union of republics is a new form of coöperative living of peoples, and a new form of their unification in a single state in which all old tendencies are bound to come to an end, as a natural development, the supreme organs of the union must be established so as to reflect not only the common needs of all nationalities of the union, but also the special needs of separate nationalities. Therefore, along with the existing central organs of the union, representing the working masses of the union, irrespective of nationality, there must be created a special organ which will represent the nationalities on a basis of parity. Such a structure of the central organs would make it possible to know all the needs of the peoples, to extend, at the proper time, the necessary assistance, to create conditions of per-

fect mutual confidence, and consequently to overcome, in a most harmless way, the above-mentioned obstacles. . . ."

If the sincerity of the party in drawing up these resolutions is not questioned, there is apparently an attempt to return to the theories of the rights of nationalities and even to carry out the doctrines which had been so ardently proclaimed. Perhaps in no other resolution of the communist party or the soviet organs has the program outlined for the future so well shown existing conditions. It is admitted indirectly, in brief, that the 'solution' of the problem of nationalities, supposed to have been found when the soviet multi-national state was created, has not worked out. To be sure, 'inherited obstacles' were to blame for this, but the tsarist bureaucrats might themselves have protested that inherited 'conditions' were the source of their difficulties.

The decision of the party that the constitution of the USSR should guarantee the rights of the nationalities and how that decision was carried out in the formation of the union soviet and the soviet of nationalities have been discussed already. That, too, represented only legislation; the existence of a bicameral central executive committee could not guarantee that the 'solution' of the problem of national equality was at hand. When the resolutions of the problem of nationalities were adopted in April 1923, it could only be left to time to determine whether the constitution of the USSR would really mold all the peoples under soviet rule into a model union in which the rights of each unit were guaranteed.

Meanwhile, the party resolved that special attention should be given to the inculcation of communist doctrines in the several national republics. By this means it was doubtless intended to secure the support of the republics for the policies of the central authorities at Moscow. The resolution adopted in this respect likewise represents an

indirect confession of existing conditions. It, too, though formulated in April 1923, remains equally valid to-day. The text follows:

1. The development of the organizations of our party in most of the national republics is carried out under conditions which are not exactly favorable to progress. The economic backwardness of these republics, the lack of a revolutionary proletariat, the insufficiency or even complete lack of old party workers among the natives, the lack of serious Marxist literature translated into their native languages, weak party educational work, and, finally, the survival of radical nationalistic sentiment,—caused among the local communists a definite inclination toward overstressing the national characteristics toward the underestimating of the class interests of the proletariat, *i.e.*, a tendency toward nationalism. This is the more dangerous in the republics comprising several nationalities, when it takes the form of chauvinism of the communists of a stronger nationality against the communists of a weaker nationality (Georgia, Azerbaijan, Bukhara, Khorezm). This tendency toward nationalism is dangerous in one respect, namely, that while retarding the process of liberation of the national proletariat from the idealistic influence of the nationalist bourgeoisie, it renders difficult at the same time the amalgamation of the proletariats of different nationalities into a single international organization.

2. On the other hand, the presence of numerous old party workers of the Russian stock in the central organs of the party, as well as in organizations of the communist party in the national republics, who are not familiar with local peculiarities, customs, and the languages of the toiling masses of these republics, and therefore can not be very familiar with local needs, caused somewhat a tendency in our party to underestimate the value of the native language in party work, and brought about the above-mentioned contempt and trend toward all-Russian chauvinism. This trend is dangerous not only because it retards the rise of party workers from amongst the natives who are familiar with the local languages, and causes the danger that the party may be separated from the masses, but also because it cultivates this tendency toward nationalism and aggravates simultaneously the struggle against it.

3. Condemning both these tendencies as dangerous and harm-

ful for the cause of communism, and calling the attention of the members of the party to the special danger of this trend in regard to all-Russian chauvinism, the congress asks the party to liquidate, as quickly as possible, all these survivals of the old sentiments in our party structure.

As practical measures the congress charges the central committee with:

a. The formation of Marxist clubs of the better type from amongst the party workers in the national republics;

b. The translation of Marxist literature into the local native languages;

c. The promotion of the university of Oriental peoples and local branches thereof;

d. The formation in the central committees of the national communist parties of groups of instructors from amongst the native population;

e. The distribution of the mass party literature in native languages;

f. Increasing the party educational work in the republics;

g. Promoting the work among the youth in the republics.

4. In view of the importance of the activity of the responsible workers in the autonomous and independent republics (the contact of workers of the given republic with the workers of all other parts of the union), the congress charges the central committee with a careful selection of these workers in order that the persons thus appointed may fully guarantee the actual execution of all decisions of the party in matters concerning the national problem.

If the program adopted by the communist party in 1923 had been carried out, few could have denied that the Soviet Union had taken the lead in its treatment of minorities. Even the resolutions of the communist party, however, were to prove unenforceable in this instance. Even where the central authorities desired to favor the nationalities, they were prevented from doing so by the centralized nature of the administrative system they had created. When every aspect of political and economic life is placed under a centralized control, theories of decentralization are necessarily of little importance.

It is in the field of economics that the renewed attempt to 'solve' the question of nationalities was made. National barriers were to be eliminated by a plan of territorial division on the basis of economic characteristics. Known as 'regionization', this plan is an essential part of the soviet program of directing all economic affairs through a central body.

The social interpretation of the bolshevik revolution as the possession of the means and supervision over the process of production led the bolsheviks to favor a new administrative division of their dominions on an economic basis, to replace the earlier plan of political division. To prove the necessity of this drastic change, its advocates expatiated on the inconvenience of the system which they wished it to replace. Their attempt to improve conditions was praiseworthy, for the revolutionary changes of administrative boundaries in November 1917 had indeed led to extraordinary anomalies.[4] Whether this fact was sufficient to justify a new division along strictly economic principles is another question. One of the decisions of the seventh all-Russian congress of soviets held in December 1919, nevertheless, charged the all-Russian central executive committee with working out the new divisions so as to remedy conditions which were close to chaos. The preliminary work was to be done by the state planning commission and the administrative commission of the all-Russian central executive committee. The first difficulty was that there was no historical example which would serve as a basis for carrying out the plan with which the rulers of Soviet Russia wished to experiment. Another difficulty has been mentioned already, the conflict of national and economic interests.

[4] "If a cow was stolen from a peasant, he had to go to one city to find justice; and if his land was used by somebody else, he went to another city." A. Kolesnikov, in *Raionirovanie i uluschshenie gosudarstvennago apparata*, 7.

Certain of the soviet authorities sought further to justify the reform by setting forth the relation between the 'economic landscape' that might profitably be dealt with as an economic unit and the existing autonomous republics and regions.[5] This relationship might appear in any one of three forms. (1) The national autonomous republic or region is usually situated within some larger 'economic landscape', so that it can not represent a perfect economic unit from the point of view of all-Union distribution of labor. This is the case with most of the autonomous units in the RSFSR. (2) The autonomous areas may coincide with a single 'economic landscape', as was the case with the Iakutsk republic. (3) Further, it may occur that a single autonomous formation comprises elements of several 'economic landscapes' and thus forms a complex economic unit, which is also contrary to the 'healthy' distribution of all-Union labor. This occurs in the case of Kazakstan.

This triple presentation, flawless as it seems, unfortunately has little value when applied to concrete cases. The problem immediately arises: which is of greater importance, economic prosperity or the satisfaction of national feeling? Both are vital for revolutionary success; the two are frequently difficult, if not impossible, to coördinate in a practical solution; and, finally, the fact remains that the gain of one must often be at the expense of the other.

In order to clear the ground for a solution, Moscow divided the whole problem into two main questions: first, that of including autonomous republics and regions in the proposed administrative-economic units, and second, that of economic division within a republic or region.

The first question, in its turn, was also to be considered separately for the republics and for the regions. The plan

[5] See, for example, C. Cherdantsev, *Problemy khoziaistvennago stroitel'stva natsional'nykh respublik i oblastei* (*ASSR i AO*), 1-8.

drawn up by the state planning commission after the session of the seventh congress of soviets was presented to the all-Russian central executive committee in 1922. It proposed the formation of twelve economic regions in European Russia and nine in Asiatic Russia. This project was adopted in principle at the eleventh congress of soviets of the RSFSR in December 1922. The weakness of the plan lay in the practical impossibility of drawing a dividing line between the economic characteristics and requirements of an autonomous republic and those of the soviet dominions as a whole. Under such conditions it was dangerous to touch the sensitive strings of national consciousness in the autonomous republics. The approval by the eleventh congress soon met with bitter opposition, the matter of which may be illustrated by the Samara controversy which began in 1925, one of the best known examples of the situation which confronted the theorists at Moscow.

The complaint was made at the fifth Tatar congress of soviets in 1925 that the province of Samara was trying to control the Tatar republic. The basis of the conflict was the new economic division whereby the Tatar republic forms an economic unit with the middle Volga region with its center at Samara, a city not included in the Tatar republic. Automatically under the new division the Tatar republic became subordinate to the provincial authorities at Samara. The conflict continued for three years. In 1925 the authorities at Samara began to issue regulations for the Tatar republic "in a categorical manner",[6] an act which the Tatar authorities deemed to be in direct violation of their autonomy. Accordingly, the Tatar republic and the adjacent autonomous Chuvash region sent a delegation to Moscow to protest before the soviet of nationalities. After long discussions it was agreed that a special bureau should be organized. This bureau would give all necessary economic information not to Samara but to an economic conference

[6] Stenographic report of the fifth Tatar congress of soviets, 24-25.

of the Tatar republic and also directly to the state planning commission of the USSR at Moscow.[7]

If like conflicts are not numerous, it is not because there have not been grounds for protest. In the instance mentioned one of the few remaining vestiges of autonomy was at stake.[8] The Tatar republic, one of the most important of the autonomous republics and imbued with a fair amount of the spirit of local independence, was able to secure a compromise whereby it retained at least the right to have direct relations with the center.

Similar opposition to the programme of 'regionization' occurred in the case of certain union republics. The White Russian republic, for example, was made a part of the 'western region' with its economic center at Smolensk. The Ukraine, in a manner contrary to national sentiment, was to be divided into two separate economic zones. These plans so exacerbated national sentiment that the central authorities were forced to reconsider the question. The

[7] This economic conference is attached to the Tatar soviet of people's commissars. It is the direct predecessor of the Tatar state planning commission, a body that attempted to determine in advance every sort of economic activity that should occur during a period of several years. The state planning commissions in the various republics were academic organs unsuited to practical economics, particularly so when their inspiration came from the center where local conditions were little understood. In the economic, as well as in other branches of the soviet system, the personnel was recruited from the large cities and was as unfamiliar with conditions in the various republics as would be a New England congressman with agricultural conditions in the Middle West.

The economic conference concerns itself in particular with local questions of rural economy, trade and coöperation, manufacturing, finance, communal economy, and similar matters. The importance of its control in these fields is apparent when it is realized that the greater part of all economic activity is in the hands of the state.

[8] Even in the use of the local language an inevitable conflict arises between local pride and economic requirements. At the third congress of soviets of the USSR on May 14, 1925, for example, a delegate called attention to a circular, issued by the state bank at Moscow, which forbade the use of the national tongues in the local branches. "It seems", said the delegate, "that coöperation may exist only when it is applied to the lower periphery. It aims to establish for itself a common language for its bureaucratic convenience. . . . Such projects should not be introduced." Stenographic report, 133.

whole problem was brought before the twelfth congress of the all-Union communist party in April 1923. That congress decided that the rights and interests of the national republics should be taken into consideration and that the programme of 'regionization' required for its accomplishment a very delicate approach and a very long period of time.[9] It was further determined that the republics should not be included in the new economic regions. The 'regionization' of the rest of the soviet territory would, however, be continued. The Bashkir republic was accordingly exempted when the Ural area was undergoing the experiment of 'regionization' as an industrial region. The decision was also observed in the instances of the Lower Volga region, an experiment with an agricultural country, and the Northern Caucasus, where Dagestan was allowed exemption.

The problem of the 'regionization' of autonomous regions was settled somewhat differently. It was optimistically held that the inclusion of these districts in the new administrative-economic regions would not deprive them of the exercise of national privileges, while their economic gain was supposed to be great.[10]

The relationship between the central executive committees of the administrative-economic regions and the national autonomous regions was to be as follows. Education, health, social welfare, justice, local economy, local budget, and agriculture remained independent of the authorities of the new administrative-economic regions. In questions of finance and taxes, labor, trade and statistics, the autonomous regions were to be subject to the direction not only of Moscow but also of the new administrative-economic agencies of the center.

The question of 'regionization' within the republics and regions appeared to Moscow to be very simple. These ter-

[9] See the maps given in *Belorusskaia Sovetskaia Sotsialisticheskaia Respublika.*

[10] Kolesnïkov, as cited, 52.

ritories were supposed to understand the benefit that would result, because of their small areas and small population,[11] and thus it was reasoned that there should be no difficulty in carrying out the policy without injury to their national sentiment.

By 1928 five regions or territories had been organized in the RSFSR. All were divided in accordance with physical and geographical characteristics. They were: (1) the Ural region, (2) the Siberian territory, (3) the Far Eastern territory, (4) the Leningrad region, and (5) the North-Caucasian territory. A decree of the all-Russian central executive committee dated January 14, 1929, provided for a new administrative system to be carried out by October 1, 1929. The RSFSR will then be divided into the northern territory with its centre at Archangel, the western region with its centre at Smolensk, the region of Nizhni-Novgorod, the central industrial region with its centre at Moscow, and an as yet unnamed region with its centre at Ivano-Voznesensk.

The same decree provided that the "autonomous regions which enter into the composition of the above-mentioned regions and territories shall retain all rights conferred upon autonomous regions by the decrees forming them and by subsequent legislation." [12]

The real objectives of the programme of 'regionization' are, even yet, not very clear. It is questionable to what extent the programme of economic divisions is to be carried out. Moreover, there may be room for doubt concerning the need of this programme at all. The constitutions of the RSFSR and of the USSR give the central authorities

[11] The autonomous republics in the RSFSR have a total area of 8,054,855 square kilometers and a population of 16,782,047; without these republics the RSFSR has an area of 11,693,441 square kilometers and a population of 84,075,938. *Territorial'noe i administrativnoe delenie SSSR,* 17.

[12] See the *Statisticheskogo Obozrenie,* No. 8, August 1927, for the divisions as they stood at the end of 1928. The decree of January 14, 1929, is given in the *Izvestiia* (Moscow), Jan. 19, 1929.

wide control over the economic resources and development of the autonomous republics and regions, and even of the union republics. In view of these powers of the centre, it is open to question whether the use of economic reconstruction to weaken national sentiment was not one of the motives back of the new divisions.

The most striking example of how the economic divisions will destroy even the theory of national autonomy occurred in the case of the republic of the Volga Germans. A decree of the all-Russian central executive committee dated June 28, 1928, based on "the desire expressed by the workers of the autonomous socialist soviet republic of Volga Germans", provided that this republic should be attached to the lower Volga territory. Thus the 'republic' will no longer form directly a part of the RSFSR; it will be represented at Moscow through a two-step system. A long decree, likewise dated June 28, 1928, provided that all autonomous republics so desiring could unite with economic regions. To state this act in the terms of the practice in the instance of the Volga Germans, whenever the central authorities at Moscow decide that a republic shall no longer form a separate unit they will merely declare that such is the will of the people of that republic.

While a programme of 'regionization' has been used to break down national barriers, the communist party was carrying out one phase of its resolutions adopted in 1923, and this in a way which, though not apparent at the moment, was to do more than anything else to promote a spirit of nationalism. This concerned the encouragement given to local cultures, habits, and languages.

The communist leaders admitted in 1923 that the low cultural level of the peoples other than the Great Russians would prevent them from governing themselves. Perhaps they did not recognize the fact that even where a local nationality represented a high cultural level in comparison

with other nationalities it was not permitted to govern itself. The German Volga republic is a good example of this. The German agriculturist, given more to work than to loafing, to action rather than to dreaming, is rarely a communist. Further, he is not Asiatic. For these reasons, so far as Germans of Teutonic descent are concerned, no place was found for them in the soviet administration. Even their former capital, Ekaterinstadt, was not only renamed Marxstadt by the bolsheviks but was abandoned as the capital in favor of Pokrovsk, a sand-buried Russian-Ukrainian city in which a German is rarely seen. In the government offices of this 'autonomous republic' of Volga Germans, a German of Teutonic descent is likewise a rarity. The local paper, published in the German language, is produced either by Great Russians or 'Ukrainian Germans' of non-Teutonic origin, with the aid of a Russian-German dictionary.

Still, the decision of the communist party to stress the local cultures started a movement of which the results can not yet be foreseen. It is true that in the union republics and in the autonomous republics Great Russians and Jews have been in control of the local affairs, but a decided movement is under way to make the local language predominate in the local administration. This automatically gives the Ukrainian, the White Russian, or any other local nationality an advantage over the Great Russian. Since 1926 it has been a requirement that no person who is not familiar with the local language shall be employed in the Ukrainian administration. White Russia followed the Ukraine in adopting a measure of this sort.

The move to place local elements in the administration promises to be more than temporary, for it is accompanied by a distinct cultural revival. Papers and books have increased in quantity in the case of the local languages, while the use of Russian in all published material has registered a

decrease. This trend may be illustrated in the case of the Ukraine by the following figures of newspapers published:

	Ukrainian	*Russian*	*Other Languages*
April 1, 1925	29	39	7
March 1, 1926	50	25	8
April 1, 1927	55	24	10

About the same proportion of increase and decrease in the case of the Ukrainian and Russian respectively is to be found in the instance of other publishing activity.[13] The greater part of all Ukrainian publications is issued by the Ukrainian state printing office, which is comparable to the same office for the RSFSR.

A marked cultural revival and the requirement of the use of the local language in the state administration may effect a realization of the object of the resolutions of the communist party adopted in 1923. These factors may remedy the anomaly which has existed of having autonomous units in which the native element was a disregarded factor. The principal drawback, however, remains, namely, that the various nationalities are not ardent communists. To take the Ukraine for an example. Out of a total population of 28,887,000, there are only 167,367 communists. In the state administration at Kharkov the percentage of employees according to nationality and in turn the percentage of that nationality in the entire population stands thus:[14]

Nationality	*Per Cent. in State Administration*	*Per Cent. of Total Population*
Russian	33.4	13
Ukrainian	30.5	74
Jews	30.3	7

In the case of Azerbaijan, the same basis of comparison would stand thus:

[13] See *Bulletin périodique de la presse russe*, No. 164, for the period April 29-May 25, 1927.

[14] See statement by Ordzhonikidze at the fifteenth congress of the all-Union communist party in the *Izvestiia*, December 11, 1927.

Nationality	*Per Cent. in State Administration*	*Per Cent. of Total Population*
Russian	39.4	5.5
Armenian	18.8	19.22
Azerbaijan	24.6	56.3
Jews	10.6	less than five per cent.

The total population of Azerbaijan is 2,097,000, of which only 26,346 are communists.

Similar statistics could be given for the other parts of Russia. The deduction to be drawn is generally the same. That is, the communist party represents only a small fraction of the population, and there are few state employees who are not members of the party. Further, in the local area the native population, though numerically superior, is by far outnumbered in the state offices by Great Russians and by Jews. The latter make up an appreciable part of the communist party, and this is, perhaps, one explanation of the unusually high proportion of their numbers in the administration.

It is against this combination of Great Russians and Jews that the local nationality has had to fight in asserting even cultural autonomy. The efforts that have been made to make local independence more than a fiction, as the soviet system has willed that it shall be, as well as the extent of feeling on the subject, were shown at the regular session of the central executive committee of the USSR in April 1926.

At this meeting the 'Ukrainization' program carried out by the Kharkov authorities was discussed in detail. In the opinion of an Ukrainian delegate, the policy was necessary for purposes of propaganda, particularly in order to influence the Ukrainians living in Poland and Czechoslovakia. Opposed to this point of view was that of a delegate who talked about the "Russian question" in the Ukraine. He noted that ten per cent,[15] of the population was Rus-

[15] The figures vary slightly.

sian, and, in his opinion, this important element was oppressed, linguistically and otherwise. To this point of view the president of the Ukrainian central executive committee replied that "in a country of twenty-eight million inhabitants, of whom twenty-five million are Ukrainians, this majority should feel that the government of this country is its own, a government which speaks the language of the workers and peasants of the country." [16]

Representatives of other nationalities participated in the debate and were evidently in close touch with the measures which had been taken in the Ukraine. Lest they try to emulate those steps, however, the secretary of the central executive committee of the Union, Abel Enukidze, himself from the Caucasus, explained that the impatience of the Ukraine could be explained by her geographical position. He hoped that this impatience would not develop in the other republics of the Union, though some evidence of it was already visible. "It is needless to say", declared Enukidze, "that without the Russian language, without the Russian culture, we can not take a step in advance on the way to real socialist and communist construction." On the other hand, it was recognized that the process of Ukrainization could not be opposed. Such a policy, declared Bukharin, the editor of the *Pravda,* a short while before the meeting of the central executive committee, would play into the hands of the Poles, who, in his view, still looked forward to establishing their control over the Ukraine. A stop must be put to such lack of patience as that of the party leader sent out from Moscow who returned home rather than learn the local language. "The least mistake on our part in our policy of nationalities may lead to disastrous effects for the country. It is

[16] *2 sessiia TsIK. Stenograficheskii otchet,* 458 *et seq.* Almost a year later, in February 1927, another unusual debate on this question occurred (*3 sessiia TsIK. Stenograficheskii otchet,* 11 *et seq.*). To protect themselves, the delegates condemn the tsarist national policy, but the statements made show the existence of widespread discontent at present.

necessary to reckon with our republics individually; above all Great Russian chauvinism must be held in check." [17]

At present the question of nationalities in Russia is at the crossroads. In setting up the union soviet and the soviet of nationalities the party leaders had hoped to remove the question from their agenda for some time. They caused to be organized two bodies that preserved the theories proclaimed since the revolution. A means had been found before the formation of the Union to circumvent nationalist theories by means of the practices of the inner circle, and it was reasoned that no matter what the structure of the administrative organs the same result would continue to be secured.

Until the question of local language and culture entered into the picture, this reasoning was perfectly sound. The actual record of the work of the central executive committee of the USSR shows that both of its component parts are of diminishing importance. Further proof has been given of the fact that in the conflict between the nationalities on the one hand and the principles of class rule on the other the former must give away. It could not be otherwise. In the words of one critic of the soviet system, it must be remembered that the USSR is "not a union between the peoples but only a fictional agreement among the self-imposed representatives of the proletariat, who actually are members of one and the same centralized party, in order to exploit more freely the resources of Russia for their international aims. This characteristic of such agreements is the more obvious since in the USSR as a whole law in the ordinary

[17] *Pravda,* February 2, 1926. Problems of the nationalities have been brought to public attention since 1926 by various conferences in the USSR. Thus in June 1928 the second congress of delegates charged with cultural propaganda among the national minorities of the RSFSR met in Moscow to discuss matters affecting the eight million inhabitants forming the minorities of the RSFSR. At the same time the first congress of the national minorities of the Turkmen republic convened at Achkhabad. An interesting conference likewise met in Tiflis on January 23, 1928 (see the *Zaria Vostoka,* Jan. 26, 1928) to discuss the affairs of the minorities of the Transcaucasian federation.

sense of the word does not exist, for there does not exist any legislative function separate from the administration. . . ." [18]

But despite the symmetry of the soviet administrative system, despite an extraordinary centralization of authority in a few hands, and despite the possible dislike of certain of the leaders for the principle of nationality, the one sphere in which the various nationalities were given freedom and encouragement promises to be most dangerous from the point of view of the central authorities. That danger is in no respect a result of the harmless union soviet or soviet of nationalities, organs which would not be considered except that they form an essential part of the constitutional and theoretical soviet structure, but arises from the development of local nationalism and chauvinism around the native language.

The further the programme of Ukrainization, or a similar movement to establish the supremacy of the local language in any territorial unit not peopled by Great Russians, is pushed, the more difficult it becomes to take a backward step, the more dangerous politically it is to make a false move. Rights once granted are not easily withdrawn when there is any practical basis for their application, as is the case when a people are permitted to use their own language. The tendency is to increase such rights rather than to risk serious trouble through their curtailment. In particular this is true in such matters as local culture and privileges. By one means or another, the authorities at Moscow have bound the various peoples and parts of Russia closely to them by reducing national theories to the barest of fictions. On the other hand they furthered the doctrine of local language and culture. The extent of this latter movement is only beginning to be realized. Carried out in full, espe-

[18] Miliukov, as cited, 250-251. See in this connection also for a discussion of "a great experiment in solving the national question under the dictatorship of the proletariat" the abridged report of the meetings of the *Fifth congress of the communist international* (London, n.d.), 194-195.

cially in the various state administrations, the language qualification can be made an instrument of local control in the administration of any area. To circumvent such control it will remain for the communist party to take a step beyond the constitutional fictions which have kept the autonomous national republics and regions contented until recently.[19]

[19] See W. R. Batsell, "The soviet's treatment of national minorities", in 28 *Current History*, September 1928, 922-926. The sixth congress of the communist international held in September 1928 adopted the following policy on national and colonial questions:

(a) The recognition of the right of all nations, irrespective of race, to complete self-determination, that is, self-determination inclusive of the right to State separation.

(b) The voluntary unification and centralization of the military and economic forces of all nations, liberated from capitalism for the purpose of fighting against imperialism and for building up socialist economy.

(c) Wide and determined struggle against the imposition of any kind of limitation and restriction upon any nationality, nation or race. Complete equality for all nations and races.

(d) The soviet state to guarantee and support with all the resources at its command the national cultures of nations liberated from capitalism, at the same time to carry out a consistent proletarian policy directed towards the development of the content of such cultures.

(e) Every assistance to be rendered to the economic, political and cultural growth of the formerly oppressed 'territories', 'dominions' and 'colonies', with the object of transferring them to socialist lines, so that a durable basis may be laid for complete national equality.

(f) To combat all remnants of chauvinism, national hatred, race prejudices and other ideological products of feudal and capitalist barbarism. See chapter XIII.

DOCUMENT TO CHAPTER X

I

The Nationalities and Party Membership [1]

There is given below a list of the nationalities which constitute not less than one per cent. of the total party membership.

Name	*Actual No. of Communists*	*Percentage to Total No.*
Russians	743,167	65
Ukrainians	134,030	11.72
Jews	49,627	4.34
White Russians	36,420	3.18
Armenians	19,019	1.66
Georgians	16,985	1.49
Tartars	15,646	1.37
Uzbeks	13,585	1.19
Letts	13,336	1.17
Kazaks	12,041	1.05
Poles	12,181	1.06
Turks	11,237	0.98

In the case of other nationalities communists do not exceed 0.5 per cent. of the total composition of the party.

The table on page 661 shows the density of communists among the population of the republics and regions, and the density of communists of the national minorities among the population belonging to those minorities.

Thus in nearly all republics and regions the percentage of the native population drawn into the communist party is lower than the general percentage of communists to the total number of the population.

By grouping communists of the national minorities according to their occupations one can see that the percentage of manual workers among them is everywhere lower than the general percentage of manual workers in the communist party of the Soviet Union. While in the composition of the latter at the beginning of 1927, *i.e.*, prior to the October campaign, there were 32.3 per cent. workers employed in industry and transport, in agriculture and in other branches of labor, the corresponding percentage of

[1] Reprinted, with minor changes, from *The communist international between the fifth and the sixth world congresses,* 1924-28 (London, 1928), 507-508.

PERCENTAGE OF COMMUNISTS TO THE TOTAL NUMBER OF THE POPULATIONS IN THE NATIONAL REPUBLICS AND REGIONS

Name of republics and regions	*Total number of population**	*Communists*	*Actual number to thousand inhabitants*	*Number of native population*	*Communists of native population*	*Actual No. to thousand inhabitants of native population*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Komi aut. region	207,200	1,324	64	191,000	1,151	60
Karelian republic	269,700	2,813	104	103,300	752	73
Votsk region	756,300	3.053	40	395,500	528	13
Mariisk region	482,100	1,157	30	247,800	681	25
Bashkir republic	2,695,000	11,126	41	1,102,200	4,031	37
Tatar republic	2,594,000	9.865	38	1,252,900	3,336	27
Chuvash republic	894,500	2,697	30	667,300	1,668	25
Kalmyk region	141,600	1,075	76	107,000	751	70
German Volga republic.....	571,900	2,156	38	379,700	687	10
Crimean republic	714,100	7.696	108	179,200	720	42
Dagestan republic	788,100	4,745	60	599,000	2,149	36
Kazak republic	6,491,700	30,583	47	3,758,700	10,775	29
Kirghiz republic	993,100	4.274	43	661,400	2,159	33
Oiratsk region	99,800	787	79	35,200	129	37
Buriat Mongolian republic...	491,300	3,708	75	215,200	929	43
Azerbaijan SSR	2,313,200	27,090	117	1,485,100	9,633	65
Armenian SSR	876,600	8,202	94	742,500	7,408	100
Georgian SSR	2,660,900	28,322	106	1,655,100	15,489	94
Ukrainian SSR	27,303,800	168,341	62	21,784,100	87,185	40
White Russian SSR	4,983,900	25,298	51	4,009,000	13,224	33
Uzbek SSR	4,447,600	26,879	60	3,361,000	11,488	34

* According to the census of the population on December 17, 1926, published by the central statistical department. "results of ten years of soviet régime in figures," 1917-1927, pages 54-67.

communists belonging to the primitive population of the Ukraine was 31.0 per cent., in White Russia—26.9 per cent., in Uzbekistan —17.9 per cent., in the Kazak republic—12.2 per cent., in the German Volga republic—13.2 per cent., in the Chuvash republic —4.7 per cent., etc.

The percentage of peasants of the national minorities is everywhere higher than the general percentage of peasants in the party.

It should, however, be pointed out that the working class element among the various nationals is decidedly growing. For instance, the percentage of working class nationals to the total number of nationals—members of the communist party of the Soviet Union—increased between 1922 and 1927 in the Ukraine from 5.4 to 34.4 per cent., in White Russia from 3.7 per cent. to 30.6 per cent., among Azerbaijan Turks from 10.1 to 42.4 per cent., among Armenians from 6.2 to 18.4 per cent., etc.

As to the percentage of women communists in the general composition of the party organizations of the national regions and republics it is lower than 9.9 per cent.; the total number of women in the party is 12 per cent. (according to the party census in the beginning of 1927). The proportional weight of women communists belonging to primitive nationalities is 36.2 per cent. of the total number of women in the party organizations of the national republics and regions. In other words, for every 100 women communists in these areas there are 36 belonging to the native population.

CHAPTER XI

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

In writing about a country covering one-sixth of the land surface of the globe and including nearly 147 million people divided into 577 races and tribes and speaking 150 known tongues, it is obviously difficult to give a satisfactory outline of local administration. The bolshevik leaders themselves recognized the difficulty when they issued the land code of 1917 but announced simultaneously that the peasants would have to construct their own life according to local requirements. The difficulty in describing the widely different conditions of local government arises both from the diversity of peoples ranging from the trappers of the north to the industrial workers of the thickly settled centers and from the fact that, since the revolution, the problem of local administration has been met with a bewildering number of decisions on the part of the central authorities made to keep pace with rapidly changing conditions. The decrees on local government and the state of affairs during the early revolutionary period are now principally of historical interest and have little relation to the present. In this chapter, therefore, stress is laid upon the structure of local administration as it appears to stand at present, in what, it must be remembered, is still a period of transition.

As is the case with nearly all soviet publications, such accounts of local administration as exist deal almost solely with theory instead of practice. The description given by communist writers, when not sheer propaganda for the consumption of the 'toiling masses',[1] is generally confined to

[1] A decree of the soviet of people's commissars of the RSFSR ratified on April 10, 1924, is illustrative of the point. Article 3 of the decree ran thus: "Information [on the activity of the soviet of people's commis-

what local administration should be according to the constitution of the USSR or the union republics or decrees of the central authorities. Between the theory of such documents and actual practices, however, there is a wide difference. Even the basic facts with which it is necessary to start in order to have any comprehension of the administration apparently can not be mentioned in Russian publications. In the congresses of the communist party, mention is frequently made of the communist principle of self-criticism postulated by Lenin.[2] Very few persons, nevertheless, are permitted this luxury.

Two facts must be kept in mind in regard to local administration in Soviet Russia: first, the local organs of authority are, by their nature, primarily organs of the central authorities charged with carrying out their decrees in the local areas; and, second, that the whole procedure by which these organs are constituted, that is the electoral system, is little more than a farce intended to deceive the illiterate proletariat and peasant. Charts may be and have been drawn to illustrate the details of the local administrative apparatus.[3] They are models of clarity. Symmetrical lines, however, do not show how a constitutional provision is carried out. In other words, they do not show real conditions.

Modern government, central or local, normally has a territorial basis. In the case of local government in the Soviet Union there is a complication, for there are two forms of territorial division. One is the direct descendant of the structure which prevailed under the tsarist régime; the province (*gubernia*), county (*uezd*), and rural district

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sars, the small soviet of people's commissars, and the economic conference] must refer to questions, in regard to which there is no proviso prohibiting their publication, at present under examination by the soviet of people's commissars. Special attention should be given to matters of general interest for the toiling masses." *Sobranie uzakonenii,* May 28, 1924, No. 44.

[2] 5 *Sobr. soch.,* 307. Also, Stalin, "Against the discrediting of the slogan of self-criticism", in 8 *International Press Correspondence* (Vienna), July 12, 1928.

[3] See illustrations.

(*volost'*). There are soviets for each of these divisions. There are likewise city soviets (*gorodskie sovety*), village soviets (*sel'sovety*), and the electoral assembly or meeting which corresponds to no territorial division, being only an electoral unit.

Almost as soon as they had taken over the reins of authority, the bolsheviks sought to change the old administrative structure. They desired to establish territorial divisions on the basis of economic characteristics. Not only would this terminate the great administrative confusion and political character of the old division, but also it would destroy another reminder of the 'hated past'. In so large a country, however, it was easier to plan such territorial rearrangements than it was to carry them out. This was true in particular after the new régime itself had gone to extremes in setting up political units on the basis of national characteristics. The result has been that even to-day the new divisions do not apply exclusively throughout Russia. Instead, two systems of territorial divisions exist side by side.[4]

There are at present, as already mentioned, five parts of the RSFSR which have been divided along economic lines. In the Ukraine, White Russia, and the Turkmen Republic, the new system is in force throughout. The economic divisions are considerably larger than the old units. So far as actual terminology is concerned, only the villages remain the same. In outline form, the two types of divisions stand as follows: [5]

[4] See page 651.

[5] The changes in territorial formations are illustrated in the following table:

		RSFSR to January 1, 1928						
Area	*Old régime*	*1922*	*1923*	*1924*	*1925*	*1926*	*1927*	*1928*
Autonomous republic	...	7	11	12	9	11	11	11
Autonomous region	...	8	14	12	15	12	12	12
Region or territory	...	...	...	1	2	3	4	5
Province	56	72	63	61	51	40	38	33
Circuit	...	...	...	15	28	58	59	68
County	476	601	607	551	435	359	366	308
Economic district	...	...	...	132	353	769	779	986
Rural district	10,606	12,363	10,972	8,566	4,491	3,479	3,341	2,791

Territorial'noe i administrativnoe delenie SSSR, 16.

Economic divisions	*Non-economic areas*
Territory (*krai* or *oblast'*)	Province (*gubernia*)
Circuit (*okrug*)	County (*uezd*)
Economic district (*raion*)	Rural district (*volost'*)
Village (*selo*)	Village (*selo*)

As in the central soviet structure the organs of administration in the local areas are the congress of soviets, the executive committee and its presidium, and special departments which perform the duties of the commissariats of the central organs. In each local division except the village this structure applies.

A particularly complicated structure results when autonomous regions are included in the territory (*krai*) as happens in several cases. The North-Caucasian territory, for example, includes six autonomous regions.[6] The act organizing the territory provides that the organs of authority of the autonomous region shall be subordinate both to the central organs of the RSFSR and to the territory. This is one of the examples of how economic considerations break down the theories of national autonomy in the Soviet Union.

Side by side with the soviet organs in the local divisions are the communist party organs,[7] which, through their congresses, conferences, and committees—"the executive organ which directs all current work of the local organization"—are the real source of authority just as the central party organs are in the higher branches of soviet structure. The statute of the party specifically provides that the local party organs shall direct the activity of the corresponding soviet organs by means of "party fractions". That is, having a majority of the leaders in all soviet bodies, the party itself determines what policy its appointees shall follow as members of the soviet, that is of the local constitutional organs. The account which follows of all local soviet organs, there-

[6] See the illustrations of the soviet structure given at the end of the book.

[7] *Ibid.*

fore, is indirectly no other than an exposition of the system which the communist party uses to administer the country down to the lowest unit.[8]

Before entering into the actual details of the nature of the authority in each of the territorial divisions of local government, mention is made of a factor which stands, in a discussion of local administration, on a parity with the territorial phase. That is the right of suffrage. In this matter lies the criterion of the value of any of the territorial organs of authority.

In the Russia of the Tsars the matter of electoral rights was predominant after the formation of the state duma. The question arose as to whether such rights should be based on the class principle, for autocracy is as conscious of class as is the proletariat.

The law of June 3, 1907, formed the basis of the electoral system. Under the terms of this law the province (*gubernia*) was the fundamental territorial unit except in the case of the seven leading cities. These elected their representatives to the duma as independent units. The total number of members of the duma was originally placed at 524, but it was later reduced to 442 because of changes in the electoral laws in 1906 whereby certain remote regions, particularly Central Asia, were completely disenfranchised.

In the Russia which existed before 1917 there was no difference between the right to vote and to be elected. The only exception was that "persons not using the Russian language can not be elected to the state duma".[9] Fairly large elements of the population were, nevertheless, disenfranchised. This was true of women, persons under twenty-five years of age, students irrespective of age, the active personnel of the army and navy, and foreigners. Furthermore, persons accused of crimes, sentenced by a court, under judicial investigation, and persons discharged from office,

[8] See page document I, chapter XII, articles 31-60.
[9] Statute of June 3, 1907, Art. 128.

represented a very appreciable element in the population which was likewise deprived of the suffrage.

In general the electoral system in Russia, as based on the ukaz of June 2, 1907, altered the electoral law so as to insure the election to the duma of members of the wealthy and landed classes on the one hand and of Great Russians as opposed to the various lesser nationalities on the other. How completely this basis was changed under the soviets is now shown.

Electoral rights in the RSFSR were covered in the constitution adopted in 1918. There, as already noted in another connection, a strictly class basis of representation was provided for. To the soviets the bourgeois was no better than an idiot, so the one should be deprived of the right to vote or to be elected as well as the other.

After having undergone many changes and after the issuance of voluminous circulars on elections and reëlections to soviets, the electoral system in the RSFSR at present is based on instructions issued by the presidium of the all-Russian central executive committee on November 4, 1926, concerning "the election of city and village soviets and the convocation of congresses of soviets".[10]

These instructions were issued in order to insure "timely and smoothly working elections". The phraseology in itself shows that in the past the electoral machinery had proved not exactly efficacious. As a matter of fact, elections had been held very irregularly, and when delegates were elected to the various organs of authority they failed to attend meetings to such an extent that often a quorum was not present. Under the new instructions, to perfect the electoral organization, electoral commissions, composed of representatives of the workers, peasants, and national minorities, were established in the executive committees of the local administrative divisions. General supervision over the entire electoral process was vested in the all-Russian central elec-

[10] *Sobranie uzakonenii* No. 75, November 26, 1926, Art. 577.

toral commission, a body under the direct control of the presidium of the all-Russian central executive committee.

It was provided that in the autonomous republics and regions the electoral commissions should be composed of eleven members, namely, a president, two delegates from the corresponding executive committee, and one from each of the following: trade unions, league of young communists, women communists, city soviets, national minorities, the red army, and two representatives from the peasants' organization. The circuit, county, and equally ranking electoral commissions should be composed of nine members representing approximately the same classes. The next smaller commissions—for the economic district, rural district, and the village—had seven members. The same number applied for the cities.

The rights and duties of these commissions were declared in the instructions to embrace: (1) supervision over the legality and timely holding of elections, (2) determination of the time for the convocation and dissolution of the commission, (3) supervision over the work of subordinate commissions, (4) submission of reports to the central executive committee, (5) examination of reports of subordinate commissions, (6) the sending of representatives to the subordinate commissions to secure information about the elections, and (7) examination of appeals and protests on the activity of subordinate commissions. The general purpose of these provisions was to establish that type of subordination and centralization common to all soviet organs.

The instructions of 1926 defined in considerable detail the categories of disenfranchised persons. They covered such cases as persons using hired labor, living on interest, those who, because of their former class standing, were deprived automatically of the right of suffrage. In addition, new classes or groups were disenfranchised. Since it may be expedient in a given circumstance to show 'true' liberalism, however, some of the disenfranchised classes may

be granted the 'privilege' of voting provided a special decision of the presidium of the all-Russian central executive committee is given in each case. The only instance which could arise, naturally, would be that of some member of the disenfranchised groups performing a special service to the soviet cause.

How careful the authorities are in regard to elections and the extent to which undesirable elements are eliminated are shown in the very detailed procedure for making up electoral lists. Records are carefully kept in respect to all the disenfranchised elements. One copy of the blacklist is handed to the chairmen of the soviets in the villages and cities and a second and third copy to the immediately superior electoral commission.

Since the soviets are the nuclei of soviet authority, or at least the means by which that authority is expressed, the manner in which they are formed is of importance. Among the lowest units are factories, workers' settlements, villages, farms, and similar units. Here the election is carried out in the electoral assembly, convoked by the electoral commission. By means of personal notices, the electors are informed five days in advance of the date and place of the elections. In the case of village soviets, which represent several settlements, the elections are held independently in each settlement.

Only those who possess electoral rights can participate in the electoral assembly when it meets. Since a roll is called, it is easy to weed out any others present, even if the police who attend had not already done so. Unless thirty-five per cent. of the electors are present, the assembly must be called another time.

The electoral assembly is presided over by a president appointed by the electoral commission and two members elected at the assembly. The president informs the assembly of the order of election, announces the number of elec-

tors and those present at the meeting, as well as those disenfranchised, and then states the number of members to be elected.

The number to be elected at the assembly is determined by the local electoral commission "on the basis of the electoral norms, proportionate to the number of electors (in the cities and workers' settlements) or to the population (in the rural localities) of the given electoral district." The vote may be cast for the list of candidates as a whole or for individual candidates separately. The striking feature of the entire procedure, however, is the provision in the instructions of 1926, which merely restated the existing practices, that "the elections are held by an open vote. Those who receive a majority of votes shall be elected." This is, of course, in contrast to the secret ballot, which, even in Occidental countries, has been found to represent the only means under which the voter could go to the electoral booth untrammeled. When it is realized that the principal elements likely to oppose the leaders in power are disenfranchised, the additional fact that those who do not attend have to vote in the open by upraised hand shows to what extent the soviet elections are simply matters of form. There can be no real opposition, though legality is preserved to the fullest extent, and the theory of democratic assemblies is maintained. The only real value of the elections may be stated to lie in the fact that they are teaching the masses something about suffrage in general. Political instruction by a ward politician may not be ideal, but it would perhaps be preferable to none at all. So in time a soviet election may prove of educational value. In this possibility lies the significance of the statute of sixty-six articles on elections, rather than in the provisions of the document itself.

After the electoral assembly and the elections to the lowest soviets come the elections in the higher territorial divi-

sions.[11] To begin with, the city soviets are elected from the cities and workers' settlements on the basis of a statute adopted on October 24, 1925.[12] The norm of representation ranges from one delegate for fifteen voters in the instance of a city with a population of one thousand to one for 200 in the case of cities with 100,000 or over.[13] The village soviets, unlike the city soviets, are elected at the above-mentioned electoral assemblies on the basis of one delegate for each one hundred of the population. The number of members in a village soviet can not be less than three nor more than fifty.

Elections to congresses of soviets do not take place in the electoral assemblies but through the lower congresses of soviets and the soviets of delegates. Thus the village soviets, not the assembly directly, participate in the elections to the economic district or rural district congress of soviets. The basis of representation to the congresses of soviets from the village and lower congresses is based on the number of inhabitants, while in the case of city soviets the criterion is the number of voters. The general purpose of the distinction was to increase the industrial representation.

Keeping this general background in mind, the general

[11] The local elected bodies under the tsarist régime consisted of three classes: (1) the peasant assemblies in the *mir* and rural district, (2) the zemstvos, and (3) the municipal dumas. The peasant assemblies served to elect a head-man (*starosta*) and a collector of taxes. A number of *mirs* together formed the rural district, in which there was an assembly consisting of delegates from the *mirs*. This division in turn elected an elder (*starshina*). The activity of both the *mirs* and the rural districts was under the close supervision of the central police.

Next in order of local bodies came the elective district and provincial assemblies (*zemstvos*). Created by Alexander II in 1864, these bodies consisted of a representative soviet and an executive board appointed by the former. The *zemstvos* were given authority in such questions as local taxation, public health, education, social welfare, roads, and the like, but the extent of their jurisdiction varied with the will of the central government.

[12] See in particular S. I. Chugunov, *Gorodskie sovety, passim.*

[13] See the illustrations at the end of the book.

composition of the various congresses of soviets can be given. To begin with the lower unit, after the village soviet comes the rural district, or, in the newly divided areas, the economic district. The soviets in these divisions are composed of representatives of all soviets situated therein on the basis of one delegate to 300 inhabitants, but altogether the number of delegates can not exceed 150.

The county congresses consist of representatives, on the basis of one delegate for 200 voters, of the soviets of cities and city settlements, factories, and works situated in the county. In addition, they are composed of representatives of the village soviets on the basis of one delegate for each 1000 of the population. The total number of delegates in the county congress can not exceed 300.

The circuit congress represents an area somewhat larger than the county. It consists of representatives from the soviets of cities and city settlements, factories, and works situated outside of city settlements, as well as of village soviets. The basis of representation is one delegate for 1000 voters from the city soviets and one for 5000 inhabitants from the congress of soviets of the economic district.

In the provinces there is one delegate for each 2000 voters from the city soviets and one for 10,000 inhabitants from the county congresses. In the territory, or region, the highest division under the new system of economic zones, the basis of representation is one delegate for each 5000 voters from the various soviets and one for 25,000 inhabitants from the circuit congresses.

In the case of autonomous regions which are included in a territory, delegates are sent to the territorial congress but are sent also directly to the congress of soviets of the USSR and of the RSFSR. The norm of representation varies with the region or republic. The delegates sent to the congress of soviets of a union republic likewise take part in the congress of soviets of the USSR.

So much for the constitutional basis of elections. The

extent to which the entire electoral process is representative is to be viewed from two angles: first, as mentioned above, the number of disenfranchised; and, second, the ratio of communists to other elements. It has rarely been denied in Russia that the communist party runs the country from the lowest unit to the highest. This is made possible by the electoral machinery and the police system. Since other parties are outlawed, it is of interest to see the relation between the communist party and the other part of the population.

To take the RSFSR for an example, the last census placed the total population at 100,858,000. The number of communists, according to the latest available figures, published by the party in 1927,[14] stands at 788,050, including candidates. Thus communists in the RSFSR form .78 per cent. of the entire population.[15] When the ratio of communists to other elements in the soviet organs of administration shown in the figures given below is worked out on a basis of percentage, still more interesting data are available. A provincial congress of soviets, for example, is made up of 64.5 per cent. communists. Thus .78 per cent. of the population makes up 64.5 per cent. of the delegates to the congress, while 99.22 per cent. forms only 35.5 per cent. of the delegates to the congress.

The first table given herewith shows the percentage of communists throughout the RSFSR in the village soviets, in the rural district congresses of soviets, and in the rural district executive committees. Of these organs, it is principally the executive committee which is of importance, and it is precisely there that the number of communists stands the highest. Another point which will be remarked is the increase in the percentage of communists in recent

[14] *Tsentral'nyi komitet VKP (b), V.K.P. (b) v. tsifrakh. Vypusk shestoi,* 6.

[15] It is to be remembered, of course, that the total population includes children and certain other elements which would not figure in the proportion which the party actually represents politically.

years. It is not a matter of great importance, for the real control by the party is just as great when it is in a minority as when it numerically predominates. The fact that the rural district executive committee had only 40.1 per cent. communist membership in 1922 whereas it now has 54.7 communists in no wise means that the communist party rules that body more completely at present than it did in 1922.

The table showing the percentage of communists follows:[16]

Year	*Village soviets*	*Rural district congresses of soviets*	*Rural district executive committees*
1922	6.1	11.7	40.1
1923	7.8	17.8	48.5
1924-25	8.9	22.6	51.6
1925-26	9.9	25.7	50.5
1927	12.9	31.3	54.7

The more important the local organ the greater the number of communists, which is shown in the case of the rural district executive committee. Similarly, in the various territorial divisions the higher the unit the greater the number of party members. The two tables given below, covering respectively the county congresses of soviets and the provincial congresses, demonstrate the point.

1. County Congresses of Soviets

Year	*Communists*	*Non-partisan*
1923	62.8	37.2
1924-25	59.9	40.1
1925-26	53.5	46.5

2. Provincial Congresses of Soviets

1923	78.1	21.9
1924-25	69.6	30.4
1925-26	64.5	35.5
1927	62.4	39.6

[16] All figures have been taken from the two-volume work of the people's commissariat for interior of the RSFSR entitled *Vybory v sovety RSFSR v 1925-1926* or from the publication of the all-Russian central executive committee issued in 1927 entitled *Vybory v sovety v diagrammakh.*

The presidia of the executive committees in the counties in 1927 were composed of 87.3 per cent. communists. This is a stage higher in the centralization process than the executive committee itself and illustrates further that the higher the position the greater is the predominance of communists. In the case of the provincial executive committees in 1926-26, the membership was 71.9 per cent. communist and 28.1 non-partisan; in 1927 the percentage of communists stood at 62.

In summary form the percentage of communists in the various organs of local authority in 1927 was as follows:[17]

Village soviets	7.8
Rural district executive committees	50.1
County and circuit executive committees	66.6
Provincial and territorial executive committees	69.0
All-Russian central executive committee	62.0
Central executive committee of the USSR	72.6

Election figures, the statutes of the communist party, the police system, and numerous other factors enter into any judgment of the nature of soviet elections. All these items have been taken up separately in their place and hardly require a restatement here.

It remains to mention the various organs of administration through which local soviet authority is expressed. These are given in their order from the highest, the province or the territory, to the lowest, the village.[18]

In the early revolutionary period the provincial congresses of soviets, like the congresses of soviets for the RSFSR as a whole, were convoked every three months. This schedule was changed first to provide for a meeting every six months and, in December 1921, for a meeting once a year. The executive committee of the province was composed of twenty-five members, who were, of course, the supreme authority in the province in the interim between

[17] Taken from *Vybory v sovety RSFSR v 1925-1926,* 21.

[18] See V. Ignat'ev, "O pravakh kraevykh, gubernskykh, okruzhnykh i raionnykh organov vlasti", in *Sovetskoe stroitel'stvo*, No. 1 (18), January 1928, 45-66.

congresses. Within the authority of these central organs fell such matters as (1) the carrying out of all decisions of the higher central organs, (2) the promotion of the cultural and economic progress of the province, (3) the settlement of purely local matters, and (4) the centralizing of soviet activity in the territory by means of control over all the inferior soviet organs.

At the time it was decided that the meetings of the provincial congresses should be held every six months, still another change was introduced. This was the creation of a presidium of the provincial executive committee. Composed of five members, the presidium was a centralized body intended to perform all "current directive and administrative work".[19]

Until the meeting of the seventh all-Russian congress of soviets in 1919 the entire provincial structure was temporary. In actual practice a system of authority which was not at all in conformity with the plans of the real leaders had come into being. In keeping with the doctrines of "all power to the local soviets", the local organs of administration had become virtually independent bodies. The all-Russian congress of soviets held in December 1919 changed this situation by concentrating authority in the hands of the provincial executive committee.

On the basis of regulations adopted by this congress and certain additional resolutions of the ninth all-Russian congress of soviets in December, 1921, the people's commissariat for the interior drew up a statute on the provincial executive committees. Promulgated on October 31, 1922,[20] this document still forms the basis of provincial administration.

Like the provincial congress of soviets, the executive committee is responsible to the all-Russian central executive committee and the soviet of people's commissars of the

[19] 2 *Entsiklopediia gosudarstva i prava*, 758.
[20] *Konstitusiia RSFSR*, as cited, 170-238.

RSFSR, as well as to the provincial congress which elected it. The members, who are not to number over fifty, hold office for a period of one year, that is until the meeting of the next congress of soviets. In actual practice the membership varies very little from one year to another.

There are two types of assemblies of the executive committee: the sessional, held not less than three times a year, and the ordinary ones held not less than once a month. The former has jurisdiction, in general, in matters which come under the congress of soviets when it is in session, such as the direction of the activity of all inferior organs in the province, the settlement of local questions, and the ratification of local budget estimates.

The provincial executive committee is divided into its presidium, which directs all current affairs of administration, and thirteen departments, which are supervised by members of the presidium. Attached directly to the presidium and not to the executive committee as a whole, even according to the constitutional structure, is an administrative department which has in turn three subdivisions: of criminal investigation, the militia, and general matters. By means of this department, which is in practice closely connected with the local OGPU, the presidium exercises a very close supervision over all matters known as protection of the 'revolutionary order'.

Separate departments for social welfare, health, education, workmen's and peasants' inspection, finance, labor, internal trade, local economy, provincial planning, and a statistical department have duties well indicated by their name. In each case these departments are closely connected with the corresponding central organ, that is with the people's commissariats of the RSFSR. On the other hand, they in turn are superior to the organs of authority in the county, rural district, and the village. It may be stated that the provincial executive committee, or its presidium and departments, comprises "all fields of local administra-

tion and economy in such a scope and so fully that the provincial executive committee is rendered an extremely autonomous self-governing unit." [21] The comprehensive nature of its authority in the local area, in which alone it is autonomous and then only in relation to inferior organs in contrast to the all-powerful central organs,[22] diminishes the importance of the county, the next unit of local administration.

There is practically no difference between the structure of the county organs of authority and the provincial organs. There is the county congress of soviets meeting once a year, which, in the county, has the same position as the provincial congress in the province. Since it is a lower unit than the provincial congress, it is, of course, subordinate to the provincial organs, as well as to the central organs of the RSFSR. There is also the county executive committee, convoked not less than once every three months; the permanent presidium, consisting of three to five members; and, finally, the various departments directed by members of the presidium. The departments are responsible both to the county executive committee and to the corresponding section in the provincial executive committee. By this means the usual pyramiding of responsibility is attained.

The provincial and county organs as outlined above are very similar to the same organs of local authority under the Russia of the Tsars. They are administrative organs which represent directly the central authorities. On the other hand, in Soviet Russia, as was the case in Tsarist Russia,

[21] 2 *Entsiklopediia gosudarstva i prava,* 762.

[22] Attempts have been made to simplify local administrative machinery by granting greater local rights, but extreme centralization seems even to have increased. It may be noted that before the XII conference of the Russian communist party, Rykov, president of the soviet of people's commissars of the RSFSR, in speaking of the Ural region, stated that "from day to day, from week to week, from month to month one thing becomes more certain: that to administer a country which comprises one-sixth of the earth from Moscow on the basis of bureaucratic centralization is impossible." *Uralskii torgovo-promishlenni spravochnik g* 1925 [11th year] (Perm I 925).

there are still lower units which are, to varying degrees, really local organs.

Theoretically the new soviet rural district was supposed to replace the pre-revolutionary rural district and zemstvos. At the beginning of the revolution the structure of this division conformed almost exactly to that of the county and provincial organs. There was a whole series of rural district people's commissars in charge of numerous departments, divisions, and subdivisions. The dissolution of this structure in the rural district was carried out along with reform in the higher units. The new organ of authority, as from April 1918, was the rural district executive committee, composed of five members and, three months later, of ten members. This body, in the interval between rural district congresses, became the supreme authority in its area.

Like the other territorial units, the rural districts were permeated with ideas of independence. Such areas were declared to exist where they had never been dreamed of before. The tendency to decentralization and even to disintegration was not remedied until the summer of 1919, when it was required that the rural district should have at least 10,000 inhabitants. At about the same time it was decreed that officials for this unit should receive their pay from the central administration.[23] This was not the case in pre-revolutionary Russia; it was a direct contradiction of the idea of local self-government.

Other steps toward centralization were taken both in the case of the rural district and the higher organs of local authority. For one example, in 1920 the seventh all-Russian congress of soviets decided that the rural district congresses should meet once every six months instead of every three months. The final experience of the soviets in local administration was not codified, however, until a statute

[23] See the article on the rural districts in 2 *Entsiklopediia gosudarstva i prava,* 493-501. Also V. I. Ignat'ev, *Sovetskaia volost'.*

issued by the all-Russian central executive committee on October 16, 1924,[24] set forth the nature of the organs of authority in the rural district. By that time the forms of control from the top to the bottom had been perfected so that, in theory, a return could be made, on a limited scale, to the early principles of local self-government.

In the rural district, as in the other soviet administrative units, there is the congress of soviets, which meets once a year, and the executive committee, in this case composed of three to ten members. The congress examines and settles, in theory, all questions relating to the administration of the rural district; it examines the rural district budget; it approves, usually without discussion, the report presented by the executive committee on its activity; and, finally, the congress elects the executive committee for a period of one year.

In the case of the rural district executive committee there is no presidium which carries on all the current work. Because of the limited size of the committee itself such an inner group is not necessary. The duties of the executive committee cover purely local affairs, such as instructing the rural soviets about the decrees of the higher organs, examining the activity of inferior organs, and the organization of minor economic enterprises. Departments are not formed for the various matters as in the case of the county and provincial organs. Instead, the work of the committee is divided among its members. Administrative and military affairs are under the direct jurisdiction of the president of the committee, while questions relating to finance and taxes are under the jurisdiction of one of the other members.

While there is no presidium attached to the rural district executive committee, there is a secretary. This official, who directs the entire secretarial work of the committee, is appointed by the rural district executive committee but must be confirmed in his appointment by the presidium of

[24] *Konstitutsiia RSFSR,* as cited, 286-324.

the county executive committee. The latter provision, which conforms to the general procedure in soviet organs, indicates that in practice it is actually the secretary of the rural district executive committee who is the principal official. He is the presidium for the rural district.

Directly under the rural district organs comes the village soviet. The president of this soviet is elected from the settlements on the basis of one delegate for each 100 persons. When the village soviet is not in session, the president occupies the same position as the presidium of the executive committee in the higher organs. This official is the means for making known locally the instructions of the higher organs; in addition he has such locally important duties as seeing to it that there is no theft of wood or that the cattle do not damage the fields.

The work of the communist party in the villages is summarized in a report by Kossior to the fifteenth party congress held at Moscow in December 1927. "The influence of the party in the village soviets", declared Kossior, "is becoming gradually stronger, both among the presidents of the village soviets and in these soviets themselves, and in the district soviets. This applies equally to the influence of the young communist league. . . . The proportion of agricultural laborers and other workers in the village soviets has increased, and we can record a certain advance here, although not a very great one. . . . The village soviet is in many places beginning to become the real public center in the locality, and is an organ with real power, possessing the confidence of the peasantry. *The village soviets work entirely under the guidance of the party.*" [25]

Not exactly a part of the various degrees of local authority as outlined, but rather a parallel structure, is the administration of the cities. There are provincial cities which send their delegates directly to the all-Russian congress of

[25] *Report of the XV congress of the communist party of the Soviet Union* (London 1928), 90-91. Italics not in original.

soviets and to the provincial congress of soviets; there are county cities which send delegates to the county congress, the provincial congress, and to the all-Russian congress; and, finally, there are city or urban settlements which send delegates only to the rural district congress and to the county congress.

The structure of authority in the cities likewise differs somewhat from the organs in the other soviet divisions. Soon after the outbreak of the revolution, the people's commissariat for the interior had insisted that the cities should not have their own executive committees, the county executive committees taking their place. The cities, however, had enjoyed no small degree of independence since the adoption of the municipal statute of 1892. They were, as a result, unwilling to have their liberty curtailed precisely at a time when decentralization was occurring. The fifth all-Russian congress of soviets which met in 1918 approved the constitution of the RSFSR, which recognized the organization of city executive committees as a regular part of the soviet paraphernalia.

Two types of cities were provided for. In one instance, that of cities under 10,000 inhabitants, they were placed on an equal footing with the villages in respect to the local and central authorities. The other class included all cities with a population greater than 10,000. These were declared to be the equal of provincial soviets. Both classes were directly subordinate to the soviet of people's commissars of the RSFSR and to the all-Russian central executive committee, so that even provincial congresses of soviets had no control over the city soviets. This independent status was of short duration. The period of civil war reduced to naught the income of the cities; their political organization, receiving no assistance from the central organs, practically died out. By 1919 there were only about ten city soviets left. The complete disappearance of the city soviets was prevented when the seventh all-Russian congress of soviets

decided, at the end of 1920, that these soviets should be established in all urban settlements and that the plenum of the soviets should assemble at least twice a month. The presidium of the all-Russian central executive committee was charged with the drawing up of a statute on the city soviets.

Instructions issued by the all-Russian central executive committee in February 1921, provided that executive committees of the provincial and county cities, when not consolidated with the provincial and county executive committees, should continue their work independently. When the municipal organization revived, it was not in the form of executive committees, but of what was called an enlarged assembly, which was in turn divided into a plenum and a presidium.

The present structure of the city soviets dates from October 24, 1925.[26] At the top of the structure is the city soviet elected from the entire laboring population of the city. This body is concerned, according to the statutes, with taking measures for the development of the culture and economy of the city, with the settlement of municipal questions, with uniting the activity of all institutions within its jurisdiction, the drawing up and carrying out of the municipal budget, and, as customary with the other soviet organs, with the protection of the 'revolutionary order'.

The plenum assembles not less than once every month. It approves the budget, examines reports on local economy and administration, elects delegates to the congresses of soviets, and elects the president and presidium of the city soviet. The presidium, as in the other soviet organs, carries out all current work of administration. Attached to it are various departments: for finance, internal trade, communal economy, health, and social welfare. In addition to the departments, there are various sections attached to the city soviet, their general purpose being to secure the

[26] *Konstitutsiia RSFSR*, as cited, 238-263.

participation of as large numbers as possible of the laboring masses in the work of administration. This applies to such questions as communal economy, trade, finance and budget, social welfare, health, workmen's and peasants' inspection, and labor. Every member of the city soviet is obliged to work in one of the sections. Each section elects from its members a permanent bureau to act as its executive and commanding organ. The work of the section is directed by the plenum and the presidium. Save for the section for workmen's and peasants' inspection and labor, the sections as provided for correspond exactly to the departments of the presidium of the executive committee. The departments are actual administrative organs, while the sections are organized more for purposes of propaganda.

The structure of the local organs as mentioned applies also to the new form of administrative division into territories or regions, circuits, economic districts, and the villages. The norms of representation are different; the organs of authority and their degrees of subordination from the higher to the lower are almost identical with those already outlined.

The principal characteristic of the new division into territories or regions as compared to the province is that, in addition to providing for the customary administratve functions, special attention is given to purely economic and financial questions, such as industry, trade, agriculture, and the budgets. The division along economic lines rather than on the basis of political considerations makes this stress possible. If the present divisions prove successful, and if there is a weakening in the opposition to their extension on the part of the autonomous republics, it is to be expected that all of the RSFSR will in time be arranged territorially on the new basis.

In all the degrees of local administration the same process of centralization observed in the central organs is to be found. In addition to the nature of the central control,

mention may be made of the continuous propaganda carried on in the local areas to secure uniformity and obedience to the higher authorities. For example, the presidium of the all-Russian central executive committee, the highest constitutional organ in the RSFSR but well known down to the lowest unit, acts as the curator of the administrative program and the organ for the diffusion of proper ideas about the duties of local soviets, and through its "department of instruction". This presidium does not neglect the local village and city soviets or the rural district executive committees. This is well shown in a decree signed by the president of that body on November 28, 1927. "In order to utilize and promote the experiment of the work already carried out by individual sections and a study of the conditions of this work, removal of the conditions causing the obstacles on the way of its further development", runs the heavy and involved phraseology of this document, "the presidium of the all-Russian central executive committee intends to inspect the work of the sections. This work shall be of a broad, social character, for the appraisal of the most important forms of mass work [*sic*] of the soviets by means of their technical apparatus can not give necessary results." [27] A contest for a prize of 10,000 rubles is chosen by the central soviet authorities as a means to secure 'results', that is, a strengthening of their influence in the local regions by means of a closer attachment to their ideas of administration and allied doctrines.

The foregoing account of local administration has used as an example the legislation of the RSFSR, the largest of the republics forming the union. The forms of local government in the other union republics, however, vary but little from this model. Throughout Russia it may be said that local self-government under the soviets does not exist. Local autonomy remains a theory.

[27] The decree runs in large type over a page of *Vlast' sovetov*, official organ of the committee, December 25, 1927, 8.

As in the case of the soviet and party organs in the center, the paraphernalia of soviet and party congresses and executive committees in the system of local government is but a camouflage for the real sources of power. From the congress of soviets of the six union republics and the congress of soviets of an autonomous republic to the provincial congress of soviets and the village soviet, the centralized nature of the authority is evident. The ultimate source of power in the center, the polit-bureau of the communist party and its echo, the presidium of the central executive committee of the Union, is unvarying. The polit-bureau decides what shall be done by the presidium of the central executive committee of the USSR. That presidium, including and representing the members of the presidium of the central executive committee of each of the six union republics, passes on the instructions and directions. The members of the presidium of the central executive committee of each union republic then carry out the instructions in their republic. They direct the work and activity of the presidium of the central executive committee of each autonomous republic, where these areas exist, and of the province. The same centralized form of control and direction applies from the province to the county, from the county to the rural district, and from the rural district to the village. The steps in this process are numerous. Since, however, the members of standing and importance in a higher organ of authority are, in most cases, the dominant members in a lower local organ, the procedure is extremely simple. The aims of the real source of authority in the soviet system are carried out with a degree of mechanical perfection never attained under the admittedly autocratic tsarist government.

CHAPTER XII

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

In political organizations it occurs at times that there is a separation between the apparent or legally constituted authority on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the real center of power, unknown to law but in practice supreme. This phenomenon exists in the United States principally in municipal politics, where there are numerous examples of the administration of a city by an inner group unrecognized by the regular municipal structure.

It is likewise possible for a similar hidden authority to prevail throughout a country. The requirement is that the inside circle or 'bosses' exercise control on a wide scale instead of only within a limited jurisdiction. Almost the only condition under which the rise of such dominance to nation-wide extent is possible is a revolutionary change in government.

A survey of recent political upheavals in several countries would give varying degrees of evidence of the difference between the constitutional structure of power and its actual exercise. In some cases the distinction has not grown up, for there has been a frank, openly admitted dictatorship by one man. The Primo de Rivera régime in Spain and the rule of various dictators in Greece fall under this classification.

On the other hand, there have arisen examples of the dictatorship not of one man, but of a party and of a group within that party which is the directing force, although its leaders may hold places in the constitutionally provided state structure. The dictatorship of the Stambuliski party

in Bulgaria seems to fall within this category. The leading examples, however, are two systems which in aims lie at opposite poles of political thought, but which in organization, procedure, and methods present many similarities. In one instance the symbol of power is one man whose apparently undivided authority is in reality representative of a powerful inner party organization. In the other instance, the inner source of power has no single outward manifestation but is represented by several men who occupy the highest constitutionally provided governmental offices. Reference is made to the fascist party in Italy, with its leader Mussolini and its grand fascist council on the one hand, and on the other to the inner circle of the communist party in Russia, known as the polit-bureau.

The system of authority in Russia is discussed here. Its early origins, its development from a small revolutionary coterie to the only party in an empire covering about one-sixth of the surface of the globe, and its organization are traced. In a party system which recognizes no boundaries, as is the case with the communist party, it may be asserted that the highest organ in the party structure or the final source of its authority is not final after all. It may be argued also that just as in Russia there exists a difference between the constitutional authority and the real source of power, so there may exist another still higher step within the real authority than can be traced in the apparent structure. Without giving any opinion on this point, the narrative is kept to the known structure of authority as shown by published party documents.

In the city of Minsk, near the present Russian-Polish border, there assembled on March 1-3, 1898, a group of nine men representing six organizations.[1] From the cities of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, and Ekaterinoslav came

[1] A concise account of this meeting is given by I. Tatarov, "1 s'ezda RSDRP i ego mesto v istorii nashei partii" in *Proletarskaia Revoliutsiia,* March 1928, 3 (74), 1-31. Also N. Angarskii, "K istoriia 1 s'ezda RSDRP," in *ibid.,* 32-42.

four delegates of the so-called "union for the struggle for the liberation of the working class". The "bund", a union of Jewish workers, sent one delegate. The remaining delegates came from the *Workers' Gazette* published in Kiev. Of the nine delegates at least five were of Jewish descent.

At this meeting was founded a revolutionary party, as the expression of the revolutionary movement which had grown rapidly in Russia the latter part of the nineteenth century. The leaders then assembled were attempting to unify this movement along the lines outlined by Lenin in a pamphlet entitled *The problem of Russian social democrats,* written in 1897.

The first question at Minsk was the choice of a name for the new party. It was decided to call it "Rossiiskaia" instead of "Russkaia" in order to emphasize the fact that the party would unite not only proletarians of Russian or Slavic descent but also all peoples inhabiting Russia. The official name became "Russian social democratic labor party", the term used until 1918, and the motto was thereafter to be that of Marx and Engels: "Proletarians of all countries, unite."

The next problem was to set up a central authority. It was at once decided that the party congress should be the central organ, but that a "central committee" should be formed to carry on the work between congresses. Because of opposition to an all-powerful central organization, however, this committee was given only limited powers. Its immediate purpose was to direct the revolutionary movement throughout Russia, but it remained for the local committees to carry out the decisions of the central body as they saw fit. Those committees were to be guided by the party programme; otherwise they were to be quite independent. In particular the "bund" asserted its autonomous rights and agreed to enter the party only as an autonomous unit.

The central committee elected at the congress at Minsk

consisted of three members, the president being Heidelmann. It was destined, however, not to be of great importance, for immediately after the congress arrests of revolutionists began. Two of the members of the central committee fell into the hands of the tsarist police. The party structure could not begin to function until another congress was called.

Upon his return from his exile in Siberia Lenin began to negotiate with a group led by Plekhanov. The plan was to have a newspaper around which the party organization would revolve. In 1900 appeared the first number of a party paper called *Iskra*. This paper, organized and directed by Lenin, was the defender of revolutionary Marxism; it demanded the overthrow of despotism and its replacement by a democratic republic, the eight-hour day, and the revolutionary solution of the agrarian problem. It was also the means through which the party was organized. Under the leadership of Lenin a plan for a centralized control by "professional revolutionaries" was effected. Organizations directed by *Iskra* spread throughout Russia; this paper was the source from which the ideas of local leaders were derived.

After this preparation a second congress of the party met at Brussels and then at London from July 30 to August 23, 1903. There were present forty-four delegates, among whom there were only four 'workers'. The question of a party platform or programme now came up. One project favoring a politically militant party was proposed by Lenin. Lenin wanted the programme aimed definitely at a struggle with Russian capitalism. He was then proposing a class struggle; the unification of the so-called proletariat, which, in his mind, meant the industrial workers.

The programme for the party adopted at this session covered fourteen separate points. Among these were the principles of self-determination for all peoples, separation of the church from the state and the school from the church, the

eight-hour day, and a legislative organ composed of representatives of the people. The various social, political, and economic reforms now demanded were repeated in great part in all later party meetings. For the first time the doctrine that "the necessary condition of the social revolution is the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, the gaining by the latter of such political authority as would permit it to suppress any opposition by the exploiters",[2] was expressed.

In elaborating the programme wide differences of opinion arose among the editors of the *Iskra*.[3] Both Lenin and Plekhanov [4] prepared drafts for submission to the editors. Lenin emphasized the doctrine maintained in the communist manifesto that only the proletariat is really revolutionary, whilst the peasantry was an uncertain and passive ally. Plekhanov designated the struggle for socialism as a struggle of "the whole mass of workers and exploited". He apparently did not believe in the necessity of proletarian dictatorship.

A break between the two groups in the congress was reached when the organization of the party was discussed. Lenin demanded strict centralization in the party committees, a direction by the most active functionaries of the party, and the confirmation of the lower committees by the central party organs. This group formed the majority (*bolshinstvo*) at the congress and its members were designated thereafter as the bolsheviks. The group opposed to centralization and in favor of admitting the intelligentsia and

[2] Quoted by N. N. Popov, *Ocherk istorii vsesoiuznoi kommunicheskoi partii* (third edition), 69.

[3] See the summary of the work of the second congress prepared by the institute for party history of the central committee of the communist party of the Soviet Union in 8 *International Press Correspondence* (Vienna), August 2, 1928, 764 and following.

[4] Plekhanov (1850-1918) was the founder of Marxian socialism in Russia. He opposed the anti-war policy of the bolsheviks after 1914 and bitterly attacked the new rulers of Russia following the revolution in November 1917.

in general what the bolsheviks regarded as petty and middle bourgeois elements were thereafter known as the mensheviks. The leader of the former was Lenin, with whom Plekhanov compromised at the time; the latter included Martov and Axelrod.

After the second congress of the party the principle of a centralized party mechanism, of which the central committee was to be the directing centre, was steadily furthered. The central structure, composed of the central organ (the editors of *Iskra*), the central committee, and the party soviet, was complicated, vague, and quite different from the organization which later developed.[5] The second congress had, however, served its purpose. Its importance "lies above all in the fact that it completed the task already commenced by the *Iskra* for the formation of a centralized labor party and laid the foundation stone for the building up of bolshevism 'as a trend of political thought and as a political party'." [6] Bolshevik doctrines and activities were to be devoted to a realization of the original manifesto proclaimed at the first congress at Minsk, namely: "On its strong shoulders the Russian working class must carry out the conquest of political freedom. This is the necessary, though only the first, step toward the practical accomplishment of the great historical mission of the proletariat: the creation of a social order in which there shall be no place for the exploitation of man by man. The Russian proletariat will cast aside the yoke of autocracy in order to continue with still greater energy the struggle with capitalism and the bourgeoisie until the complete victory of socialism."

The revolutionary movement in Russia faced its first real test at the beginning of 1905. Weakened by defeat at the hands of Japan, the tsarist government was then in no

[5] The editorial staff of *Iskra* was the real source of authority, though this paper was not published in Russia but in Switzerland. The party soviet, composed of five members, was a kind of arbitrator in the party system.

[6] See footnote 3 above.

position to forestall strikes and other disorders. The beginning of trouble came with the shooting down of workers, who had assembled before the Tsar's winter palace.

The bolsheviks were in favor of an armed uprising which would lead to a complete overthrown of the government, it being reasoned correctly that the massacre which occurred on the "bloody Sunday", January 9, 1905, would result in a strong feeling against the existing régime. The mensheviks, however, held that an armed revolt could not be successful, that the masses would have to be prepared by propaganda before such a step could be undertaken. Again the two factions in the party drew far apart.

At a congress of the party which met in London on April 25, 1905, the bolsheviks were in control. There they formulated their future programme. The party structure was entirely changed. No longer were there to be three central institutions; instead there should be only one real source of power, the central committee, which would be supreme in the interim between the yearly congresses. The congress was to elect the central committee, which was now composed of well known revolutionists: Lenin, Rykov, Krassin (Vinter), Bogdanov, and Postalovskii.

The discussions at the congress preassumed the expected overthrow of the tsarist régime. Whether the bolsheviks should participate in the provisional government which would be formed in that event was the question then in theory as it was to be twelve years later in practice.

Unsupported by the peasants and the army, the revolts of 1905 failed. A period of reaction set in, bringing with it the arrest and exile of many of the revolutionary leaders. From that time, in fact, plans for a revolution in Russia had to be directed from abroad. How the old leaders usually managed to escape their prison sentences, how they secured funds to travel about and participate in congresses in Stockholm, Paris, Prague, Bern, and other cities, and how they managed to keep alive a central organization, all

remains a mystery which can not be solved by published documents.[7] It is possible to note only that congresses were held, that revolutionary tactics and programmes were completed, and that plans were laid for the destruction of Russia whenever an opportune moment should come.

Throughout the later congresses the split between the two factions remained. After 1910 the bolsheviks and mensheviks were rarely represented at the same meeting. Lenin became the acknowledged leader of the bolsheviks. With him on the central committee elected in 1912 was this extraordinary combination of nationalities which was later to be prominent among those who were to take over the control of Russia: Zinov'ev (Jew), Ordzhonikidze (Georgian), Shwarzmann (Jew), Spandar'ian (Armenian), and later as members Stalin (Georgian) and Belostol'skii (Jew).

When the world war broke out, the old revolutionary leaders went principally to Switzerland. There they carried on a campaign against the war, which they hoped to turn into a class struggle or civil war.[8] Under wartime conditions, however, a well-organized revolutionary movement was difficult to effect. This fact was brought out in Russia upon the outbreak of the March revolution, when, with the assistance of the German general staff, Lenin and others had to begin their organization from the ground up. Even the membership of the revolutionary party had shrunk to almost nothing. In 1905 the party had counted three million adherents, in 1906 one million, in 1907 three-quarters of a million, in 1908 only 174,000, and in 1910 just 46,000. In April 1917, a congress of the party claimed to represent 76,000 organized workers.[9] It would be idle to fancy that this minute body was in any real sense representative of the 'proletariat' or that it could become seven months later a welcome ruler over millions of people.

[7] Here, too, is a reason to infer that there is a higher authority which facilitates the progress of subversive movements. See page 26.

[8] See page 757 mentioning the conference at Zimmerwald.

[9] Popov, as cited, 154. See page 674.

In the account of the transition from tsarism to bolshevism the programme of the Petrograd soviet and its relation to the provisional government were traced. The policy of the bolsheviks in favor of the confiscation of land, the nationalization of industry, immediate peace, and in general a complete break with everything representative of the existing order need not be repeated. When the "second stage of revolution" [10] was completed, and when this programme was put into effect as from November 7, 1917, the old revolutionary leaders became the new rulers of Russia. Thus the political theories of the party, like those of the new government, had to be codified through practice.

The new party had no relation to the old Russian social democratic labor party. The change which had occurred was pointed out by Lenin at the Petrograd conference of the party on May 10, 1917, shortly after his arrival in Russia from the sealed German railway car. He then said: "As to the new name of the party, the word 'social-democrat' is incorrect, is scientifically improper. Marx and Engels have more than once pointed this out. It they 'tolerated' this word, it is because the situation after the year 1871 was a rather peculiar one; there was required a gradual preparation of the masses of the people; revolutions were not on the order of the day. Democracy is also a form of state, and even the Paris commune had advanced to a higher plane. And now the entire world is placed before a practical question—the transition to socialism. The social-democrat Plekhanov as well as other social-chauvinists all over the world have betrayed socialism. We must call ourselves the 'communist party'." [11] At the eighth congress of the party in 1919 it was definitely decreed that thereafter the name "Russian communist party (of bolsheviks)" should be used.

[10] Letter of Lenin to the workers at the beginning of the March revolution, cited by Popov, 195.

[11] The text is given in 8 *Speeches of V. I. Lenin* (New York 1928), 26.

Possibly the first detailed exposition of the communist programme given after soviet power was established was that of Bukharin, long a party leader. In his "programme of the communists",[12] dated May 1918, he summed up both the theories and practices of communism. The essential thesis, of course, was the curse of capitalism, where "a small group of people—landowners, manufacturers, and the richest bankers—hold millions and hundreds of millions of town workers and poorer peasantry in slavery and bondage". Opposed to such control under the soviets was the dictatorship of the proletariat. By this term, according to Bukharin, it is meant that:

> The party of the communists not only allows no freedom (such as liberty of the press, speech, meetings, unions, etc.) for the bourgeois enemies of the people, but goes still further, and demands of the government to be always ready to close the bourgeois press, to break up gatherings of the enemies of the people, to forbid their lying and libelling, and sowing panic; the party must mercilessly suppress all attempts of the bourgeoisie to return to power. And this is what is meant by a dictatorship of the proletariat.[13]

Another distinction between a bourgeois régime and rule by the proletariat as conceived by the communists may be illustrated by their attitude toward governmental machinery. In the early revolutionary days, until the meeting of the third congress of soviets in January 1918, the question of a constituent assembly faced the bolsheviks. When that body did meet, the soviets dissolved it and declared their third congress of soviets the real authority. The difference between a congress of soviets and the constituent assembly has been summarized thus by Bukharin in the above-mentioned programme:

"The constituent assembly differs from the congress of soviets inasmuch as into the former are elected not only

[12] See edition "published by the group of English speaking communists in Russia, 1919."

[13] *Ibid.*

the laborers, but also the bourgeoisie and all their hangers-on. It consequently differs from the congress of soviets in the fact that in the constituent assembly may sit not only workers and peasants but also bankers, landowners, and capitalists; not only the labor party (the communists), not only the left wing of the socialist revolutionaries, and even not only the socialist traitors such as the right wing of the socialist revolutionaries, but also the constitutional democrats. . . ." [14] In other words the one body would represent the entire country, while the soviet system demands only the representation of a certain group or class.

Such is one phase of the dictatorship of the proletariat. A study of the numerous party congresses and conferences, together with the small central organs of authority, would show in detail just how the principles of the new order were carried out. A survey of this nature, however, is hardly necessary, for the entire account given of the soviet administration represents little more than an account of the work and decisions of the communist party.

When the USSR was formed in 1923 the name of the party was changed from 'all-Russian' to 'all-Union communist party'. Shortly before the formation of the Union, in April 1923 at the twelfth congress of the party a detailed programme was formulated.[15] This programme remains that of the present all-Union communist party.

The programme opens with the usual platitudes on the difference between a rule by communists and the bourgeois, capitalistic state. It proclaims the intention of the party to guarantee a "higher type of democracy", a high degree of local and regional self-government. Definite tasks are enumerated for the party. The 'exploiters' must be sup-

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Programma i ustav VKP* (*b*) (4th ed., Moscow 1927). The numbering of the party congresses varies. The source cited, for example, gives this meeting as the eighth congress of the Russian communist party, that is, it is the eighth congress since the adoption of the name Russian communist party instead of the name Russian social democratic workers' party.

pressed, the party must take into its membership a greater number of laborers, ideological and cultural work must be carried out, bureaucracy and paper work must be attacked, and the nationalities must be appeased. In general, it may be said that this programme represented a restatement of the theory of communism, while the organization of the party as perfected two years later symbolized realities.

The statute on the organization of the party adopted at the fourteenth congress held in December 1925 is as important as the programme of 1923. This document is given in full in the appendix but is likewise discussed here.

It opens with a statement concerning the party membership. "Every one who subscribes to the party programme, works in one of its organizations, submits to party decisions and pays membership dues is considered a party member." Before becoming members, it is necessary to undergo a period of probation and to pass a "course in political grammar".

When the communist party emerged from its occult working in 1917, about two-thirds of its members were workmen, nearly one-third were from the intelligentsia and salaried workers, and only 7.6 per cent. were peasants.[16] At this early date resolutions of central and local party congresses favored a regulation of membership according to social class. Until the introduction of the new economic policy in 1921, the number of peasants brought into the party rapidly increased, while the number of factory and industrial workers decreased. After that time the number of workmen again increased until by 1926 the percentage was as great as at the beginning of the revolution. The number of peasants fell ten per cent. below the membership of 1921. Likewise, following the resolutions of the twelfth party congress in 1923 on the

[16] A survey of the composition of the party for the period 1905-1928 is given in *The communist international between the fifth and the sixth world congresses* (London 1928), 402-507.

purging of the party, following the decisions of the thirteenth party congress in 1924 that the party should be composed of workers from the factories to the extent of at least half of the total membership, and when admission to the party was limited in 1925 to 'proletarian' elements, the social structure of the party underwent numerous changes. It was reported to the fifteenth congress of the party in November 1927 that the percentage of manual workers had fallen from 58.1 to 56.3 per cent., the number of peasants from 24 to 22 per cent., while the number of employees had risen from 17.3 to 21.4 per cent.[17] About 45 per cent. of the total number of communists are in the comparatively small number of industrial centers, while the proportion of the population in these areas is only 22 per cent. of the total population of the USSR. Of the total number of members and candidates 73.2 per cent. are to be found in towns and only 26.8 per cent. in the villages. In 1927 there were 319 communists to every 10,000 of the urban population, while for the same number of the rural population there were only 25 communists.[18]

In January 1925, there were in all 741,117 members and candidates in the party. For the corresponding period in 1926 the number stood at 1,078,185; and it was reported to the fifteenth party congress in November 1927 that the membership then totalled 1,200,000. Out of a total population of 147 million people, it is obvious that the party membership is relatively insignificant. Among the adult population it is estimated that 1.35 per cent. of the population is communist.[19] There are, in brief, sufficient party members to monopolize the administrative positions and to 'control' all economic activity, but no more.

After covering membership in the party, the constitution of the party sets forth the organizational structure. "The

[17] *Report of the XV congress of the communist party of the Soviet Union* (London 1928), 97.

[18] *The Communist International,* as cited, 499.

[19] *VKP (b) stroitel'stvo,* as cited.

directive principle of the organizational structure of the party is democratic centralization . . . according to territorial authority. The organization serving any given region is considered supreme in relation to all organizations serving but a part of that region."

Theoretically, the supreme organ of the communist party is the all-Union congress or conference. Its relation to the general party structure is exactly that of the congress of soviets in the constitutional soviet structure. It is, therefore, no more than a glorified assembly which approves reports prepared in advance by an inner group which directs the permanent party organs. The same is true of the party congresses, conferences, or general meetings of all administrative regional areas. There the congress is further limited not only by the fact that it can only approve what the local leaders decree, but also because it must submit to the supervision of representatives of the central committee of the party at Moscow.[20]

Like the central executive committee provided for in the soviet constitutions, the party constitution provides that in the interim between congresses a central committee, elected by the congress, shall be supreme. As elected in December 1927, this committee was composed of seventy-one members and fifty candidates. Because of its size the central committee automatically does not conform to the principle of "democratic centralization". So it is further centralized in the form of two subcommittees for organizational and political activity, called respectively the organization bureau [org-bureau] and the political bureau [polit-bureau]. Then for current work of "organization and execution" a secretariat of the central committee is

[20] A statement made at the second plenum, eleventh meeting, of the regional committee of the Tatar republic, in 1926 is typical. Speaking of his defence of the candidacy of Sokol'nikov, at a party meeting a local member stated: "Sokol'nikov was here as the official representative of the party [from Moscow], and therefore I did not dare oppose. . . ." *2 plenum oblastnogo komiteta VKP (b), stenograficheskii otchet* (Kazan', Krasnaia Tatariia, 1926), 89.

formed. By a means of interlocking personnel these three organs are in turn centralized, as is shown later in the recurrence of the same names in the different positions.

The org-bureau, composed at present of thirteen members and eight alternates, as its name implies, is concerned with the general organization of the party. Though it is inferior to the polit-bureau, it is with the org-bureau that the average communist is most concerned. It is the body which formulates the conditions of membership in the party; it carries out the widespread work of propaganda in the localities; it promotes or demotes party members at will. Only when a serious conflict arises within the party does it give way to the polit-bureau, on which its most important members likewise sit.

The polit-bureau as formed at the eighth congress of the party in 1919 included five members, among whom were Lenin, Trotskii, Zinov'ev, and Kamenev, and was increased to seven in 1920. This group assumed the real direction of affairs in the place of the old central committee of fifteen members. So wide was its jurisdiction, in fact, that Lenin could state at the ninth party congress a year later that in the interim "all questions of domestic and foreign policy were settled by the polit-bureau".[21] The extent to which this centralized direction still prevails is shown later.[22]

Another central party institution is the central revision committee, composed of members of at least ten years' party standing. It checks up the handling of matters in the central party organs and the proper organization of the secretariat of the central committee. Furthermore, it supervises the treasury and undertakings of the central committee.[23]

[21] Stenographic report, 90.

[22] Pages 717-719. As elected at the party congress in December 1927, the polit-bureau consisted of nine members and eight alternates; the org-bureau of thirteen members and seven alternates; and the secretariat of five members and three alternates.

[23] See document I, art. 30, this chapter.

Finally, among the central party organs is the central control commission (TsKK). The party regulations of 1923 outlined the duties of this organ. Established in order "to secure for the party not only theoretical but also actual supervision over the state and economic organs", the central control commission was charged with effecting a closer contact between the directing organs of the state and the party. This was to be accomplished through the intermediary of the people's commissariat for workmen's and peasants' inspection, which is possibly the most powerful *official* organ in the *soviet* administration outside of the OGPU. The duties of this body were not new. A preceding body can be traced back to the office of state controller established in 1892. When the revolution began in March 1917, the principle of control remained the same. Then under the bolsheviks after November 1917 the belief of Lenin that effective control is the most essential requisite for the proper functioning of the first phase of the communist society [24] was embodied in legislation.

The decree of January 23, 1918, providing for commissions of control and that of March 8th of the same year placing control collegia (elected by the soviet) at the head of the control apparatus form the immediate background to the late powers exercised by the people's commissariat for workmen's and peasants' inspection. On the basis of these decrees and that of the central executive committee on April 9, 1919, on the institution called the state control commission, active supervision and control over the army, ways of communication, finance, industry, and the like were undertaken. Then, on February 7, 1920, the people's commissariat for workmen's and peasants' inspection came into existence. Its task was to "see that the decisions of the government and the party are always carried out".[25]

[24] *Piat let vlasti sovetov,* 544.

[25] Report by Ordzhonikidze to the fifteenth party congress in December 1927, as cited, 184. The importance of the work of this commissariat is apparent when it is observed that there are 3,722,000 people working in

Three main principles were outlined for carrying out its programme. First was the transferring of representatives from the workmen's organizations directly to the workmen's and peasants' inspection as members thereof; the second was that this body itself could invite representatives of such organizations to participate in certain cases in its work; and the third provided for the organization, either upon the initiation of the workmen's and peasants' inspection or local workers, of cells in the factories, industrial settlements, villages, etc., which would promote the idea of the workmen's and peasants' control.

The commissariat for workmen's and peasants' inspection did not succumb to existing difficulties. On the contrary, it succeeded in gaining all the powers it sought, the most important of which, as noticed, was participation in legislation and interference with the life of the administrative machinery of the soviets. The abolition of the people's food commission in 1920 may be mentioned as an illustration of the power it acquired. The same increase of authority may be found also in other fields, such as agriculture, national economy, particularly in economic policy and finance, trade, industry, and transport, army and navy, and education.

During the first few years of its existence the people's commissariat for workmen's and peasants' inspection undertook widespread punishment of offenders against the new order. The situation confronting the commissariat and the party has been summarized as follows: "We had no cultural and technical forces of our own. Which of us was then able to manage a factory? Which of us was then able to administer the country? Ninety-nine per cent. of our comrades did not learn to manage the state. We were therefore compelled, the day after the revolution, to

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the state apparatus, of which about 2,000,000 are in the administrative and managing section. The upkeep of this apparatus costs the country about 2,000,000,000 rubles a year. *Ibid.*

employ the technical and cultural forces of our opposing classes—the forces of the old officialdom, the old bureaucracy. They, those bureaucrats, in coming to us also brought with them their manners. They were opposed to the soviet government and openly sabotaged. This old officialdom tried to build the soviet apparatus after the image of the old tsarist apparatus." [26] This situation is in great part explanatory of the fact that for the years 1920 to 1921 the commissariat for workmen's and peasants' inspection discovered 5662 offences committed in connection with official duties, 18,886 cases of abuses while in office; while 4478 officials were accused and brought to trial, 1048 simply discharged, and 3807 suffered various degrees of punishment.[27]

When the twelfth congress of the party met in 1923, Lenin proposed the enlargement of the commission of the party for central control and its fusion with the people's commissariat for workmen's and peasants' inspection; and he also proposed that it should undertake to improve the machinery of state and maintain a constant party-soviet control. The party accepted the proposal and elected fifty members to the commission for central control. The interrelationship between a constitutionally provided soviet organ and a party organ, as well as the duty of the central control commission, is explained clearly in the resolution of 1923 adopted by the party. An excerpt follows:

"The chief duty of the central control commission shall be to cultivate a party tendency in all soviet organs. . . . The presidium of the commission is elected at the plenary session thereof and is composed of nine comrades of high

[26] Statement by Ordzhonikidze in *Report of the XV congress of the communist party of the Soviet Union*, 182-183. Trotskii, in a series of articles written in 1929 and cited below, states that "the method of selecting personnel [under Stalin] descended to a still lower degree. It now became impossible to obtain employment as factory manager, secretary of a shop committee, president of a rural commune, bookkeeper or typist without giving some sign of antipathy to Trotskii."

[27] *Piat let vlasti sovetov*, 556.

standing, *i.e.*, of workers of the central committee. The people's commissar for workmen's and peasants' inspection is appointed by the central committee of the party, and, if possible, from amongst the members of the presidium of the central control commission. Simultaneously, some members of the presidium of the central control commission enter into the composition of the collegium of the people's commissariats. At least one-half of the remaining members of the central control commission are appointed to work in the workmen's and peasants' inspection and, in carrying out the soviet orders, are under the supervision of the collegium of the workmen's and peasants' inspection in conformity with the directions, instructions, and statutes concerning the coördination of work as provided for in special provisions worked out jointly by the presidium of the central control commission and the collegium of the people's commissariat, subject to ratification by the central committee of the party.

"Plenary sessions of the central control commission are held every two months, immediately before the plenary sessions of the central committee. The central committee of the party sends its delegates to the plenary sessions with the right of advisory vote. . . .

"All fundamental questions relating to the work of the commissariat for workmen's and peasants' inspection and to the improvement of the machinery of state, as well as the chief practical measures and the placing of members of the central control commission for work in the commissariat, shall be discussed at the permanent joint sessions of the presidium of the central control commission and of the collegium of the workmen's and peasants' inspection, sessions of which are convoked at least twice a month."

The decree of the central executive committee of the USSR dated November 12, 1923,[28] is the final instrument formulating the status, duties, and prerogatives of the

[28] See document VII, chapter IX.

people's commissariat for workmen's and peasants' inspection. The rights of the commissariat are increased under this decree. The right to demand from all state institutions of the USSR all necessary materials, reports, and information; the right to demand the dismissal of the officials who are found to be unfit for their positions, as well as of those accused of crimes; the right to demand disciplinary punishment and the rationalization of the administrative apparatus if deemed necessary; the right to abolish unnecessary institutions; the right to convoke conferences and congresses for discussion of educational, industrial, and technical (in the sense of state administration) problems; the right of participation in the conferences convoked by supreme central authority, as well as in the sessions of the soviet of people's commissars, executive committees or their presidia; and, finally, the right to suspend the orders and activity of the officials of the institution under examination, —such are, in brief, the most vital prerogatives of the commissariat for workmen's and peasants' inspection.

The description given of the all-Union party congress, of the central committee and its subdivisions, of the central control commission, and of the powerful workmen's and peasants' inspection, which is a soviet organ, shows the working of the central organs of the party. The similarity to the soviet system as outlined in preceding chapters is apparent. Similarly, on a descending scale, the structure of the party and soviet mechanism follow closely the same territorial divisions and range of competence.[29] In the various union republics, provinces, circuits, districts, villages, and down to the factory, workshop, or tiny hamlet, the usual system of general conferences or meetings with a permanent executive body is to be found. Directed from

[29] In a chart published by the Communist University, for example, the soviet of workers' deputies of 1917 is placed directly under the April conference of the communist party. The eighth congress of the party in 1919 is connected directly with the fourth congress of soviets of the RSFSR. *Skhema razvitiia revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v Rossii 1865-1925.*

Moscow, the smallest group in almost unknown parts of Russia is taught the same doctrines as is the laborer in the larger cities. The processions, brass bands, and speeches by 'intelligent' communists are to be found as well in a Kirgiz aul as on the former Nevskii Prospekt of Petrograd. It is as natural, therefore, that the fifteenth Astrakhan provincial party conference should send "its militant greetings to the general staff of world revolution, the communist international" [30] as it is that the communist international should greet its cohorts throughout the world.

The general relation between the party and the soviet has been so close that it has been difficult to distinguish between them. At the eleventh party congress, in March and April 1922, a resolution in favor of a greater distinction between the two was passed. "While retaining the general direction and supervision over the entire policy of the soviet state", ran this resolution, "the party must effect a much clearer delimitation between its current work and the work of the soviet organs, between its apparatus and that of the soviets. A similar systematically carried out delimitation must secure a better planned examination and settlement of economic questions by the soviet organs, increasing simultaneously the responsibility of every soviet worker in the fulfilment of his duties, and it must permit the party to concentrate sufficiently on the fundamental party work of the general direction of the work of all state organs concerning the education and the organization of the working masses." [31]

At the twelfth congress of the party, held in April 1923, the question of the relation of party to state apparatus was again discussed. The problem had been raised by Lenin in connection with the reorganization of the workmen's and peasants' inspection and the central control

[30] *Material rabot XV Astrakhanskoi gubernskoi partiinoi konferentsii, 27-31 dekabria 1926 goda*, (Astrakhan Gubkom VKP (b), 1927), 6.

[31] *Vsesoiuznaia kommunisticheskaia partiia*, 386.

commission of the party. Lenin was then beginning the campaign against bureaucracy and paper work. To combat the evils resulting therefrom, it was agreed that the party should supervise the governmental or soviet apparatus and not permit its separation from the party or the loosening of control by the party. This was the decision of the party in response to a resolution which had been introduced at the eleventh congress providing for a separation of the party from the constitutionally provided organs. In the meantime the polit-bureau had decided that a close union must exist. Zinov'ev declared that the dictatorship was that of the party, that the soviet apparatus was the fifth wheel. Furthermore, at this congress, in speaking of the party organs, he declared that "the central committee of the party is in fact not only the central committee of the party but also of the soviets, of the trade unions, of the coöperatives, and of the entire workers' class. Therein lies its principal rôle; therein the dictatorship of the party is expressed." [32] Similarly, at the fifteenth party congress in December 1927 Stalin spoke of the party as the "helm of the government".[33]

The control of the trade unions by the party deserves special mention. The existence of this control has caused bitter opposition to the bolsheviks by trade union leaders in other countries.[34] From the time of the first all-Russian congress of trade unions held at Petrograd in January 1918 the trade unions have been directed by the communist party.[35] The views of the union leaders are the views of the party leaders. The relationship has been expressed

[32] Stenographic report, 207. Still the party does not pretend to represent more than one-tenth of Russian labor. See stenographic report of the thirteenth party congress, 123.

[33] *Report of the XV congress of the communist party of the Soviet Union* (London 1928), 59.

[34] See O. Piatnitsky, *The organization of a world party* (London 1928), Ch. V, "Communist work in the trade unions".

[35] A convenient reference is R. W. Dunn, *Soviet trade unions* (New York 1928)

best by Tomskii, the president of the trade unions, when, at the seventh congress of the trade unions of the USSR in 1925, he said: "We do not conceal from any one that the trade union movement has been directed, is directed, and will continue to be directed by the all-Union communist party, the party of the working class. This direction is effected in a centralized manner." [36] The same applies to the coöperatives, over which the trade unions, and thus the party, exercise a very close supervision.

In mentioning the control of the communist party over the soviet apparatus and over the trade unions, it should be borne in mind, of course, that analogous conditions may exist in other countries. The interview given by Stalin to the first American trade union delegation to Soviet Russia in September 9, 1927, is suggestive. Stalin said:

"In capitalist countries they have a rather curious conception of control. I know that a number of capitalist governments are controlled by big banks, notwithstanding

[36] *Pravda* (Moscow), December 8, 1925. In his book entitled *Lenin*, Stalin states that the fundamental task of the communist parties in capitalistic countries "is the creation of intimate ties between the communist parties and the trade unions; the development of the campaign for unity among the trade unions, and the successful termination of that campaign; the insistence that every communist shall belong to an appropriate trade union; the systematic propaganda among trade unionists in favor of forming a united front against capitalism. These activities will create the conditions which will make it safe for the communist parties to rely upon the support of the trade unionists." 229-235.

The trade unions at present have a membership of a little under ten million. Congresses are held every two years. There are twenty-eight trade union members and alternates on the central executive committee of the USSR and seven on the presidium thereof. Trade union members in the small towns frequently complain about their wages, vacations, and the like, saying that the union is more solicitous of the desires and welfare of the party than of the members of the union. The criticism is undoubtedly unwarranted in many cases. On the other hand, so far as bad economic and financial conditions have permitted, the Russian workmen have received unusual treatment, at least for Russia. On the basis of relative standards of living a trade union in Russia would not permit exploitation of labor such as is practised by the large and wealthy American banks.

the existence of 'democratic' parliaments. The parliaments assert that they alone control the government. As a matter of fact, the composition of the governments is predetermined, and their actions are controlled by great financial consortiums. Who does not know that there is not a single capitalist 'power' in which the cabinet can be formed in opposition to the will of the big financial magnates? . . . If such control is meant, then I must declare that control of the government by money-bags is inconceivable and absolutely excluded in the USSR, if only for the reason that the banks have been long ago nationalized and the money-bags have been ousted. If the delegation did not mean control, but the guidance exercised by the party in relation to the government, then my reply is: Yes, our party does guide the government." [37]

Stalin went on to give three ways in which the guidance of the government by the communist party is effected. First of all the "communist party strives, through the soviets and their congresses, to secure the election to the principal posts in the government of its own candidates. . . . This it succeeds in doing in the overwhelming majority of cases because the workers and peasants have confidence in the party. . . . Second, the party supervises the work of the administration, the work of the organs of power. . . . Not a single important decision is taken by them without the direction of the party. Third, when the plan of work is being drawn up by the various government organs, in industry or agriculture, in trade or in cultural work, the party gives general leading instructions defining the character and direction of the work of these organs in the course of carrying out these plans." [38]

The dominant rôle of the party in the soviet structure may be illustrated by reference to particular pieces of

[37] *Questions and answers to American trade unionists* (New York, Workers Library Publishers, 1927), 21.

[38] *Ibid.*, 21.

legislation. The special commissions appointed by the polit-bureau of the party, in fact, are perhaps the source of most laws promulgated by the central executive committee of the soviet organs.

The financial policy of Soviet Russia was first studied by the polit-bureau and then outlined at the eighth party congress in March 1919. In the words of a party organ, that congress "clearly and concretely stated our financial problems for the transition period, and now our task consists in seeing to it that the work of the financial organs of the republic should be in accord with the principles accepted by the party. These principles, briefly, are as follows: (1) state monopoly of the banking institutions; (2) radical reconstruction and simplification of the banking operations . . .; (3) the enactment of measures widening the sphere of accounting without the medium of money, with the final object of total elimination of money . . .; and (4) the transformation of the pre-revolutionary state budget into the budget of the economic life of the nation as a whole." [39]

A legislative commission of the polit-bureau prepared the directions issued by the soviet of people's commissars on the practical application of the new economic policy in 1921.[40] Then Lenin secured the approval of his policy by the communist international. The next step was to have the policy carried out by the soviet organs. A bill drafted by a commission of the polit-bureau in 1927 provided that soviet law and the agrarian codes of the autonomous republics should support those forms of exploitation of the land which develop "ideas of coöperation and collectivism". The proletarian and semi-proletarian elements in the country would have a deliberate voice in the agrarian commune. "*The assemblies of farmers should deprive of their vote the persons excluded from the electoral lists for the elections*

[39] Article in *Ekonomicheskaia Zhisn* (Moscow), November 7, 1919.
[40] See the *Izvestiia* (Moscow), August 11, 1921.

of the soviets." [41] Thus class war is to be carried to the country.

Another illustration of party legislation arose in the case of the land laws. Until 1927 such laws in the Soviet Union were passed by the different union republics, though according to the constitution the fundamental principles of the exploitation of the land are to be within the legislative power of the Union.

Already in 1925 the central party authorities began to consider federal land legislation. They asked first the communist university in Moscow to examine the question. On the basis of the work of this body, the central committee of the communist party adopted the general principles to be applied in the elaboration of a new law. This committee decided that neither the soviet land law nor the agrarian laws of the autonomous republics forming the Union should contain anything directly or indirectly contrary to the principle of the nationalization of land. Finally, the rights of the Union and its republics in agrarian questions should be limited in the following manner: besides the right to apply fundamental principles of the exploitation of the land, the USSR has the right: (1) to dispose of all lands necessary to the institutions or enterprises of general importance; (2) to make transfers to the soviet colonization fund or to the concessions funds; (3) to control the acts of the autonomous republics which have these transfers in view. For the remainder, the disposal of all lands belongs to the republics forming the Union.[42]

The example shows not only the extent of party control over legislation: it shows also how the principles of centralization which characterize the party structure are being applied to the administrative organization of the country.

Until the spring of 1928 the exact nature of the discussions of the polit-bureau was subject only to conjecture.

[41] See *La vie economique des soviets* (Paris), December 5, 1927, 21.
[42] *Ibid.*, 21.

Not only did this body fail to publish its minutes but also even its agenda was not made public. On April 12, 1928, however, there appeared for the first time an outline of the plan of work of the polit-bureau and the plenum of the central committee of the party.[43] This plan was declared to have been 'confirmed' by the central committee and the central control commission on April 11, 1928. The text is given below. It shows the diversity of the problems taken up by the polit-bureau. When it is realized that in all these matters it is the polit-bureau that has real power and which manifests its will in the form of actual legislation which theoretically emanates from the paraphernalia of soviets, the significance of the plan is evident.

The text of the plan of work is as follows:

1. April. Crop movement.
2. April. Programme of the communist international.
3. May. Improvement of higher and middle technical educational institutions with a view to the training and use of 'red' specialists and economic workers.
4. May. Radio and cinema betterments.
5. May. Universal obligatory primary education.
6. June. State and financial condition of the railways.
7. June. Position and betterment of 'construction'.
8. June. Seven-hour-work-day.
9. July. Reorganization of the people's commissariat for trade of the USSR.
10. July. Rationalization of industry.
11. August. National defence.
12. August. Collective and soviet estates.
13. September. Control figures of people's economy for 1928-29.
14. September. Industrial and financial plan for 1928-29.
15. September. Execution of export and import and foreign exchange plans for 1927-28, and plans for 1928-29.
16. October. Execution of the 1927-28 budget, and the budget plan for 1928-29.
17. October. Results of bank mergers, and reorganization of the state bank.

[43] *Izvestiia* (Moscow), April 12, 1928.

18. October. Political and economic work in the Ukraine.
19. November. Struggle with bureaucratism in the state and economic machine.
20. November. The five-year economic plan.

Since the polit-bureau is the real source of legislation, naturally it has the power to annul the decisions of the constitutional or soviet organs of authority. As Sapronov stated at the ninth congress of the party in March 1920, "no one denies the right of the central committee of the party to rescind a decision of the central executive committee of the soviets, for the higher organ is the party, and the [communist] fraction [in the soviet] is subject to the party." [44] That is, the communist members of the soviet organs must take their instructions from the party, which in practice works through first the polit-bureau and then the central committee.

Including as it does at present nine members who at the same time occupy key positions in the communist international and/or in the soviet organs or the constitutional structure, the polit-bureau dominates every phase of soviet life. An isolated indication of its leading rôle in the party was given by a member of the party in the debates before the central committee of the party at the end of October 1927. The central committee had published its theses, as well as those of the opposition. A member of the opposition complained that "the theses have been distributed to us, *members of the central committee,* only a few hours before the plenary meeting of the central committee." He then added: "To undertake a serious discussion of these theses . . . it is necessary to give more time to them than has been given by will of the *polit-bureau.*" [45]

[44] Stenographic report, 120.

[45] An example of the control which the polit-bureau exercises over its members was given in 1927 in the case of Ioffe. Before taking his life in Moscow on November 17, 1927, he wrote a letter to Trotskii. Ioffe relates that various Anglo-American publishing houses had offered him a sum of $20,000 for his memoirs to include the period of peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk. "Some years ago," wrote Ioffe, "I asked the polit-bureau

Similarly an illustrative example of its rôle in the soviet structure occurred in the case of the recall of Rakovskii as ambassador at Paris in 1927. When the French government then demanded the recall of Rakovskii, it was not the central executive committee of the USSR, which is supposed to have competence in foreign relations, that decided the matter, but the polit-bureau acting through the central committee of the party. Thus in speaking of the recall before the tenth congress of the communist party in the Ukraine on November 20, 1927, Rykov, president of the soviet of people's commissars of the Union, stated: "The central committee of the party, in deciding this question, considered that it was indispensable to assure . . . the maintenance of diplomatic and commercial relations between the USSR and France." [46] Even if the statement were correct that the central committee decided the matter and not the polit-bureau, as was the case, the action of the central committee as a whole being only a sort of post mortem, it would still remain of interest to observe that it was not a constitutionally provided organ which decided the matter.[47]

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for permission to publish my memoirs. I offered to give the entire honorarium to the party. . . . In reply, I received the decision by the central committee that 'diplomats are absolutely forbidden to print their memoirs, or parts of them, abroad, unless the collegium [The collegium, the 'control' body in each people's commissariat, is subject to the party] of the commissariat for foreign affairs and the polit-bureau of the central committee look over the manuscript before publication.'" Later, when the offer was renewed while he was abroad, he turned down the proposal, for, in his words, "I am more than certain that the whole censorship of the polit-bureau would have consisted in not allowing me to give a correct picture of the personalities and the activities either of the real leaders of the revolution or of those now crowned as leaders." The text of this letter was printed in *The New York Times*, January 15, 1928.

[46] *Izvestiia* (Moscow), November 25, 1927.

[47] At the fifteenth congress of the party in December 1927 Stalin said: ". . . Parallel with inner party democracy, collective leadership develops step by step. Take our central committee and central control commission. Together they comprise the leading centre of 200 to 250 comrades, who meet regularly and solve the most vital questions of our construction. This is one of the most democratic centres acting collectively that our party ever had. What of it? Is it not a fact that the solution of the most

With the nature of the party organization given, it is possible to show in outline by a simple enumeration of names the centralization of power in the hands of a few men. The list of members of the central committee of the communist party, as elected on December 19, 1927, at the general meeting of the party, is used for this purpose. The names of persons who occupy several positions in the central committee of the party itself are given in italics. The column showing the official constitutional positions in the soviet organs could be carried in greater detail by giving the members of the various collegia attached to each people's commissariat and the other offices, but the dominance of the party members in the most important posts is considered sufficient to show the real nature of the *party and soviet system* as a whole. The list follows:

Party Position	Governmental Post
Polit-bureau members	
Bukharin [48]	
Voroshilov	People's commissar for war and marine; member TsIK of USSR and of soviet of labor and defence.
Kalinin	Member presidium VTsIK [49] and TsIK [50] of USSR; president VTsIK and TsIK of USSR.
Kuibyshev	Deputy president sovnarkom [51] USSR; president supreme soviet people's economy USSR; member soviet of labor and defence.

important questions of our work *passes more and more from the hands of a narrow group above* into the hands of this broad centre, most closely connected with all branches of construction and all districts of our country?" Report of the congress, as cited, 64. Italics not in original. It is open to conjecture as to why Stalin raised a question instead of making a positive statement.

[48] Also a member of the presidium of the communist international; Bukharin, Molotov, and Stalin were elected to the presidium of the sixth world congress in 1928.

[49] All-Russian [RSFSR] central executive committee.

[50] Central executive committee.

[51] Soviet of people's commissars.

Molotov	Member presidium VTsIK; candidate TsIK of USSR.
Rykov [48]	President of sovnarkom of RSFSR and of USSR; member of the presidium of the TsIK and VTsIK.
Rudzutak	Deputy president of sovnarkom of USSR; people's commissar for ways of communication of USSR; deputy president soviet of labor and defence; member presidium TsIK of USSR.
Stalin [48]	Member presidium TsIK of USSR.
Tomskii	Member presidium TsIK of USSR; one of the six presidents of the TsIK; member presidium union soviet; president presidium trade unions; member soviet of labor and defence.

Candidates to Polit-bureau

Petrovskii	President Ukrainian TsIK; member presidium TsIK of USSR.
Ugl'anov	Member presidium soviet of nationalities; commissar for labor of USSR.
Andreev	Member TsIK of USSR; member presidium soviet of nationalities; member presidium trade unions.
Kirov	Member TsIK of USSR.
Mikoian	People's commissar for trade of USSR; member soviet of labor and defence.
Kaganovich [52]	Member presidium TsIK of USSR.
Chubar'	Member presidium TsIK of USSR; member presidium union soviet; president sovnarkom of Ukraine.
Kosior	Member presidium VTsIK.

Secretariat of Polit-bureau

Stalin	See above.
Molotov	See above.
Uglianov	See above.
Kosior	See above.
Kubiak	

[52] Secretary of the Ukrainian communist party.

Candidates to Secretariat	
Moskvin	———
Bubnov	Candidate presidium VTsIK.
Artiukhina	Member presidium VTsIK.
Secretary General	
Stalin	See above.
Org-bureau Members	
Stalin	See above.
Molotov	See above.
Kosior	———
Kubiak	———
Moskvin	———
Bubnov	See above.
Artiukhina	See above.
Andreev	See above.
Dogadov	Candidate presidium TsIK of USSR.
Smirnov [53]	People's commissar for posts and telegraphs of USSR; member presidium TsIK of USSR.
Rukhimovich	———
Sulimov	———
Candidates to Org-bureau	
Lobov	President of the supreme soviet of people's economy.
Mikhailov	———
Lepse	———
Chaplin	———
Kotov	———
Shmidt	People's commissar for labor of USSR.
Ukhanov [54]	———
Editor of Pravda	
Bukharin	See above.

[53] Since removed from all positions.
[54] Chairman of the Moscow soviet.

Based on iron discipline, unified and centralized by a system of responsibility to a central group which has no superior and which, in actual practice, is not dependent upon the support of any great number of party members for its reëlection,[55] and controlling completely the administrative organization of the country, the directing powers in the communist party have had every freedom in carrying out the revolutionary principles proclaimed by the party since 1898.

Naturally, however, even in this very restricted and limited group, there have been differences of opinion. At times the party has appeared in danger of a complete split, the full consequences of which would be difficult to forecast in the case of an organism which is based from top to bottom on a common, single, unified dictatorship.

One of the most serious of the party crises was that which began even in 1923 when the new economic policy introduced two years before by Lenin was bringing about radical changes in communist practices. From this time there developed a fraction in the party which, on the surface, appeared to be opposed to the concessions made to capitalism. Led by Trotskii, who had long before the revolution been the head of a small group with very special ideas,[56] this faction in the party began to criticize

[55] The discipline maintained in the communist party is comparable to that postulated in the *Summarium Constitutionum* of Ignatius Loyola. Every jesuit owes strict and absolute obedience to his superior; every communist organ of authority is responsible to the immediately superior organ. The philosophy that the end justifies the means and that the individual matters but little so long as the general objective is attained is as common to the bolsheviks as to the jesuits. Only the ultimate ends of the two orders are different.

[56] "He, Trotskii, was in the year 1903 a menshevik, left this party in 1904, returned to the mensheviks in 1905 and paraded around with ultra-revolutionary phrases. In 1906 he again abandoned this party; at the end of 1906 he again defended the election alliance with the constitutional democrats. . . . To-day, Trotskii borrows some ideas from the one fraction and to-morrow from the other and therefore considers himself as a man standing above both fractions." Lenin, 11 *Sobr. soch.*, pt. II, 308-309.

the majority on several scores. It demanded that the peasants pay more to keep up the soviet system; it criticized the communist international for its failure to secure better results in bringing about world revolution, insisting, as all communists did in the early revolutionary days, that socialism is possible only on a world-wide scale.

A summary of the differences between Trotskii and the other party leaders was given by Zinov'ev before he, too, sided with Trotskii. He declared that if the party had accepted the most important proposals made by Trotskii since 1921 it would have meant:

"1. The trade unions would have become state institutions, there would have taken place the notorious 'fusion' of the trade unions with official state and economic organs. The trade unions, which to-day constitute our broadest basis and embrace six million workers and employees, would have been converted into a bureaucratic appendage of the official machine. . . .

"2. The party would have become excluded from the immediate leadership of the economic and state organs. The soviet apparatus would have become more independent. 'The emancipation of the soviets from the party' would not merely have remained on paper . . . but would have been partly realized. . . .

"3. The bourgeois specialists would have won a far greater influence in all branches of our work, and not only on the military field. . . .

"4. In the questions of the inner life of the party we would have had to recognize that, not the workers at the benches but the youths in the high schools constitute the barometer of the party. . . .

"5. We should not have carried out the currency reform because, according to Trotskii, 'first' industry had to be restored, and then the currency reform was to be taken in hand. . . .

"6. Instead of the beginning of an alliance with the peasantry we should be altogether estranged from them. . . ." [57]

Whether in 1925 or afterwards there was a fundamental divergence in principles between the group led by Trotskii and called the opposition on the one hand and the dominant group led by Stalin on the other is still not clear. According to the opposition, they represented the left or radical wing of the communist party. According to Stalin or the 'insiders', they were only mensheviks in the service of the bourgeoisie, and their claim to represent a left wing of the party "would make a cat laugh". [58] Each side could fall back upon quotations from the numerous works and elusive phraseology of Lenin to prove that it stood for the 'true Leninism'. Given the nebulousness of all statements made, it appears that the conflict which developed was principally a difference between the 'ins' and the 'outs'. Its significance likewise lies not so much in possible divergences of views [59]

[57] G. E. Zinoviev, *Leninism or Trotskyism* (Chicago 1925), 24.

[58] *Report of the XV congress*, as cited, 151.

[59] At the fifteenth party congress Stalin enumerated seven main questions on which "the party and the opposition" disagreed. "First, the question of the possibility of the victory of socialist construction in our country. . . . The opposition denies the possibility of victorious construction of socialism in our country. . . . Second, the question of the proletarian dictatorship. . . . The opposition says that . . . we have no proletarian dictatorship, that we fail in everything and that our economy and politics digress. . . . Third, the question of the alliance of the workers with the middle peasants. The opposition always concealed its negative attitude to the idea of such an alliance. . . . Fourth, the question of the character of our revolution. If the possibility of building up socialism in our country is denied, if the fact of the proletarian dictatorship is denied, and the necessity of a working-class alliance with the peasantry is denied, . . . absolutely nothing is left of our revolution. . . . Fifth, the question of Lenin's conception of leading colonial revolutions. Lenin proceeded from the distinction between imperialist countries and oppressed countries. . . . He said, even during war, that the national defence idea is unacceptable and counter-revolutionary for communism in imperialist countries, but fully acceptable and just in oppressed countries fighting against imperialism. . . . Sixth, the question of the united front tactic in the international labor movement. . . . In order that the masses should become convinced [of the correctness of the communist policy], time is necessary; it is necessary to carry on skilful and clever party work in convincing the millions of the

as in the means taken by the party to preserve the unified control, 'iron discipline',' and 'democratic centralization' particularly as expressed in the last of Lenin's twenty-one points of the programme of the communist international.[80]

When the seventh enlarged plenum of the communist international met in December 1926, the opposition presented its case. From this time it was perhaps inevitable that its leaders should meet the same fate as did Zinov'ev when he was expelled from the polit-bureau of the party in July 1926. Action was not long delayed. A joint plenum of the central committee and the central control commission of the party expelled Trotskii from the polit-bureau and Kamanev as an alternate thereto. Zinov'ev was recalled from his position as a representative of the communist party of the Soviet Union on the executive committee of the communist international. The men "without principles, adventurers, and liquidators", to use an expression of Stalin often repeated thereafter, were disposed of by these means.

Illustrative of the party mechanism was the final disposition made of the opposition. The eighth enlarged plenum of the executive committee of the international, held in May 1927, gave full powers to the *presidium of the executive committee,* to the *central committee of the party,* and to the *international control commission* to exclude Trotskii and another opposition leader from the executive committee of the international. Still the opposition continued to organize its forces. As a result, in a decision published on October 1, 1927, the *presidia of the executive committtee* and of the *international control commission* voted on September 27 to exclude the two members of

masses of the correctness of its policy. . . . Seventh, the question of the principles of the Leninist party and Leninist unity in the communist party of the Soviet Union and the communist international. The opposition . . . chooses the path of organizing a second party, . . . a new international." *Ibid.,* 71-78.

[80] See page 761.

the opposition from the executive committee of the international.

The next step, taken on October 23, 1927, was to exclude Zinov'ev and Trotskii from the central committee of the party. This action was taken by the *joint plenum of the central committee* and of the *central control commission.* The central control commission, now fused with the workmen's and peasants' inspection, is often called "the interparty cheka". In actual practice this body issues orders to all the central organs of an economic nature, including the trade unions.

After this it remained to take up the question at the party congress in December. But before that congress assembled, the central committee and central control commission of the party, in November 1927, excluded Trotskii and Zinov'ev completely from the party. Then on November 12, 1927, the presidium of the central control commission resolved to expel other members not only from the positions they had held in the party but also in the state structure or 'soviet work'. On November 13, 1927, the presidium of the central executive committee of the USSR issued a decree removing Smirnov from his post as people's commissar for posts and telegraphs. Here again the system of soviets and party control showed its real nature and how impossible it is to distinguish between the communist international, the communist party of the Soviet Union, and the soviet or constitutional organs of administration, or, in brief, "the government" of Russia.

When the party congress met in December 1927, the opposition was prevented from stating its case. It was fought with those very tactics which its leaders had been prominent in formulating. The following extract from the debates of the congress is typical of the proceedings:

Rakovskii: "Comrades! The sphere of international relations is that sphere which necessitates the greatest unity

in our party. Our foreign enemy is the most dangerous of all enemies both for our party and the proletarian dictatorship. (Voices: 'That is why you are breaking up the party. You should have known this before!'. . .) Although we occupy one-sixth of the globe our enemy has five-sixths of it. In his hands there is state power, in his hands there is capital, in his hands there is a higher technique, in his hands there is a colossal amount of political experience in exploiting and oppressing the proletariat and the colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

"The minority of the party made a statement at the August plenum (Voices: 'Not the minority, but a handful!') the essential part of which I must repeat to-day.

"We will support unconditionally and without reservation the leading organs of the party and the communist international in face of the foreign foe who will attack the Soviet Union, the proletarian government, the workers' and peasants' government. (Voices: 'You do the attacking!' Noise, laughter. Voices: 'Shame! shame! how low you've fallen! . . . You support the party like the rope supports the hanged man!') Comrades, this is so regardless of the common or individual fate of the minority. (Voice: 'A handful! a handful! and not the minority!') But in so far as the external danger is for us the greatest one, as every communist, every party member, we are in duty bound to give the signal about things unobserved or omitted, and the mistakes made by the party. . . .

"Comrade Tomskii complained in Leningrad that the opposition interfered with the polit-bureau in adopting necessary and logical decisions. He said that in order to manoeuvre freely we must get rid of the opposition. (Voices: 'Quite right!' Commotion.) I ask you if the left wing of the party is to be expelled. . . (Voices: 'Get out of the party and be done with it. Away with the mensheviks from the platform! . . . Down, down!' Commotion.)

"The chairman: Who is in favor of allowing comrade Rakovskii to continue his speech? Nobody." [61]

From this time speeches by the opposition were interrupted to the point of prohibiting them.

The final phase of the solution of the party conflict occurred a few weeks later. The members of the opposition were placed in the hands of the OGPU and sent to far-away lands in divers parts of the Soviet Union. Party discipline triumphed. Control over this country by the small group of 'ins' was no longer disputed. By the summer of 1928 the situation was so well in hand that certain of the exiled members were permitted to return to Moscow as penitent probationers. Trotskii, however, was not only exiled to a deserted place in Asiatic Russia but also was banished to Turkey in February 1929. In a series of newspaper articles copyrighted by *Current News Features* and widely diffused, he gives certain details of his troubles in Russia.

Trotskii relates that he was taken by force to Turkey. "*C'est la marche des évènements.*" His lot, following the fifteenth congress of the party in January 1928 when Stalin was dominant, was shared by others: "Rakovskii, former president of the Ukrainian people's commissariat and ambassador to France, who has been fighting for proletarian rights for forty years in Bulgaria, Russia, France, and Rumania; Karl Radek, one of the most remarkable Marxist writers in the world; Smirnov, a former people's commissar, and one of the founders of the party; Beobragenskii, a great economist, one of the financial experts in the negotiations with France . . .; Beloborodov, people's commissar for interior before his deportation; Sosnovskii, the party's most brilliant propagandist; Kasparova, who directed the work of the Komintern among the women of the Orient. . . ."

Stalin, states Trotskii in these articles, "is the most

[61] This is the version given in the *Report of the XV congress,* as cited, 101-108. The Russian version is given in the *Pravda* (Moscow), December 8, 1927.

prominent average man in our party. . . . On the whole, he is a practical politician with no creative imagination. . . . He has always seemed to be destined to play secondary parts, and the fact that he is now playing a leading rôle is less a tribute to his person than a reflection on the transitional and unstable situation of the country." As to the meaning of the struggle between the two factions in the party, Trotskii concludes as follows: "Despite all the mistakes it has made, all the confusions in interpretation of the various stages of the soviet's internal struggle, the press of the world, though hostile to bolshevism, has in general correctly grasped the fundamental social kernel: Stalin's victory is a victory of the more moderate, conservative, bureaucratic and nationalistic tendencies, and of the partisans of private property, over the principles of world revolution and the traditions of Marxism. . . . It is quite another question how long his victory will last, and what direction future events will take."

The triumph of Stalin alters in no respect the world aims of communism. While a few noted Jewish leaders have been deposed, their revolutionary equals, the Georgians, of whom Stalin is one, remain as powerful as ever. Russians of Slavic descent are still not their own masters.

Special mention may be made of the present international aims of the communist party of the Soviet Union. Here, too, old policies remain unchanged. At the session of the central committee and the central control commission on August 9, 1927, it was resolved that "it is indispensable to preach in capitalist countries not only the doctrine of defeatism but also that of active assistance to the proletarian state [USSR]." [62] A classic statement on foreign relations is that of Stalin before the Moscow party organization on April 13, 1928.[63] It follows:

"Here everything is bound up with the class struggle of

[62] *Pravda* (Moscow), August 10, 1927.
[63] *Izvestiia* (Moscow), April 18, 1928.

international capitalism against the soviet power, and there can be no question of any mere accidental happenings.

"One of the two: either we shall continue also in the future to pursue a revolutionary policy, organizing the proletariat and the oppressed of all countries around the labor classes of the USSR, and then international capitalism will try to impede us in every way in our forward march; or we shall renounce our revolutionary policy, make to international capital a number of concessions in principle, and then international capital will, if you please, not be against 'helping' us in the matter of reconstructing our socialist country into a 'good' bourgeois republic. There are people who think that we can carry on a revolutionary foreign policy and at the same time get the west European bourgeoisie to kiss us for it. I shall not try to prove that such people have nothing, and can have nothing, in common with our party. But precisely because we can not make any concessions in principle without ceasing to be ourselves, that is precisely why we must be prepared that also in the future international capital will attempt all kinds of harm against us, whether it be a Shakhta [64] affair, or something else of a similar character." [65]

Not only is the doctrine of universal revolution formulated in resolutions of the communist party or the speeches of its leaders. The soviet constitutions likewise breathe of the universal aims of the communists. They are not documents drafted for the territory over which soviet authority

[64] A celebrated trial of Germans and Russians held in 1928, the charge being economic espionage.

[65] This statement by Stalin is very similar to one made by Lenin. According to Lenin, "we are living, not merely in one state, but in a system of states; and it is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to exist interminably side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately, one or other must conquer. Pending this development, a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states must inevitably occur. This means that the proletariat, as ruling class, if it wants to rule and to make its rule effective, must manifest its power to rule through a military organization as well as in other ways." 16 *Sobr. soch.*, 102.

is established: they are formulated for the use of a world socialist soviet republic. They form part and parcel of the programme of the communist international, the aims of which are discussed in the following chapter.

Finally, a brief summary is given of the world aims of bolshevism as expressed in the fundamental laws of the component parts of the present USSR.

The first fundamental law in Russia following the revolution was the constitution of the RSFSR adopted on July 10, 1918. In that document, in its declaration of rights, mention is made of the "fundamental aim . . . of establishing the triumph of socialism in all countries". In the same declaration, which is an integral part of the constitution, confidence is expressed that the soviet authorities will continue to repudiate debts "as a first blow at international financial capitalism . . . until the international revolt of the workers against the yoke of capitalism shall have secured a complete victory". Mention may be made, incidentally, of the statement by Steklov at the fifth congress of soviets in June 1918 [66] when he declared that the soviet "constitution is of world-wide importance. At the time when in other countries the working class and the peasants will make use of favorable conditions and will follow the example of Soviet Russia, will overthrow their bourgeoisie and take over the power, the Russian Soviet Republic sooner or later will be surrounded by her daughter and sister republics which, when united, will lay the basis for the federation, first European and then world wide."

On a theoretical equality with the RSFSR was, and is now, the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. In the constitution, adopted in its final form on March 14, 1919, the Ukraine declares its "firm decision to enter into the composition of one International Soviet Socialist Republic as soon as the conditions for its formation shall have been created". In the meantime there should be "complete soli-

[66] *Piatyi Vserosiiskii s'ezd sovetov. Stenograficheskoe otchet,* 186.

darity with all existing soviet republics" with which the Ukraine would join in "the closest political union for the common fight for the triumph of the world communist revolution", for "communist building can be thought of only on an international scale".

This constitution was amended on March 5, 1925, in order to bring it into conformity with the constitution of the USSR, which is mentioned later. The document then stated that the Ukraine not only confirms its complete solidarity with all existing soviet republics, but also "forms with them, on the basis of voluntary union and equality, the USSR, which is the basis of world structure and brotherly coöperation of peoples, a safe defence against world capitalism, and a new decisive step on the road to the unification of the working masses of all countries into a World Socialist Soviet Republic".

The constitution of the Socialist Soviet Republic of Georgia, formulated before the creation of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic at the end of 1922, likewise expresses the doctrine of universality. The phraseology is almost identical to that of the original Ukrainian constitution. Then when the constitution for Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan—the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic—was promulgated on December 13, 1922, bare mention was made of the USSR being the "prototype of the universal mighty union of all soviet countries".

Far to the east, in a natural field of turmoil, where appeals to discontent are eagerly heard, the world-wide aims of communism were being stated as in European Russia. The constitution of the Khorezm People's Soviet Republic, ratified on April 30, 1920, ran thus:

"The fate of the people of Khorezm (Khiva) is closely connected with the fate of the laboring people of Russia and with the fate of people living in that part of the world which

seeks liberation from every yoke and from the exploitation of man by man, in behalf of the common struggle against economic and national oppression and for the definitive extermination of national and religious antagonism. . . .

"The unification of the working masses of the whole world is our common irrevocable duty. Only through a close union with the laboring and oppressed peoples of the whole world, through a common fight in behalf of the liberation of humanity from all oppression, may the peoples of Khorezm enter into the bright future reign of socialism, together with other peoples who heroically fight for the complete liberation of humanity."

In 1925, Khorezm and Bukhara were rearranged territorially and became the Uzbek and Turkmen Socialist Soviet Republics. Declarations of entrance into the USSR were issued some time thereafter.[67] The Turkmen declaration mentioned the formation of the union as "a new and decisive step on the way of uniting the toiling masses of all countries into the universal socialist soviet republic." In this pronunciamento as in all others the 'toiling masses', a sufficiently elastic term, were regarded as the only part of the population of any country that mattered.

Representative of all existing soviet republics is the present USSR, the constitution for which was put into force on July 6, 1923. In it is given the latest and it may be said the most basic formulation of the concept of a world charter. This document declares that "the very construction of soviet authority international by its class nature impels the laboring masses of the soviet republics to the path of amalgamation in one socialist family". So as a natural consequence it was stipulated that "entry into the Union is open to all socialist soviet republics both now existing and which may arise in the future". For the present the unification of the republics forming the Union of Soviet Social-

[67] See document X, chapter VI.

ist Republics was hailed as "a new decisive step along the path of the union of the workers of all countries in a World Socialist State".

Such doctrines are *sui generis*. It is believed that they will be found elsewhere in the constitutional structure of no government, of no state. In fact one of the basic elements in the existence of a state is a given territory over which its authority is established and for which a form of government is constituted. A defined territory is inseparable from the modern conception of a state.

Both before the formation of the USSR, that is in the case of each of the socialist soviet republics separately considered, and after its constitution soviet authority was established over a given territory. With that authority was introduced a system of administration as provided for in part by specific legislative enactments. The novelty enters in the incorporation in the fundamental laws or constitutions of statements that the legislation is not simply for a given territory but can be extended to the whole world. The constitution may be applied only in the USSR for the time being; yet it is regarded as the framework for a World Soviet Socialist Republic.

Following this concept through to a logical conclusion, and remaining within the accepted limits of constitutional law and terminology, the question arises: Do the soviet constitutions, and in particular the fundamental law of the USSR, provide for a government exercising its authority over a given territory? An attempt may be made to distinguish between theory and practice. In practice it is known that the precepts of the constitution of the USSR are enforced within certain boundaries. But such boundaries, in theory at least, are regarded as only artificial, ephemeral, temporary.

The usual conception of the state is based upon the principle of national sovereignty. In the case of the present public authority in the former Russian Empire, however,

the foregoing sentence may be paraphrased thus: "The conception of the state, in the Soviet Union, is based upon the principle of international sovereignty manifested in the dictatorship of the world proletariat."

It is this concept that creates so many pitfalls for the student of the system of soviet administration. A study of a national government which conceives of its duties as falling within a defined territorial area may be conducted along orthodox lines. A sovereign nation in normal times has a constitution on which it bases its acts. The story of the conduct of affairs in accordance with that document is the approach to the actual functioning of the government.

Soviet Russia has a constitution. But that document and the organs for which it provides are concerned in reality only with affairs within the boundaries of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Side by side with such a basis of government, which in itself would represent national sovereignty, there exists a more extensive system which concerns itself with what has been termed international sovereignty.

The utterances of the Russian leaders themselves have given a sufficient clue as to where this broader government is to be found. Were it not so, the search would not lead far. It is necessary, still referring to the bolshevik concept of sovereignty, to find the framework of the representative of the 'world proletariat'. Two bodies—or one, depending on the point of view—have adopted that rôle: the communist party in Russia and the representative of communist parties the world over, the communist international. These organs embody the new conception of the state in Soviet Russia. From the tribes of antiquity, from the state of ancient times based upon the religion of the city, from the Roman concept of the state not as a city but as an empire under one authority, from the monarchial state, and finally from the concept as expressed in the French decla-

ration of rights that "the principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation"—from this historical development the bolshevik revolution of 1917 fondly regarded itself as the culminating point: the world state dominated by the world proletariat. There were those in Russia who feared that in their aims they had anticipated history; but they have worked ever since as if they were in march with the times.

DOCUMENT TO CHAPTER XII

I

Constitution of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Adopted at the Fourteenth Congress of the Party in December 1925 [1]

I. *Party Membership*

1. Everyone who subscribes to the party program, works in one of its organizations, submits to party decisions and pays membership dues is considered a party member.

2. New members are accepted from among applicants on probation who have passed a course in political grammar and have been applicants on probation for a certain time.

The order for the admission of applicants on probation to party membership is as follows:

(*a*) There are three categories: (1) workers and red army soldiers who come from the workers and peasant classes; (2) peasants (other than soldiers), private handicraftsmen who are not exploiting another's labor; (3) all others (office employees, and so forth).

The first category is divided into two groups:

To the first group belong the industrial workers who are permanently engaged in physical hired labor.

To the second group belong non-industrial workers, soldiers from the workers and peasant classes and hired hands in agriculture.

(*b*) For admission into the party of persons belonging to the first group of the first category it is necessary to have two recommendations of party members of one year's standing. For admission of persons belonging to the second group of the first category two recommendations of members of two years' standing are required. For admission of persons belonging to the second category three recommendations of members of three years' standing are required. For admission of persons belonging to the third category five recommendations of party members of five years' standing are required.

Note: For admission to the party from the *komsomol* (the

[1] With a few changes, the translation is that given in *Current History*, February 1927, 714-721.

communist youth organization) in the first and second categories a recommendation of a committee of that organization equals that of one party member.

(*c*) Persons who previously were members of some other party are accepted in exceptional cases on the recommendation of five party members of five years' standing, and then only through the occupational nucleus, a confirmation by the central committee being necessary, no matter what their social position.

NOTE: The central committee may give the right of final ratification of the admission of those who come from other parties to separate territorial party committees and to the central committees of national communist parties.

(*d*) Recommendations must be verified by the local party committee before admission.

(*e*) The question of admission into the party is discussed first by the nucleus, then it is decided by a general meeting of the organization, and finally the admission enters into force upon ratification by a party committee; for the first category that of the county (*uzed*) or economic district (*raion*) committee (in cities and industrial centres); for the second and third categories that of the circuit (*okrug*) or provincial (*gubernia*) committee. In the present organizations of the cities the question of admission into the party is decided by a general meeting of party members. In the case of a city precinct having more than 1,000 members and applicants on probation the admission is valid if passed on by the plenary meeting of the precinct committee without the sanction of a general meeting.

(*f*) Young people under 20 (with the exception of red army soldiers) are admitted to the party only through the *komsomol*.

3. Those who propose new members are responsible for the members recommended. In case of an unworthy recommendation they are subject to party discipline, even to exclusion from the party.

4. The party-age standing of applicants on probation who are accepted for membership in the party is calculated from the day of the ratification of their admission by the general meeting of the corresponding nucleus.

5. Every member of one organization going to work in the region of another is to be enrolled as a member of the latter.

NOTE: The transfer of party members from one organization to another is accomplished in conformity with the regulations of the central committee of the party.

6. The question of exclusion of any one from the party is decided by the general meeting of the organization to which the particular person belongs and ratified by the provincial (circuit) control commission, or it is decided directly by the provincial (circuit) control commission in the first instance. The resolution of exclusion becomes valid only with the consent of the provincial (circuit) committee. From the moment of exclusion by the general meeting or by the central commission the person involved is removed from party work. Every case of exclusion must be published in the party papers, with a statement of the cause for exclusion.

II. *Applicants on Probation*

7. All persons desiring to enter the party must pass through a period during which they are applicants on probation in order that they may become acquainted with the program and tactics of the party and that their personal qualities may be verified.

8. The order for admission of a person as applicant on probation follows exactly the same procedure as for acceptance into the party (division into categories, character of recommendations and their verification, the decision of the organization concerning admission and the ratification by the party committee).

9. The regular term for an applicant on probation is as follows: For the first category not less than six months, for the second category not less than one year and for the third category not less than two years.

NOTE: Persons previously belonging to other parties, no matter what their social position, must first be applicants on probation for two years.

10. Applicants on probation may take part in the deliberations at open meetings of the organization to which they belong, but are not entitled to vote.

11. Applicants must pay the usual membership dues to the local party committee.

III. *The Organizational Structure of the Party*

12. The directive principle of the organizational structure of the party is democratic centralization.

13. The party is built upon the foundation of democratic centralization according to territorial authority. The organization serving any given region is considered supreme in relation to all organizations serving but a part of that region.

14. All party organizations are autonomous in deciding local questions.

15. The supreme directive organ of every organization is the general meeting, conference or congress.

16. The general meeting, conference or congress elects a committee, which is its executive organ and administers all the current work of the local organization.

17. The scheme of party organizations is as follows:

(*a*) The territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:
The all-Union congress.
The central committee.

(*b*) Regions (*oblast*), republics, provinces (*gubernia*):
Regional (territorial) conferences, congress of the national communist parties, provincial conferences.
Regional committees (territorial committees), central committees of the national communist parties, provincial committees.

(*c*) Circuits (*okrug*), counties (*uezd*):
District or county conferences.
Circuit or county committees.

(*d*) Rural district (*volost'*):
Rural district (or precinct) conferences.
Rural district (or precinct) committees.

(*e*) Enterprises, villages, red army units, institutions:
General meetings of nuclei.
Bureaus of the nuclei.

18. The order of subordination, rendering of accounts, adopting and disputing of all party decisions, from the supreme body to the lowest, is the following: The all-Union congress, the central committee, the regional (or territorial) conferences, the regional (or territorial) committee, conferences of national communist parties, central committees of national communist parties, provincial conferences, and so forth.

19. For special forms of party work there are special sections. These sections are attached to committees to which they are directly subordinated. The procedure of organizing such sections is determined by special instructions of the central committee.

20. Every organization, after being finally confirmed, has the right to have its own seal, but only with the sanction of the proper higher party organization.

IV. *Central Party Institutions*

21. The supreme organ of the party is the congress. Regular congresses are convoked every year. Extraordinary congresses are convoked by the central committee on its own initiative or on the demand of not less than one-third of the total number of members represented at the last party congress. The call for party congresses, as well as their programs, must be announced not later than one and one-half months before the opening of the congress. An extraordinary congress is convoked two months after it is announced.

The congress is considered lawful if there are in attendance not less than one-half of all the party members represented at the last regular congress.

The rules for representation at party congresses are fixed by the central committee.

22. In case the extraordinary congress is not called by the central committee, as set forth in article 21, the organizations demanding it have the right to form an organizing committee which has the rights of the central committee in convening the congress.

23. The congress (*a*) hears and ratifies the reports of the central committee, the central control commission, central revision commission and other central institutions; (*b*) reviews and revises the program and statutes of the party; (*c*) determines the tactical line of the party in regard to current questions; (*d*) elects a central committee, a central control commission, a central revision commission, and so forth.

24. The composition of the central committee is established by the congress. In case of vacancies in the central committee their places are taken by alternates elected by the congress according to rules established by it.

25. In the interval between congresses the central committee directs the entire work of the party, represents the party in its relations with other parties, organizations and institutions, organizes various party institutions and directs their activities, names the editors of the central organs, which are working under its control, confirms the editors of party organs of large local organizations, organizes and conducts those undertakings having public significance, distributes the personnel and the finances of the party and supervises the central treasury.

Through the various party sections the central committee directs the work of central, soviet and public organizations.

The central committee must have not less than one plenary meeting (open to all its members) every two months.

Alternate members of the central committee can take part in these meetings with the right of a consultant voice (the floor).

26. The central committee organizes for political work a politbureau, for general administrative organization work an orgbureau, and for the current work of organization and execution a secretariat.

27. Once in the interval between party congresses the central committee convokes an all-Union party conference of representatives of local party organizations.

28. The central committee must regularly inform the party organizations of its work.

29. The number of members elected to the central control commission is established by the party congress.

30. The number elected to the central revision committee is fixed by the party congress, but all members must be of at least ten years' party standing.

The central revision commission checks up: (*a*) The speed and proper procedure of handling matters in the central party organs and the proper organization of the apparatus of the secretariat of the all-Russian central committee of the communist party; (*b*) the treasury and the undertakings of the central committee of the all-Union communist party.

V. *The Regional (Oblast or Territorial) Organizations*

31. Party organizations, with the permission of the central committee, may unite into regional unions. The borders of a region (a territory) are fixed by the regional (territorial) conferences and are confirmed by the central committee.

32. Party organizations serving the territory of national republics and autonomous areas of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic are on the same plane as regional (or provincial) party organizations; *i.e.*, they are entirely subordinate to the central committee of the all-Union communist party.

33. The regional (or territorial) committee (or the central committee of a national communist party) is elected at the regional (territorial) conference (or at the congress of the national communist party).

NOTE: Presidia or bureaus of territorial committees, as well

as committees of equal standing, are to be ratified by the central committee of the all-Union communist party.

34. According to a special decision of the central committee, in places where there are regional economic organs (economic soviets and so forth), or in regions distant from the centre, special regional bureaus shall be established and appointed by the central committee of the all-Union communist party, which also determines the number of members.

Regional bureaus of the central committee are responsible only to the central committee of the all-Union communist party.

35. The periodical regional (territorial) conference (or congress of the national communist party) is convoked by the regional (territorial) committee (or central committee of a national communist party) once a year; the extraordinary conference is convoked according to the decision of the regional (territorial) committee (or central committee of a national communist party) or on demand of one-third of the whole number of members of organizations included in the region (territory).

The rules regarding representatives at the regional (territorial) conference (or congress of a national communist party) are fixed by the regional (territorial) committee (or central committee of a national communist party).

The regional (territorial) conference (or congress of a national communist party) hears and ratifies reports of the regional (territorial) committee (or central committee of a national communist party), of the control commission, the revision commission and other regional (territorial) institutions; discusses questions concerning the party, soviet, trade union and economic work in its particular region (territory) or republic, and elects the regional (territorial) committee as well as the regional (territorial) control and revision commissions (or central committee, central control commission, central revision commission of a national communist party).

36. The regional (territorial) committee elects from its membership a bureau of not less than five persons for its current work.

The regional (territorial) committee (or central committee of a national communist party) organizes various party institutions within its territory, directs their activity, appoints the editor of the regional (territorial) party organ, which works under its control, directs and manages all the party enterprises having a

general importance for the region (territory), distributes within the limits of the particular region (territory) the personnel and appropriations of the party and superintends the regional (territorial) party treasury. The regional (territorial) committee (or central committee of a national communist party) directs through party fractions the activity of the organs of the soviets, trade unions, coöperatives and other organizations; it also directs the work of the *komsomol* (the communist youth organization) and presents detailed reports of its activities at the time and in the form fixed by the central committee of the all-Union communist party.

A plenary meeting of the regional (territorial) committee (or the central committee of a national communist party) is convoked not less than once in two months.

VI. *The Provincial (Gubernia) Organizations*

37. The regular provincial party conference is convoked by the provincial committee at least once a year. Extraordinary conferences are convoked by decision of the provincial committee or by one-third of the entire number of members of organizations within the province.

Provincial conferences hear and ratify the reports of the provincial committees, of the provincial control commission, the revision commission and other provincial institutions. They discuss questions concerning the party, soviet, economic and trade union work in that particular province, elect the provincial committee, the provincial control and revision commissions and delegates to the all-Union congress.

38. The provincial committee is elected by the conference; in the committee must be included workers of the chief city, as well as of other large industrial centres of that particular province.

The provincial committee is convoked at least once a month. This same committee appoints out of its number not less than five persons to make up a bureau to do its current work. Of these not less than three must be detailed for party work only.

The secretary of a provincial committee must have had at least seven years' party standing and must have been confirmed by a higher party centre (only with the authorization of this latter body may the party standing be lowered).

39. The provincial committee confirms all the county and precinct organizations of its own area, with the sanction of the

regional (territorial) committees or the central committee, organizes various party institutions within its own area, directs their activities, appoints the editor of the provincial organ working under its control, organizes all its enterprises of provincial scope, distributes within the province the personnel and the financial resources of the party and has charge of the provincial treasury.

The provincial committee directs through its fractions the activity of soviets, trade unions, coöperative unions and other organizations, and directly supervises the work of the *komsomol* (communist youth organization). The provincial committee presents reports to the central committee of all its activity at such times and in such form as is decreed by the central committee. Regional committees of autonomous republics and of autonomous areas are on an equality with provincial committees.

40. In periods between conferences, provincial committees periodically furnish informational reports to the general meeting or conference of city or county organizations. Moreover, they have to convoke enlarged plenary meetings or provincial conferences of the representatives of the county committees and precinct committees (which are directly subordinate to the provincial committees).

41. In chief provincial cities precinct organizations with the rights of county organizations are established if necessary; they are directly subordinate to the provincial committee.

VII. *The Circuit (Okrug) Organizations*

42. The circuit party conference is called by the circuit party committee at least once a year. An extraordinary conference is called upon the decision of the circuit committee or according to the decision of one-third of the total number of organizations included in the circuit.

The circuit conference hears and ratifies reports of the district committee, of the control and revision commissions and other district institutions, elects the circuit committee, the control and revisions commissions and delegates to the all-Union party congress.

43. Among the members of the circuit committee elected by the conference must be included workers of the chief circuit city, as well as of other large industrial centres of the circuit.

44. The circuit committee must be called at least once a month. The circuit committee appoints from its members a

bureau of not less than five members to carry on the current work. Of these not less than three persons must be appointed exclusively for party work.

The secretary of the circuit committee must have five years' party standing, and his appointment must be ratified by a higher party body (only with the assent of the latter can a person of less party standing be appointed).

45. The circuit committee confirms precinct organizations and party nuclei. (Precinct organizations must afterward be ratified by the regional—territorial—committees or by the central committees of the national communist parties.) It organizes various party institutions within the limits of the circuit and directs their activities and appoints the editor of the circuit party organ working under its direction and control. It organizes all the enterprises of circuit scope, distributes within its borders the personnel and appropriations of the party and superintends the circuit treasury. The circuit committee directs, through the appropriate fractions, the activity of soviets, trade unions, coöperatives and other bodies and directly guides the work of the *komsomol* (communist youth organization). The circuit committee submits reports to the regional (territorial) committee (or to the central committee of a national communist party) of all its activities at such time and in such form as is decreed by the central committee.

46. In periods between conferences the circuit committee periodically submits reports to the general meetings or conferences of city or precinct organizations. Moreover, the circuit committee is to convoke enlarged plenary meetings or circuit conferences of representatives of precinct committees and large nuclei (which are directly subordinate to the circuit committee).

47. In large district cities there may be created, with the authorization of the higher party committee, precinct organizations the same way as precinct committees of the chief provincial cities.

VIII. *The County (Uezd) Organizations*

48. The county conference hears and ratifies the reports made by the county committee, revision commission and the representative of the provincial control commission and discusses questions of party, soviet, economic and trade union activity of the

county. It elects a committee, a revision commission and delegates to the provincial conference. The conference is convoked once in six months.

49. The county committee is elected by the county conferences. The county committee appoints from its membership a bureau consisting of not more than five to seven persons. Out of that number at least three workers must be freed from any activity except party work.

The secretary of the county committee must have three years' party standing, and his nomination must be ratified by a higher party organ (the party standing of the secretary may be lowered only with the authorization of the latter).

50. The county committee ratifies township and precinct organizations and the nuclei in the county subject to approval of the provincial committee. It organizes various party institutions within its territory, directs their activities, organizes all enterprises having county importance, convokes conferences of representatives of the township nuclei and superintends the county treasury of the party.

NOTE: The county party committee is entitled to publish party literature and a party paper only with the authorization of the provincial committee.

51. The county committee directs, through party fractions, the work of the county executive committee, as well as that of trade union organizations, coöperatives and other bodies of its own county. It directs also the whole work of the *komsomol* (the communist youth organization).

IX. *The Rural District (Volost') or Economic District (Raion) Organizations*

52. The supreme organ in the rural district is the general meeting of the members of the party in that township.

NOTE: In large rural districts (economic districts) where the convocation of a general meeting of all the members presents difficulties it is permissible to substitute the rural district (economic district) conference for a general meeting. These conferences are convoked at least once in three months.

53. General rural district (economic district) meetings are convoked at least once a month. The general meeting (*a*) decides questions regarding the admission and exclusion of party members, subject to ratification by the next higher party committee;

(*b*) discusses and ratifies the report of the rural district (economic) committee; (*c*) elects the rural district (economic district) committee; (*d*) elects the delegates for the county and other conferences, and (*e*) discusses and ratifies the reports of the fraction of the executive committee.

54. The rural district (economic district) committee is elected by the rural district (economic district) party meeting or conference for a period of six months.

Secretaries of the rural district committees must have at least a year's party standing.

NOTE: In rural districts where there are less than three rural nuclei the rural district committee is not organized. In that case the county committee has the right to require the nuclei of the rural district centres of those rural districts to execute some of the duties of the rural district organizations.

55. The rural district (economic district) committee is convoked at least once every two weeks.

56. The rural district (economic district) committee directs the work of all the organizations in the rural district (economic district). It registers all the party members, organizes the distribution of literature, arranges for meetings, lectures, and so forth. It organizes new nuclei and presents them to the county (or circuit) committee for ratification, superintends the party treasury and once each month sends a report of its activities to the county (or circuit) committee. It also directs, through the party fraction, the work of the executive committee.

X. *The Party Nuclei* (*Cells*)

57. The base of the party organization is the party nucleus. A nucleus is confirmed by a circuit, county or economic district committee and must include not less than three party members.

58. In large enterprises, having a large number of workers, section nuclei may be organized always within the general factory nucleus which includes the entire enterprise. They may be organized in every case only with the authorization of the circuit, county, or economic district committee.

59. Nuclei are organizations which join the workers and peasant masses with the directive organ of one particular place. The duties of a nucleus are (1) to carry the party rallying cries and decisions to the masses; (2) to recruit and educate new members; (3) to assist local committees in their organizing and pro-

pagandist work, and (4) to participate actively as a party organ in the economic and political life of the county.

60. For carrying on its current work the nucleus elects a bureau for six months.

The secretary of a nucleus must have at least one year's party standing. Exceptions to this rule are permissible only with the assent of the district (or county) or precinct committee (in cities).

XI. *The Control Commissions*

61. For the purpose of assisting the party in consolidating the unity and authority of the all-Union communist party, for recruiting the best part of the labor class for the party and to struggle against violations of the communist program and constitution by members, as well as for the purpose of carrying through the party program in every respect in the activities of soviet organs and for the purpose of working out measures for improving and simplifying the soviet and economic apparatus control commissions are elected at the general party congress, as well as at conferences of regions, territories, provinces and circuit, which submit reports about their activities to the organs by which they were elected.

Note: Circuit control commissions are organized with the authorization of the central committee and the central control commission of the all-Union communist party.

62. The decisions of the control commissions cannot be annulled by corresponding party committees; but in order to be valid they must be accepted by the latter, by which they are also put into effect.

In case of dissent the question is submitted to a joint meeting. In case an agreement with the committee cannot be reached the question is submitted for decision to a corresponding party conference or to the higher control commission or to the party congress.

A. *The Central Control Commission*

63. The central control commission is to be elected preferably from peasants and workers who have had the necessary party, soviet, economic or industrial experience. Members of the central control commission named for work in the central organ of the central control commission or in the workmen's and

peasants' inspection must have at least ten years' party standing. Members of the central control commission working in local organs must have at least seven years' party standing; factory workers, as well as peasants, must have at least five years' party standing.

64. Members of the central control commission cannot be at the same time members of the central committee and can not occupy an administrative or economic position.

NOTE: Exceptions are permitted in each case on the special authorization of the central committee of the all-Union communist party and of the presidium of the central control commission.

65. A plenary meeting of the central control commission is convoked once in three months. For the administration of all current work during the period between these meetings the central control commission selects a presidium, consisting of twenty-one members, nine alternates and its executive organ, a secretariat. It also selects a party collegium of the central control commission, which is responsible for reviewing matters concerned with the violation of party ethics, the constitution and the program of the all-Union communist party.

66. Members of the central control commission participate in all-Union party congresses, in conferences of national communist parties, in territorial, provincial, circuit, county and other conferences, sittings and other assemblies, with the right of a consultant voice. At the plenary meetings of the central committee of the all-Union communist party only members and alternates of the presidium of the central control commission can participate. In case a joint plenary meeting of the central control commission can participate. In case a joint plenary meeting of the central control commission is called, the members of the central control commission take part with the right of a full vote.

The presidium of the central control commission delegates three members and three alternates to take part in the political bureau of the central committee and five members and five alternates to take part in the meetings of the organization bureau and of the secretariat of the central committee, with the right of a consultant voice.

67. The central control commission has the right to assign tasks within the limits of its jurisdiction to all the members of the party and party organizations.

B. *The Control Commissions of National Communist Parties of Regional (Territorial), Provincial and Circuit Organizations*

68. The number of members and alternates for the central control commission of national communist parties, of regional (territorial), provincial and circuit control commissions is fixed by the central control commission of the all-Union communist party, according to the strength of the organization, as well as the economics of the region and other peculiarities.

Members and alternates of control commissions are to be elected preferably from workers and peasants who have been the most loyal in their party relationships. In the case of central control commissions of a national communist party or of the regional (territorial) control commissions, the members must have at least seven years' party standing; in other control commissions, five years' party standing; all must have had an adequate knowledge of party, soviet and trade union work, so that they understand how to conduct effectively party and soviet control.

NOTE: Exceptions are allowed with the permission of the presidium of the central control commission, as well as of the central committee of the all-Union communist party.

69. Members of the control commission cannot be at one and the same time members of party committees and they cannot occupy any responsible administrative position.

NOTE: Exceptions are allowed with the permission of the central control commission of the all-Union communist party.

70. The plenum of the control commission elects a presidium and party collegium and proposes the members of the collegium of the workmen's and peasants' inspection.

71. Members of the control commission and alternates participate in meetings of the corresponding plenum of the party committee, in party conferences and sittings, within the limits of their organization, with the right of a consultant voice.

The presidium of the control commission sends a part of its members to take part in the meetings of corresponding bureaus of the party committees with the right of a consultant voice.

72. In cases of disagreement between the decisions of the control commission and the party committee, the two bodies meet in joint session. If agreement is not reached, in the case of the central control commission of a national communist party or in the case of the regional (territorial) or provincial control commission when the latter is not subordinate to a central control

commission of a national communist party or to a regional (territorial) control committee, the question goes to the central control commission of the all-Union communist party; for provincial and regional control commissions, subordinated to the central control commission of a national communist party or to a territorial control commission, the matter goes to the corresponding central control commission of a national communist party or to the regional (territorial) control commission.

73. The control commission is entitled to assign tasks within the limits of its jurisdiction to all the members of the party and to all party organizations.

C. *The Representatives of the Control Commissions*

74. In order to realize a direct and living relationship between the organs of the control commissions and the lower party organizations, as well as the large working and peasant masses, a body of representatives of the control commission in the circuit and county party organizations is created.

75. The representatives of the control commission are to be named by the circuit or county party conferences preferably from the workers and peasants who are the most consistent party workers, have at least five years' party standing and are ratified by the corresponding control commission.

NOTE: It is desirable that the representatives should be named from members of the control commission.

76. In those regions which are considered as the largest and most important from the political and economic point of view the representatives of the control commission are freed from all other work except that of the party. In all other regions they can hold other offices simultaneously.

77. The representatives of the control commission have the right to take part in the meetings of the corresponding party committees, conferences, meetings and deliberations of control commissions, with the right of a consultant voice.

XII. *The Party Organizations in the Red Army*

78. The general administration of the party work in the red army and the red navy is done in the political department of the workers' and peasants' red army as the military department of the central committee. The political department of the red army carries on its work through specially appointed political sections (of fronts, army districts, navies, armies, divisions),

army commissars and party commissions elected at the corresponding army conferences.

The nuclei and party collectives (meetings of party members who work together) in the red army and navy work on the basis of special instructions confirmed by the central committee.

79. The chiefs of political departments of the military districts, navies and armies must have had seven years' party standing and the chiefs of political departments of divisions and brigades, four years' party standing.

80. Party commissions decide on questions of admission and exclusion of party members and applicants on probation and watch for violations of the program and articles of the party. Members of the commission must have had five years' party standing.

81. The appointment and transfer of party members and applicants on probation of the red army and navy belong to corresponding political organs.

The regular course for reaching agreement with party organs as to the transfer of leading party workers within the army (commanding and political personnel) is fixed by the instructions of the central committee.

82. Political organs are obliged to be in constant communication with the local party committee by means of constant participation in the local party committees by all the leaders of the political organs and the army commissars, as well as by having systematic reports made to the party committees by the heads of the political organs and army commissars about the political work in the various units. The direction of the work of party commissions as to the admission of applicants on probation, advancement to party membership, the struggle against the violation of the party rules is carried on by local party committees and control commissions, by systematic hearing of reports about the organization of the work in the division and district party commissions and by giving them proper direction.

XIII. *Party Discipline*

83. The strongest party discipline is the first obligation of all party members and all party organizations. Decisions of the party centres must be fulfilled immediately and accurately. There is to be complete freedom for the discussion of all controversial questions within the party until a decision has been reached.

84. The non-fulfillment of decisions of higher organizations and other offences, recognized as criminal by the public opinion of the party, entail the following judgments: In the case of an organization—censure; the appointment of a temporary supervisory committee, and a general re-registration of the membership (dissolution of the organization). In the case of single members of the party, the judgments are: Some method of censure (reproof, reprimand, and so forth), public censure, temporary exclusion from responsible party and soviet work, exclusion from the party, exclusion from the party with communication of his offense to the administrative and judicial authorities. Transfer to standing of applicant on probation as a party penalty is not allowed.

85. Delinquencies against discipline are discussed at the general meetings and by the control commissions and according to the usual procedure and in the established order of jurisdiction.

XIV. *The Financial Resources of the Party*

86. The financial resources of the organization consist of membership dues, subsidies of the higher party organizations and other receipts.

87. Membership dues for party members and applicants on probation are fixed at not less than one-half of 1 per cent. of their wages. There are four categories of membership dues, depending upon the size of the salary. The first category pays one-half of 1 per cent., and second 1 per cent., the third 2 per cent. and the fourth 3 per cent.

88. Membership dues for those who receive an indefinite income, as, for instance, peasants, are fixed by local provincial committees.

89. The unemployed are completely freed from membership dues. The same refers to those who receive pensions (invalids and the aged).

90. There is a special entrance fee of 3 per cent. of the (monthly) wages for those who become applicants on probation, from which no one can be excused.

91. Party members and applicants on probation who have failed to pay their dues for three months without good cause are considered to have left the party. A report should be made of this to the general meeting.

92. The rules for collecting membership dues and party deductions are fixed by special instructions.

XV. *Fractions in Non-Party Organizations*

93. In all congresses, conferences and elective organs (soviet, trade union, coöperative, and so forth), in which there are at least three members of the party, there shall be organized fractions, the purpose of which is generally to strengthen the influence of the party, to carry on its policy among the non-party people and to bring under party control the work of all the above-mentioned institutions and organizations.

For the current work of the fraction a bureau can be elected.

94. Whenever the party committee discusses questions related to a fraction, constituted within an organization, the latter is entitled to send its representatives to the meeting, with the right of a consultant voice.

95. Fractions, no matter what their significance, are completely subordinate to the corresponding party organizations. On all questions on which there exist lawful decisions of corresponding party organizations, fractions are strictly obliged to comply with these decisions. The committee has the right to remove or to send into the fraction any member it desires, but it must let the fraction know its motives for doing so, and the recall and introduction of the new member must be in keeping with the constitution and the regulations of the non-party organ in connection with which the fraction works. The fraction has autonomy on questions of its own internal affairs and current work.

In case there is an essential disagreement between the party committee and the fraction concerning some question which is within the jurisdiction of the latter, the committee is obliged to discuss the question a second time with the representatives of the fraction and to adopt a final decision which must be carried out at once by the fraction.

96. For all more important positions within the organizations in which the fraction is working, candidates shall be proposed by the fraction, together with the corresponding party organization. The same applies to the transfer of individuals from one position to another.

97. All questions having a political importance and which must be discussed by the fraction must be discussed in the presence of representatives of the committee.

98. Questions which have to be decided in the non-party organization in which the fraction is working and which involve matters of principle, as well as all questions which necessitate a

concerted action of the communists, must be considered first in a general meeting or in the bureau of the fraction.

99. On every question which was decided in the fraction of any non-party organization, all the members of the fraction are obliged to vote solidly together in the general meeting of the organization in question. Those who violate this rule are subject to disciplinary measures, applied in the regular order in accordance with the constitution.

100. Fractions constituted in non-party organizations must not be in direct communication with fractions of any lower organs. In case any fraction finds it necessary to carry out its decision through the party channels, this must be done through the intermediation of the corresponding party committee (with the written authorization of the secretary of the committee and one member of the bureau of the fraction).

CHAPTER XIII

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

"The programme of the communist party is a scheme not only of the liberation of the proletariat of one country but for the emancipation of the proletariat of the whole world, for it is a programme of international revolution." [1]

This statement by Bukharin, one of the leading bolshevik journalists and protagonists of communistic doctrines, sums up the purpose of his party. The objective of the party outlined by Bukharin in 1919 does not represent an innovation in social philosophy. An early but undeveloped conception of the same principle of world revolution may be found in a cursory examination of the forces back of the international workingmen's association, commonly called "the international," which was formed in London in 1864.

The first international, composed of workingmen from several countries, rapidly acquired potential strength and asserted its influence in Europe in numerous matters affecting labor. This was the organization which served to propagate the principles of Marx and Engels. It was the first organized exponent, in modern times, of the doctrine of class struggle and of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The first international survived only until 1876.[2] Its dissolution followed the schism which developed between the ideas of the Russian nihilist Bakunin, who joined the association in 1869, on the one hand, and the socialistic programme of the less violent German Jew, Karl Marx, on

[1] See page 697.

[2] See G. M. Stekloff, *The history of the first international* (New York 1928).

the other. The international had served its purpose, however, not only in propagating the theories of Marx but also in stimulating widespread interest in the problems of the workingmen of many countries. Those problems were perhaps as serious then as in the present period of concentration of wealth and 'efficiency'.

When the second international was formed in 1889, the theories of Engels and Marx were triumphant among the socialists. Furthermore, the labor movement was no longer represented by a small group of workingmen led by theorists but by powerful national organizations of workers. Therefore, the aim of the second international to secure the transfer of power to the proletariat was to be pursued under conditions more favorable than those which prevailed at the time of the first international. Then, as now, the dominant industrial and financial interests served to further the objectives of the socialists through a callous disregard for labor.

The existence of powerful national labor organizations, however, brought weakness as well as strength to the second international. A fundamental tenet of Marxism is that workingmen have no fatherland. Theoretically, therefore, it would compel the national leaders of labor parties to consider problems not from the point of view of their own country but from the standpoint of the interests of labor throughout the world. It was difficult to maintain this perspective of universality in one type of question when the rise of nationalism and the national states in Europe had served so thoroughly to instill a more restricted point of view. It was obviously difficult to promote coöperation on a world-wide scale then, as today, when the laboring class in the cities and small towns of the same country apparently feel no common interest.

Lacking leaders of other than national prominence, the second international proved disappointing to many of its supporters, but it steadily pursued its goal. Its methods and work, far removed from the dramatic, were not those

of the nihilist Bakunin. Instead, it sought to establish the power of the proletariat by means of a gradual transition from capitalism to socialism.

It remained for the outbreak of the world war in 1914 to disturb the serenity of the work of the second international. The inevitable test of the national labor organizations was then at hand. The time had passed when a dual allegiance could prevail. There must be, in time of war, loyalty to the national state or to the doctrine of international class war as proclaimed in the resolutions of the second international. When it came to a choice between irreconcilable courses of action, most of the labor parties or groups of socialists supported the policy of their respective governments in waging war. Automatically they became more and more closely allied with the governmental programme; to the same extent they drifted away from the revolutionary elements which still insisted that labor could pursue only international aims and could not participate in a conflict which, it was alleged, was brought on by powerful capitalistic forces. Only a minor group of socialists held to their belief that labor instead of participating in a conflict conducted under the system which was held responsible for the world war, should proclaim an international class war.

In 1915, a conference of socialists opposed to the war met at Zimmerwald, Switzerland. The actual sponsors of the conference, perhaps, remained hidden, but exponents of the programme of international revolution and class warfare were present in force. In revolutionary circles silent supporters and the outspoken proselyte often appear, on the surface, to be strange bedfellows. It is apparently quite possible for the one to be a well-known capitalist and the other a revolutionist of deepest dye. Whatever the conference at Zimmerwald may signify to the initiated, it should be noted here that at that conference, and at the little known conference held at Kien in 1916, there was consti-

tuted the nucleus of a new organization which was to sever relations completely with the second international.

It remained for the bolshévik revolution in Russia in March 1917 to unleash the forces and create the conditions that were to give renewed emphasis to the doctrine of class struggle. The history of the movement in behalf of a dictatorship of the proletariat is, indeed, the history of Russia after the overthrow of the Tsar. Within that country the bolshevik leaders established, in November 1917, what they called the dictatorship of the proletariat. They did not delay in utilizing this centre of their power to extend their influence throughout the world. Again to quote Bukharin, the new soviet state constituted in Russia in 1919 must "be looked upon as a weapon of the universal proletariat against the universal bourgeoisie. The war-cry of this struggle is self-evident—the universal war-cry of this struggle is the motto of the international soviet republic. The overthrow of imperialist governments by means of armed insurrections and the organization of international soviet republics—such is the way to an international dictatorship of the working class." Incidentally, it may be recalled that, shortly after they took over the government of Russia, the bolshevik leaders appropriated a sum of two million rubles to carry out their international aims.

The later development of the programme of world revolution, or the ultimate object of communism in Russia, shows attempts practically to apply the theories of Bukharin. Nine delegates from divers organizations had founded the Russian social democratic labor party at Minsk in 1898. Similarly, but on a grander scale, in 1919 there was to convene in Moscow a congress representing radical elements from many countries. The purpose was to create an organization to carry out the real objectives of a certain group. This group was to be found, perhaps, among the members of the congress; or, perhaps it was not to be found

in any public roster of supporters of world-wide communism. Not to mention the connection of modern subversive movements with the lodges of antiquity, even, or the "southern union of Russian workers" formed in 1874, the conference held in Russia in 1919 was a direct descendant of the conferences at Zimmerwald and Kien.

A proclamation calling a conference of communist parties wherever they existed was sent out by wireless from Petrograd on January 23, 1919.[3] It was announced that the time time had come to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat according to the programme outlined by Bukharin. Thus the "first communist international congress" was called to meet in Moscow in order to "lay the foundation of a common fighting organ, which will be a uniting link, and methodically lead the movement of the centre for the communist international, which subordinates the interests of the movement in every separate country to the common interests of the revolution on an international scale."

The platform of the communist international was first drawn up in a series of 'theses' read by Lenin before the eighth congress of the Russian communist party.[4] These theoretical theses were concerned with the ideology of world revolution. Practical plans were not lacking, however, for effecting the ultimate object of "overthrowing the bourgeois governments and establishing the international republic".[5]

[3] For text see memorandum of the United States department of state entitled *Certain aspects of the bolshevist movement in Russia* (Washington 1920).

[4] It was at the eighth party congress that a programme was likewise approved for the Russian communist party, the name then adopted instead of "Russian social democratic labor party".

[5] From an appeal of the executive committee of the communist international "to the toilers of the world", dated May 1, 1919. This appeal was similar to the manifesto issued to the proletariat of the whole world by the first congress of the communist international. See *Pervyi kongress kommunisticheskogo internatsionala. Protokoly zasedanii v Moskve so 2 po 19 marta 1919* (Petrograd 1921), 161-172.

The third, or communist, international naturally refused to be associated with the second international so long as the tactics of the latter remained unaltered. The two organizations were bitterly opposed from the start.[6] In the opinion of the bolsheviks their own international represented the third stage in the development of Marxian theory. "The first phase was the Marxism of Marx and Engels themselves. Then followed the second phase, which was the Marxism of the second international. At the present time we have the third phase of Marxism, the bolshevik or communist Marxism, which is to a large extent reverting to the original Marxism of Marx and Engels. This was the child of the European revolution of 1848, and therefore possessed a highly revolutionary spirit." [7] Finally, to quote Stalin, "Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions".[8]

At the first congress of the communist international the Russian communist party was represented by its well-known leaders: Lenin, Trotskii, Zinov'ev, Stalin, Bukharin, and Chicherin. Lenin was at the time the president of the soviet of people's commissars. Trotskii had been the first people's commissar for foreign affairs and was at this time the commissar for the army and navy. Stalin was the people's commissar for state control and for nationalities. Zinov'ev, elected as the first president of the communist international, was a member of the presidium of the all-Russian central executive committee. Chicherin was the people's commissar for foreign affairs. The outstanding leaders in the soviet or the constitutional structure established in July 1918 were also the leaders in the communist

[6] See *The second and third internationals and the Vienna Union* (London 1922); R. Palme Dutt, *The two internationals* (London 1920).

[7] Statement by Bukharin at the fourth congress of the communist international on November 18, 1922, in *Fourth congress of the communist international. Abridged report . . .* (London, n.d.), 163-164.

[8] *Questions and answers to American trade unionists* (New York 1927), 20.

international of March 1919. Not only were they the leaders but they also completely dominated the proceedings of the international. Delegates from other lands did little more than approve the revolutionary programme drafted by the bolshevik rulers of Russia.[9]

When the second congress of the communist international was held at Moscow from July 19 to August 7, 1920,[10] the future programme was broadened. Five new documents, which, together with the original 'theses' of Lenin, form the historical basis of this international, were drafted and approved by the congress. They were: (1) the theses postulated by Lenin on the duties of members of the international, (2) a resolution on the rôle of the communist party in the proletarian revolution, (3) a resolution on the creation of soviets, (4) the theses of Lenin on the question of nationalities, and (5) the theses on the agrarian question. These planks in the platform of the communist international are discussed in their order.

The twenty-one points drafted by Lenin to cover the duties of members of the international were approved by the second congress "in order to establish perfectly exact conditions of admission of new parties, as well as to inform such parties already admitted to the communist international of all duties incumbent upon them".[11] These points form the basis of the work of the international from this time. They are reproduced in full here, together with footnote references relating to the manner in which they have been carried out in practice.

[9] "Foreigners . . . have to learn how to understand all that we have written about the organization and upbuilding of the communist parties, *which they have subscribed to without reading and without understanding it.*" Lenin at the fourth congress of the communist international on November 13, 1923, in *Fourth congress,* as cited, 119. Italics not in original. It is unusual to find such a touch of nationalism in a statement by a communist.

[10] See *The Communist International,* No. 13.

[11] *Rezoliutsii i ustav kommunisticheskogo internatsionala priniatye vtorym kongressom komintern,* 29-37.

The second congress of the communist international adopts the following conditions for membership in the communist international:

1. The entire propaganda and agitation must bear a genuinely communistic character and agree with the programme and the decision of the third international. All the press organs of the party must be managed by responsible communists, who have proved their devotion to the cause of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat must not be talked about as if it were an ordinary formula learned by heart, but it must be agitated for in such a way as to make its necessity apparent to every plain worker, soldier, and peasant through the facts of daily life, which must be systematically watched by our press and fully utilized from day to day.

The periodical and non-periodical press and all party publishing concerns must be under the complete control of the party management, whether the party as a whole is at that moment legal or illegal. It is inadmissible for the publishing concerns to abuse their autonomy and to follow a policy which does not entirely correspond to the party's policy.[12]

In the columns of the press, at public meetings, in trade unions, in coöperatives, and all other places where the supporters of the third international are admitted, it is necessary systematically and unmercifully to brand, not only the bourgeoisie, but also its accomplices, the reformers of all types.[13]

2. Every organization that wishes to affiliate with the communist international must regularly and systematically remove the reformist and centrist elements from all the more or less important posts in the labor movement (in party organizations, editorial offices, trade unions, parliamentary groups, coöperatives, and municipal administrations) and replace them with well-tried communists, without taking offence at the fact that, especially in

[12] Since the organs of the communist parties of different countries are subsidized from Moscow, there is little danger of an abuse of 'autonomy'. They are compelled for financial reasons either to accept the orders given from Moscow or to suspend publication. As is sometimes true in other political faiths, the purse proves stronger than the will.

[13] The communists have been perhaps more bitter in their attacks on the socialists than on the capitalists. In view of the events preceding the bolshevik revolution in Russia, this hostility may appear unreal. Kerenskii served the bolsheviks well, even if unintentionally; the same is true of the socialist leaders in several countries.

the beginning, the places of 'experienced' opportunists will be filled by plain workers from the masses.

33. In nearly every country of Europe and America the class struggle is entering upon the phase of civil war. Under such circumstances the communists can have no confidence in bourgeois legality.

It is their duty to create everywhere a parallel illegal machine for organization which at the decisive moment will be helpful to the party in fulfilling its duty to the revolution.

In all countries where the communists, because of a state of siege and because of exceptional laws directed against them, are unable to carry on their whole work legally, it is absolutely necessary to combine legal with illegal activities.

4. The duty of spreading communist ideas includes the special obligation to carry on a vigorous and systematic propaganda in the army.[14] Where this agitation is forbidden by special laws it is to be carried on illegally. Renunciation of such activities would be the same as treason to revolutionary duty and would be incompatible with membership in the third international.

5. It is necessary to carry on a systematic and well-planned agitation in the country districts.[15] The working class can not triumph unless its policy will have insured it the support of the country proletariat and at least a part of the poorer farmers, and the neutrality of part of the rest of the village population. The communistic work in the country is gaining greatly in importance at the present time. It must be carried on principally with the help of the revolutionary communist workers in the city and the country who have connections in the country. Renunciation of this work or its transfer to unreliable, semi-reformist hands is equal to renunciation of the proletarian revolution.[16]

6. Every party that wishes to belong to the third international is obligated to unmask not only open social patriotism, but also the dishonesty and hypocrisy of social pacifism, and systematically bring to the attention of the workers the fact that, without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no kind of an

[14] See below on propaganda in France. In most of the European countries local communists have been accused and convicted of having served Moscow at the expense of the military security of their own country.

[15] See chapter XI, *passim,* on propaganda in Soviet Russia.

[16] This leadership from the city is another indication of the fact that revolutions do not arise in agrarian regions. See page 29.

international court of arbitration, no kind of an agreement regarding the limitation of armaments, no kind of a 'democratic' renovation of the league of nations will be able to prevent fresh imperialistic wars.

7. The parties wishing to belong to the communist international are obligated to proclaim a clean break with the reformism and with the policy of the 'centre' and to propagate this break throughout the ranks of the entire party membership. Without this a logical communist policy is impossible.

The communist international demands unconditionally and in the form of an ultimatum the execution of this break within a very brief period. The communist international can not reconcile itself to a condition that would allow notorious opportunists, such as are now represented by Turati, Kautsky, Hilferding, Hillquit, Longuet, MacDonald, Modigliani, et al., to have the right to be counted as members of the third international. That could only lead to the third international resembling to a high degree the dead second international.[17]

8. In the matter of colonies and oppressed nations a particularly clear-cut stand by the parties is necessary in those countries whose bourgeoisie is in possession of colonies and oppresses other nations.

Every party wishing to belong to the communist international is obligated to unmask the tricks of its own imperialists in the colonies, to support every movement for freedom in the colonies, not only with words but with deeds, to demand the expulsion of its native imperialists from those colonies, to create in the hearts of the workers of its own country a genuine fraternal feeling for the working population of the colonies and for the oppressed nations and to carry on a systematic agitation among the troops of its own country against all oppression of the colonial peoples.[18]

9. Every party wishing to belong to the communist international must systematically and persistently develop a communistic agitation within the trade unions, the workers' and shop soviets, the coöperatives of consumption and other mass organizations of the workers.[19]

[17] The second international is still in existence. The communists declare that it is 'dead', but, nevertheless, they carry on a bitter campaign against it.

[18] See below.

[19] See M. Jenks, *The communist nucleus. What it is—how it works* (New York 1928).

Within these organizations it is necessary to organize communist nuclei which, through continuous and persistent work, are to win over the trade unions, etc., for the cause of communism. These nuclei are obligated in their daily work everywhere to expose the treason of social patriots and the instability of the 'centre'. The communist nuclei must be completely under the control of the party as a whole.

10. Every party belonging to the communist international is obligated to carry on a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam 'international' of the yellow trade unions. It must carry on a most emphatic propaganda among the workers organized in trade unions for a break with the yellow Amsterdam international. With all its means it must support the rising international association of the red trade unions which affiliate with the communist international.

11. Parties wishing to belong to the third international are obligated to subject the personnel of the party groups to a revision, to cleanse these groups of all unreliable elements, and to make these groups subject to the party executives, not only in form but in fact, by demanding that each communist member of parliament subordinate his entire activities to the interests of genuinely revolutionary propaganda and agitation.[20]

12. The parties belonging to the communist international must be built upon the principle of democratic centralization. In the present epoch of acute civil war the communist party will only be in a position to do its duty if it is organized along extremely centralized lines, if it is controlled by iron discipline, and if its party central body, supported by the confidence of the party membership, is fully equipped with power, authority, and the most far-reaching faculties.

13. The communist parties of those countries where the communists carry on their work legally must from time to time institute cleansings (registrations) of the personnel of their party organizations in order systematically to rid the party of the petty bourgeois elements creeping into it.[21]

[20] The extent to which this has been carried out is evident in any review of the records of the leaders of the communist groups in the European parliaments. France, for example, has been confronted on numerous occasions with the treasonable—from a national point of view—acts of deputies Cachin, Doriot, and others.

[21] For reference to the 'cleansing' of the communist party of the Soviet Union see chapter XII, *passim*.

14. Every party wishing to belong to the communist international is obligated to offer unqualified support to every soviet republic in its struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces. The communist parties must carry on a clean-cut propaganda for the hindering of the transportation of munitions of war to the enemies of the Soviet Republic; and, furthermore, they must use all means, legal or illegal, to carry propaganda, etc., among the troops sent to throttle the workers' republic.

15. Parties that have thus far still retained their old social democratic programmes are now obligated to alter these programmes within the shortest time possible and, in accordance with the particular conditions of their countries, work out a new communist programme in the sense of the decisions of the communist international.

As a rule the programme of every party belonging to the communist international must be sanctioned by the regular congress of the communist international, or by its executive committee.

In case the programme of any party is not sanctioned by the executive committee of the communist international, the party concerned has the right to appeal to the congress of the communist international.

16. All decisions of the congresses of the communist international, as well as the decisions of its executive committee, are binding upon all the parties belonging to the communist international. The communist international, which is working under conditions of the most acute civil war, must be constructed along much more centralized lines than was the case with the second international.

In this connection, of course, the communist international and its executive committee must, in all their activities, take into consideration the varied conditions under which the individual parties have to fight and labor, and adopt only decisions of general application regarding such questions as can be covered by such decisions.

17. In connection with this, all parties wishing to belong to the communist international must change their names. Every party wishing to belong to the communist international must bear the name: communist party of such and such a country (section of the third communist international). The question of name is not only a formal matter, but is also to a high degree a political question of great importance.

The communist international has declared war upon the whole

bourgeois world and all yellow social democratic parties. It is necessary to make clear to every plain workingman the difference between the communist parties and the old official 'social democratic' and 'socialist' parties that have betrayed the banner of the working class.

18. All the leading press organs of the parties of all countries are obligated to print all important official documents of the executive committee of the communist international.

19. All parties that belong to the communist international, or that have applied for admission to it, are obligated to call, as soon as possible, but at the latest not more than four months after the second congress of the second international, a special convention for the purpose of examining all these conditions.

In this connection the central bodies must see to it that all the local organizations are made acquainted with the decisions of the second congress of the communist international.

20. Those parties that thus far wish to enter into the third international, but have not radically changed their former tactics, must see to it that two-thirds of the members of their central committees and of all their important central bodies are comrades who unambiguously and publicly declared in favor of their parties' entry into the third international before the second congress of the communist international.

Exceptions may be allowed with the approval of the executive committee of the third international. The executive committee of the communist international also has the right to make exceptions in the cases of the representatives of the centre tendency named in paragraph 7.

21. Those party members who, on principle, reject the conditions and theses laid down by the communist international are to be expelled from the party.[22]

The same thing applies especially to delegates to the special party convention.

The second fundamental document of the communist international, the resolution on the rôle of the communist parties, defines the party as "that lever of political organization by means of which the most advanced part of the

[22] See chapter XII on the conflict in the Russian communist party in 1926-28. The 'liquidation' of this conflict showed that the tactics proposed by Lenin continue to prevail.

working class directs the mass of the proletariat and semi-proletariat along the right road".[23] Only after the complete and final defeat of the bourgeois order would it prove possible for practically all the workmen to "begin to enter the ranks of the communist party".[24] This policy of restricted membership and dictatorship by a small "most advanced" minority is explanatory of the sundry resolutions of the party congresses and conferences of this period.

The appearance of the soviets, according to the above-mentioned resolution, in no respect loosened the directing activity of the communist party. In the early revolutionary period the Petrograd soviet had been dominated by Georgian mensheviks. Unless the party were dominant, such a thing might recur. Accordingly the communist party should be "sufficiently strong to be able not merely to 'adapt' itself to the soviets, but to be in a position to exert decisively a pressure on their policy, to compel the soviets themselves to give up 'adaptation' to the bourgeoisie and the white social democracy and to be able, through the instrumentality of the communist fraction in the soviets, to lead the soviets after the communist party".[25] How well this platform has been applied is shown in every matter of any importance which has arisen under the constitutionally created system of soviets.

Finally, the resolution of the communist international on the rôle of the communist party declared that the party "should be built up on the basis of iron proletarian centralism". Furthermore, it "must be built on the basis of *democratic centralism*. The main principles of democratic centralism are the election of the upper body by the lower body: the absolute compulsory nature of the decisions of the upper body for the lower, the latter being subordinate to the former; and the existence of an authoritative party

[23] See the memorandum of the United States state department entitled *The 2nd congress of the communist international* (Washington 1920), 88.
[24] *Ibid.*, 92.
[25] *Ibid.*, 93.

centre as the undisputed directing institution of party life from one congress to another." [26]

The constitution of the RSFSR antedated this resolution by two years. Constitutional principles were merely reaffirmed, as were likewise the well-established practices of the Russian communist party. The hierarchy of inferior soviets has been discussed in detail in connection with the soviet constitutional structure. The organization has been traced through to a very select group known as a presidium, with the intimation that the final source of authority did not rest there but in a party organ. The resolution quoted above indicates the final authority so far as the 'government' of Russia is concerned. It is the "authoritative party centre". That centre, it would seem, need not even be elected on the basis of 'democratic centralism', or the election of the upper body by the lower body. In practice it has not worked out that way in the system of soviets; naturally enough the centre is not thus created in the communist party.

The theses formulated by Lenin on the question of nationalities and colonies repeated well-known revolutionary philosophy. Despite the lack of freedom of the nationalities in Russia, which was becoming more pronounced daily, it was deemed quite fitting to theorize on the problem of 'colonial' peoples.

Contrary to the very concrete aims of the league of nations in safeguarding political boundaries, it was declared that the policy of the communist international in national questions must be to unite the working masses of all nations against international capitalism. The international, therefore, should attempt not only to bring about a brotherhood among the workers of all nations, but also to create a closer understanding between all 'oppressed colonies' on the

[26] It has been pointed out already that these principles have reached their acme in the organization of the communist party of the Soviet Union. The practice in the USSR has, in brief, been prescribed for other countries.

one hand and the soviets on the other. Incidentally, it is to be noted that soviet writers in certain instances characterize the Russian revolution and the organization of the international as the final step on the road to the freedom of all 'oppressed' peoples.[27] In particular, the fifth congress of the international, held in 1924, is often given credit for outlining the entire policy of the soviet government as regards the nationalities within the Soviet Union.[28]

The theses drafted by Lenin proposed active assistance to the communists in the "backward countries", a struggle against pan-Islamic movements[29] which were regarded as nationalistic, and the formation of the peasantry into soviets. Temporarily, the international could enter into agreements or even into an alliance with the bourgeoisie in the backward countries if political expediency warranted such action, but the objective of communistic supremacy was to be preserved. It was realized that in the early stages, in the colonies as under Kerenskii in Russia, the international would have to accept the "petty-bourgeois character of the revolution". After this transitional period, however, the communists would become supreme.

In order to carry out these objectives, the theses of Lenin stated that the general mission of the international was to "organize the working classes the world over in order to destroy the capitalistic order and to propagate communism. The communist international is the militant unit which must bring together all the revolutionary powers of all

[27] See the introduction by N. N. Popov to *Lenin o natsional'nom voprose.*

[28] S. Dranitsyn, *Konstitutsiia SSSR i RSFSR,* 74-75. The communist international is conceived of even by soviet constitutional writers as falling within the scope of a treatise on the soviet constitution. The 'soviet government', however, insists that it has no connection with this 'party organ'.

[29] One of the chief instruments of communistic propaganda in the Eastern countries is the University of the Peoples of the East, established in Moscow. See Stalin, *Leninism,* 267-268 ("Political tasks of the University of the Peoples of the East"), 269-275 ("Tasks of the university in the matter of the soviet republics in the east"), 276-282 ("Tasks of the university in the matter of colonies and dependencies of the east").

countries." [30] Or, to quote Trotskii and Eugen Varga, "the communist party always strives to fortify the contested positions, to get the masses used to active manoeuvring, to equip them with new methods calculated to lead to an open conflict with the enemy forces. . . . The communist party strives to deepen and widen the class conflicts, to combine them nationally and internationally by unity of goal and of practical activity, in such a way as to remove the hindrances in the way of the proletariat and to lead it on to the socialist revolution".[31]

The plank in the platform of the communist international dealing with the creation of soviets of workers' deputies reverts to the soviet of 1905 for its inspiration.[32] In 1905 the soviets could exist only in time of actual internal struggle. Suppressed by the government of the Tsar as soon as the revolutionary outbreaks were under control, the Petrograd soviet ceased to exist, only to reappear in 1917. The bolshevik group, however, warned the workers not to create the soviet immediately, for such a step would be proper only after the revolution had begun and when the problem of immediate struggle for authority would occur.

In March 1917, the time was judged opportune to form the soviet of "workers' and soldiers' deputies". The authority enjoyed by this body was at first very short-lived. When the bourgeois elements, supported by the 'social traitors'—the name applied to socialist revolutionists and mensheviks —took over the power in March 1917, the authority of the soviet was again somewhat on the decline. But after the days of July and after General Kornilov had failed in his attempt to save Russia from the bolsheviks, the soviets again became important. Their prestige increased daily; their authority was destined thereafter to become all-important.

[30] *Rezoliutsii i ustav kommunisticheskogo internatsionala,* 99.

[31] *The international situation and our problems* (Moscow, published by the press bureau of the Komintern, 14-15).

[32] See page 460.

These facts, according to the resolution on the creation of the soviets, showed that there were three requisites for the creation of soviets: first, the existence of a widespread revolutionary spirit; second, the bringing of the economic and political situation to such a crisis that the existing government would lose all its controlling power; and third, a serious, definite aim with adequately prepared means to start a systematic and bitter struggle for power. The tactics of the soviets should be guided accordingly. Furthermore, attempts should be made to bring about these essential conditions, for "the soviets are possible only as a form of state oganization replacing the bourgeois democracy, destroying it, and substituting for it, finally, the dictatorship of the workers." [33]

The resolution on the agrarian question adopted by the second congress of the international completes the platform as then formulated. It was frankly recognized that communism must have not only its primary support but especially its leadership among the city and industrial proletariat. This class would direct the peasantry and proletariat of the villages, and, by the ordinary means of propaganda, at least make them passive to domination by the system of soviets or the party.

With the historical and practical basis of communism thus formulated in a party platform, the second congress of the communist international completed its work by drawing up a constitution on its organization. This document provided for a world congress, composed of representatives from the communist parties of all countries, and an inner body called the executive committee. The details of this organization were perfected at later congresses.

When the third world congress of the communist international met at Moscow from June 22 to July 12, 1921,[34]

[33] *Rezoliutsii i ustav,* as cited, 71.

[34] See *Theses and resolutions adopted at the third world congress of the communist international* (New York, Contemporary Publishing Association, 1921), 30.

the principal question concerned party tactics. The platform of the international had already been elaborated. It was next a question of the methods to be used in bringing about a world revolution. On this point a newly developed thesis pointed out the distinction between the communist international and the social democrats of all shades of opinion. To quote this thesis, the difference "does not consist in the fact that we are trying to force the revolution and set a definite date for it, while they are opposed to any utopian and immature uprisings. No, the distinction lies in the fact that the social democrats are hindering the actual development of the revolution by rendering all possible assistance in the way of restoring the equilibrium of the bourgeois state, while the communists, on the other hand, are trying to take advantage of all means and methods for the purpose of overthrowing and destroying the capitalist government and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat." [35]

Wherever they resided, communists were intrusted with carrying out this programme. In all cases they were to take their directions from Moscow. There, according to a thesis approved by the third congress, "in the first year of its existence, the communist international called upon the communist parties not to confine themselves to propaganda, but to utilize every avenue which bourgeois society is compelled to leave open, for agitation and the organization of the proletariat: the free press, the right of association, and the bourgeois parliamentary institutions, however worthless they may be, forging them into a weapon, into a tribune, into a gathering centre for communism". [36]

The tactics employed by the communist parties in the European countries are known in their general outline. Under the orders of and subsidized by the centre at Moscow, communist parliamentarians have succeeded in hampering the work of several legislative bodies. At the same

[35] *Ibid.*, 30. [36] *Ibid.*, 39.

time, availing themselves of the privilege of parliamentary immunity, they have been able with impunity to carry out what the third congress called the "chief general duty" of communists to the open revolutionary struggle, namely, "to carry on revolutionary propaganda agitation".[37] The newspaper published by the party serves as a means to unite communists just as the *Iskra* did in pre-revolutionary Russia. In addition to the propaganda spread by the press, numerous meetings are convoked. These usually show an adaptation, depending upon the country, of the instructions issued by the third congress of the international on assemblies for purposes of propaganda. It is proposed that "wherever communists convene their own workers' meetings, they must endeavor to have considerable groups of communists distributed among the audience, and they must make all due preparations for the assurance of satisfactory propaganda results".[38] These tactics were employed in the days of the provisional government in Russia. Similarly, they are employed today, whether it be in an ordinary street meeting, in a congress of soviets, or in a congress, conference, or meeting of the communist party.

Finally, as concerns the tactics sponsored by the third congress of the international, the policy concerning the armed forces of all countries deserves special mention. When the tsarist régime was overthrown, the propaganda of all subversive elements was directed towards a demoralization of the army. The move was successful. It was reasoned, therefore, that world revolution could be started by a similar demoralization of the armed forces of the capitalistic countries. One of the resolutions adopted by the communist international in 1921 covered this point in detail. Civil military clubs or organizations should be encouraged "for the purpose of giving the workers military training for the revolutionary battles to come". Workers, in fact, should be armed whenever possible. On the other hand, the com-

[37] *Ibid.*, 84-85. [38] *Ibid.*, 90.

mon soldier should be taught to disobey the officers, just as he was instructed to do in the early days of the Russian revolution. "Agitation for the democratic election of all commanders by the privates and sailors, and for the formation of soviets of soldiers may prove very advantageous in undermining the foundations of capitalist rule." [39] That the subversion of the military forces of all countries is still regarded as a vital matter is shown in a typical communication from a communist in France given in the report of the executive committee read at the sixth enlarged plenum of the international at the beginning of 1926. This letter stated that "parallel with the customary disorders in the street, manifest signs of decomposition have been observed in the ranks of our [French] troops and of our police. The communists try to profit by all misfortunes which befall our country from their agitation to the detriment of France and her prestige. . . . French and Italian communists living in France have profited from the war in Morocco to carry out anti-militaristic agitation in the country and in the army." [40]

The fourth congress of the communist international held in Petrograd and Moscow from November 7 to December 3, 1922,[41] added little that was new to the statement of the aims, methods, or general procedure of the communist organization. The report by Zinov'ev on the activity of the executive committee,[42] the account by Lenin of five

[39] *Ibid.*, 92. See *Tableaux des organisations soviétiques travaillant à la révolution dans tous les pays.* Genève, Bureau permanente de l'entente internationale contre la IIIme internationale, 1928.

[40] *Shestoi rasshirennyi plenum ispolkoma kominterna,* 48. "Since November 1927, the central committee, with the support of the communist international, has followed a new course. . . . The party set up the slogan 'class against class'." Article by M. Thorez (Paris) on the tasks of the communist party of France, in *International Press Correspondence,* July 19, 1928, 695.

[41] *Fourth congress,* as cited.

[42] See the *Report of the executive committee of the communist international to the fifth world congress,* published in 1928 by the communist party of Great Britain.

years of the Russian revolution and its perspective, the discussions of the colonial and agrarian problems, the debates on the policy of a united front proclaimed in December 1921, and the resolutions on furthering revolutions in various countries—all served merely to restate the ultimate aims of the international communist.

When the fifth world congress assembled in Moscow from June 17 to July 8, 1924,[43] the principal question on the agenda was the adoption of a new programme. This matter had been discussed at the fourth congress in December 1922. Bukharin had then expressed the hope that it would be possible to "emerge from the fifth congress with an effective, truly revolutionary, orthodox Marxian programme."[44] At the fifth congress, however, it was decided to adopt only a draft programme which could then be submitted to the parties affiliated with the international. Final approval of this programme would be given by the executive committee and then by the sixth world congress.

A final draft or restatement of the aims of communism resulted from the sixth world congress. The essential documents are a programme[45] of twenty thousand words adopted on September 1, 1928, a manifesto of the congress,[46] and a report by Bukharin, the president of the congress, on the results of the sixth session.[47] The tenor of these documents is shown by quotations.

The introduction to the programme of the communist international declares that "the epoch of imperialism is the

[43] The voluminous nature of the discussions is indicated by the published minutes, which run to 1319 pages of closely printed matter. An abridged report, entitled *Fifth congress of the communist international*, was published by the communist party of Great Britain. The resolutions and theses of the congress are published separately in the *Communist International* (London), no. 7 (new series).

[44] Fourth congress, as cited, 172.

[45] 8 *International Press Correspondence* (Vienna), December 31, 1928; *Izvestiia*, September 5, 1928.

[46] *Ibid.*, December 31, 1928, and September 2, 1928, respectively, and document I, this chapter.

[47] *Ibid.*, October 9, 1928, and September 12, 1928, respectively.

epoch of moribund capitalism". Its system of finance capital and exploitation of the proletariat create "the necessity for closely uniting the workers of all countries, irrespective of state frontiers, and of differences of nationality, culture, language, race, sex, or profession in a single international army of the proletariat. Thus, while imperialism develops and completes the process of creating the material prerequisites for socialism, it at the same time musters the army of its own grave-diggers and compels the proletariat to organize in a militant international workers' association."

As the united and centralized international party of the proletariat, the communist international is the only party to continue the principles of the first international, and to carry them out upon the new mass foundation of the revolutionary proletarian movement. The experience gathered from the first imperialist war, from the subsequent period of revolutionary crisis of capitalism, from the series of revolutions in Europe and in the colonial countries; the experience gathered from the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building up of socialism in the USSR and from the work of all sections of the communist international as recorded in the decisions of its congresses; finally, the fact that the struggle between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the proletariat is more and more assuming an international character—all this creates the need for a uniform programme of the communist international that shall be common for all sections of the communist international. This programme of the communist international, being the supreme critical generalisation of the whole body of historical experience of the international revolutionary proletarian movement, becomes the programme of struggle for the world proletarian dictatorship, the programme of struggle for world communism.

Uniting, as it does, the revolutionary workers, who lead the millions of oppressed and exploited against the bourgeoisie and its "socialist" agents, the communist international regards itself as the historical successor to the "communist league" and the first international led by Marx, and as the inheritor of the best of the pre-war traditions of the second international.

The introduction to the programme concludes as follows: "The communist international is the only international force

that has for its programme the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism, and that openly comes out as the organizer of the international proletarian revolution."

The first section of the programme deals with "the world system of capitalism, its development and inevitable downfall". It traces the characteristic features of capitalist society, especially in the epoch of industrial capital. "Industrial capitalism" was a period of steady expansion throughout the world. About the beginning of the twentieth century this period was replaced by imperialism, "during which capitalism developed spasmodically and conflictingly; free competition rapidly gave way to monopoly, the previously 'available' colonial lands were all divided up, and the struggle for a redistribution of colonies and spheres of influence inevitably began to assume primarily the form of a struggle by force of arms". Imperialism is expected to cause the downfall of capitalism.

In squeezing enormous sums of surplus profits out of the millions of colonial workers and peasants and in accumulating colossal incomes from this exploitation, imperialism is creating a type of decaying and parasitically degenerate rentier-class, as well as a whole strata of parasites who live by clipping coupons. While completing the process of creating the material prerequisites for socialism (the concentration of means of production, the enormous socialization of labor, the growth of labor organizations), the epoch of imperialism at the same time intensifies the antagonisms among the 'great powers' and gives rise to wars which cause the break-up of single world economy. Imperialism is therefore moribund and decaying capitalism. It is the final stage of development of the capitalist system. It is the threshold of world social revolution.

"Hence, international proletarian revolution logically emerges out of the conditions of development of capitalism generally, and out of its imperialist phase in particular. The capitalist system as a whole is approaching its final collapse. The dictatorship of finance capital is perishing, to give way to the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The second section of the programme deals with "the general crisis of capitalism and the first phase of world revolu-

tion". It traces the progress of the revolutionary movement as a result of the capitalist world war.

Of special importance in the field covered by this book is the third section on "the ultimate aim of the communist international—world communism". The complete text follows:

> The ultimate aim of the communist international is to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of communism. Communist society, the basis for which has been prepared by the whole course of historical development, is mankind's only way out, for it alone can abolish the contradictions of the capitalist system which threaten to degrade and destroy the human race.
>
> Communist society will abolish the class division of society, i.e., simultaneously with the abolition of anarchy in production, it will abolish all forces of exploitation and oppression of man by man. Society will no longer consist of antagonistic classes in conflict with each other, but will represent a united commonwealth of labor. For the first time in its history mankind will take its fate into its own hands. Instead of destroying innumerable human lives and incalculable wealth in struggles between classes and nations, mankind will devote all its energy to the struggle against the forces of nature, to the development and strengthening of its own collective might.
>
> After abolishing private ownership in the means of production and converting them into social property, the world system of communism will replace the elemental forces of the world market, of competition and the blind process of social production, by consciously organized and planned production for the purpose of satisfying rapidly growing social needs. With the abolition of competition and anarchy in production, devastating crises and still more devastating wars will disappear. Instead of colossal waste of productive forces and spasmodic development of society —there will be planned utilization of all material resources and painless economic development on the basis of unrestricted, smooth and rapid development of productive forces.
>
> The abolition of private property and the disappearance of classes will do away with the exploitation of man by man. Work will cease to be toiling for the benefit of a class enemy: instead of being merely a means of livelihood it will become a necessity of life: want and economic inequality, the misery of enslaved classes, and a wretched standard of life generally will disappear; the hierarchy created in the division of labor system will be

abolished together with the antagonism between mental and manual labor; and the last vestige of the social inequality of sexes will be removed. At the same time, the organs of class domination, and the state in the first place, will disappear also. The state, being the embodiment of class domination, will die out in so far as classes die out, and with it all measures of coercion will expire.

With the disappearance of classes the monopoly of education in every form will be abolished. Culture will become the acquirement of all and the class ideologies of the past will give place to scientific materialist philosophy. Under such circumstances, the domination of man over man, in any form, becomes impossible, and a great field will be opened for the social selection and the harmonious development of all the talents inherent in humanity.

In communist society no social restrictions will be imposed upon the growth of the forces of production. Private ownership in the means of production, the selfish lust for profits, the artificial retention of the masses in a state of ignorance, poverty—which retards technical progress in capitalist society, and unproductive expenditures will have no place in communist society. The most expedient utilization of the forces of nature and of the natural conditions of production in the various parts of the world; the removal of the antagonism between town and country, that under capitalism results from the low technical level of agriculture and its systematic lagging behind industry; the closest possible coöperation between science and technics, the utmost encouragement of research work and the practical application of its results on the widest possible social scale; planned organization of scientific work; the application of the most perfect methods of statistical accounting and planned regulation of economy; the rapidly growing social needs, which is the most powerful internal driving force of the whole system—all these will secure the maximum productivity of social labor, which in turn will release human energy for the powerful development of science and art.

The development of the productive forces of world communist society will make it possible to raise the well-being of the whole of humanity and to reduce to a minimum the time devoted to material production and, consequently, will enable culture to flourish as never before in history. This new culture of a humanity that is united for the first time in history, and has abolished all state boundaries, will, unlike capitalist culture, be based upon clear and transparent human relationships. Hence,

it will bury forever all mysticism, religion, prejudice and superstition and will give a powerful impetus to the development of all-conquering, scientific knowledge.

This higher stage of communism, the stage in which communist society has already developed on its own foundation, in which an enormous growth of social productive forces has accompanied the manifold development of man, in which humanity has already inscribed on its banner: "From each according to his abilities to each according to his needs!"—presupposes, as an historical condition precedent, a lower stage of development, the stage of socialism. At this lower stage, communist society only just emerges from capitalist society and bears all the economic, ethical and intellectual birth-marks it has inherited from the society from whose womb it is just emerging. The productive forces of socialism are not yet sufficiently developed to assure a distribution of the products of labor according to needs: these are distributed according to the amount of labor expended. Division of labor, i.e., the system whereby certain groups perform certain labor functions, and especially the distinction between mental and manual labor, still exists. Although classes are abolished, traces of the old class division of society and, consequently, remnants of the proletarian state power, coercion, laws, still exist. Consequently, certain traces of inequality, which have not yet managed to die out altogether, still remain. The antagonism between town and country has not yet been entirely removed. But none of these survivals of former society is protected or defended by any social force. Being the product of a definite level of development of productive forces, they will disappear as rapidly as mankind, freed from the fetters of the capitalist system, subjugates the forces of nature, re-educates itself in the spirit of communism, and passes from socialism to complete communism.

Section four of the programme, treating of "the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat", gives indirectly a good perspective of the rôle of socialist parties. It has been pointed out in the account of the transition from tsarism to bolshevism that Kerenskii and other socialists in Russia were merely used as a stepping stone for the communists. This is the procedure expected to result in other countries.

The nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat in its soviet form is stated as follows:

> The soviet state, being the highest form of democracy, namely, proletarian democracy, is the very opposite of bourgeois democracy, which is bourgeois dictatorship in a masked form. The soviet state is the dictatorship of the proletariat, the rule of a single class—the proletariat. Unlike bourgeois democracy, proletarian democracy openly admits its class character and aims avowedly at the suppression of the exploiters in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population. . . . While disarming and suppressing its class enemies, the proletarian state at the same time regards this deprivation of political rights and partial restriction of liberty as temporary measures in the struggle against the attempts on the part of the exploiters to defend or restore their privileges. . . . Being an all-embracing form of the unity and organization of the masses under the leadership of the proletariat, the soviets, in actual fact, draw the broad masses of the proletariat, the peasants and all toilers into the struggle for socialism, into the work of building of socialism, and into the practical administration of the state. . . . The right of electing and recalling delegates, the combination of the executive with the legislative power, the electoral system based on a production and not on a residential qualification (election by workshops, factories, etc.)—all this secures for the working class and for the broad masses of the toilers who march under its hegemony, systematic, continuous, and active participation in all public affairs—economic, social, political, military, and cultural—and marks the sharp difference that exists between the bourgeois parliamentary republic and the soviet dictatorship of the proletariat. . . .
>
> Soviet democracy therefore, is proletarian democracy, democracy of the toiling masses, democracy directed against the exploiters.

The fifth section of the programme of the communist international covers "the dictatorship of the proletariat in the international social revolution". An account is given of how socialism has been built up in the USSR. Then special attention is given to "the significance of the USSR and her world revolutionary duties":

Having defeated Russian imperialism and liberated all the former colonies and oppressed nations of the Tsarist Empire, and systematically laying a firm foundation for their cultural and political development by industrializing their territories; having guaranteed the juridical position of the autonomous territories, autonomous republics and union republics in the constitution of the Union and having granted in full the right of nations to self-determination—the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR, by this guarantees, not only formal, but also real equality for the different nationalities in the Union.

Being the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialist construction, the land of great working class achievements, of the union of the workers with the peasants and of a new culture marching under the banner of Marxism—the USSR inevitably becomes the base of the world movement of all oppressed classes, the center of international revolution, the greatest factor in world history. In the USSR, the world proletariat for the first time acquires a country that is really its own, and for the colonial movements the USSR becomes a powerful center of attraction.

Thus, the USSR is an extremely important factor in the general crisis of capitalism, not only because she has dropped out of the world capitalist system and has created a basis for a new socialist system of production, but also because she plays an exceptionally great revolutionary rôle generally; she is the international driving force of proletarian revolution that impels the proletariat of all countries to seize power; she is the living example proving that the working class is not only capable of destroying capitalism, but of building up socialism as well; she is the prototype of the fraternity of nationalities in all lands united in the World Union of Socialist Republics and of the economic unity of the toilers of all countries in a single world socialist economic system that the world proletariat must establish when it has captured political power.

The simultaneous existence of two economic systems: the socialist system in the USSR and the capitalist system in other countries, imposes on the proletarian state the task of warding off the blows showered upon it by the capitalist world (boycott, blockade, etc.), and also compels it to resort to economic manoeuvring with and utilizing economic contacts with capitalist countries (with the aid of the monopoly of foreign trade—which is one of the fundamental conditions for the successful building

up of socialism, and also with the aid of credits, loans, concessions, etc.). The principal and fundamental line to be followed in this connection must be the line of establishing the widest possible contact with foreign countries—within limits determined by their usefulness to the USSR, i.e. primarily for strengthening industry in the USSR, for laying the base for her own heavy industry and electrification and finally, for the development of her own socialist engineering industry. Only to the extent that the economic independence of the USSR in the capitalist environment is secured, can solid guarantees be obtained against the danger that socialist construction in the USSR may be destroyed and that the USSR may be transformed into an appendage of the world capitalist system.

On the other hand, notwithstanding their interest in the markets of the USSR, the capitalist states continually vacillate between their commercial interests and their fear of the growth of the USSR, which means the growth of international revolution. However, the principal and fundamental tendency in the policy of the imperialist powers is to encircle the USSR and conduct counter-revolutionary war against her in order to strangle her and to establish a world bourgeois terrorist régime.

The systematic imperialist attempts politically to encircle the USSR and the growing danger of an armed attack upon her, do not, however, prevent the communist party of the Soviet Union —a section of the communist international and the leader of the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR—from fulfilling its international obligations and from rendering support to all the oppressed, to the labor movements in capitalist countries, to colonial movements against imperialism and to the struggle against national oppression in every form.

The "duties of the international proletariat to the U.S.S.R." are defined as follows:

In view of the fact that the USSR is the only fatherland of the international proletariat, the principal bulwark of its achievements and the most important factor for its international emancipation, the international proletariat must on its part facilitate the success of the work of socialist construction in the USSR and defend her against the attacks of the capitalist powers by all the means in its power.

'The world political situation has made the dictatorship of the proletariat an immediate issue, and all the events of

world politics are inevitably concentrating around one central point, namely, the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Russian Republic, which must inevitably group around itself the soviet movements of the advanced workers of all countries on the one hand, and all the national liberation movements of the colonial and oppressed nationalities on the other.' (Lenin.)

In the event of the imperialist states declaring war upon and attacking the USSR, the international proletariat must retaliate by organizing bold and determined mass action and struggle for the overthrow of the imperialist governments with the slogan of: Dictatorship of the proletariat and alliance with the USSR.

In the colonies, and particularly the colonies of the imperialist country attacking the USSR, every effort must be made to take advantage of the diversion of the imperialist military forces to develop an anti-imperialist struggle and to organize revolutionary action for the purpose of throwing off the yoke of imperialism and of winning complete independence.

The development of socialism in the USSR and the growth of its international influence not only rouse the hatred of the capitalist states and their social-democratic agents against her, but also inspire the toilers all over the world with sympathy toward her and stimulate the readiness of the oppressed classes of all countries to fight with all the means in their power for the land of the proletarian dictatorship, in the event of an imperialist attack upon her.

Thus, the development of the contradictions within modern world economy, the development of the general capitalist crisis, and the imperialist military attack upon the Soviet Union inevitably lead to a mighty revolutionary outbreak which must overwhelm capitalism in a number of the so-called civilized countries, unleash the victorious revolution in the colonies, broaden the base of the proletarian dictatorship to an enormous degree and thus, with tremendous strides, bring nearer the final world victory of socialism.

The foregoing statement may be said to give the essence of the communist state. It is followed in the programme of the communist international by a statement of "the strategy and tactics of the communist international in the struggle

for the dictatorship of the proletariat". This section is likewise given in part herewith:

1. *Ideologies Among the Working Class Inimical to Communism*

In its fight against capitalism for the dictatorship of the proletariat, revolutionary communism encounters numerous tendencies among the working class, which to a more or less degree express the ideological subordination of the proletariat to the imperialist bourgeoisie, or reflect the ideological influence exercised upon the proletariat by the petty-bourgeoisie, which at times rebels against the shackles of finance capital, but is incapable of adopting sustained and scientifically planned strategy and tactics or of carrying on the struggle in an organized manner on the basis of the stern discipline that is characteristic of the proletariat.

The mighty social power of the imperialist state, with its auxiliary apparatus—schools, press, theatre and church—is primarily reflected in the existence of confessional and reformist tendencies among the working class, which represent the main obstacles on the road toward the proletarian social revolution.

The confessional, religiously tinged tendency among the working class finds expression in the confessional trade unions, which frequently are directly connected with corresponding bourgeois political organizations, and are affiliated to one or other of the church organizations of the dominant class (Catholic trade unions, Young Men's Christian Association, Jewish Zionist organizations, etc.). All these tendencies, being the most striking product of the ideological captivity of certain strata of the proletariat, in most cases, bear a romantic feudal tinge. By sanctifying all the abominations of the capitalist régime with the holy water of religion, and by terrorizing their flock with the spectre of punishment in the world to come, the leaders of these organizations serve as the most reactionary units of the class enemy in the camp of the proletariat.

A cynically commercial, and imperialistic secular form of subjecting the proletariat to the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie is represented by contemporary 'socialist' reformism. Taking its main gospel from the tablets of imperialist politics, its model to-day is the deliberately anti-socialist and openly counter-revolutionary 'American Federation of Labor'. The 'ideological' dictatorship of the servile American trade union bureaucracy, which in its turn expresses the 'ideological' dictatorship of the American dollar, has become, through the medium of British

reformism and His Majesty's socialists of the British labor party, the most important constituent in the theory and practice of international social democracy and of the leaders of the Amsterdam international, while the leaders of German and Austrian social democracy embellish these theories with Marxian phraseology in order to cover up their utter betrayal of Marxism. 'Socialist' reformism, the principal enemy of revolutionary communism in the labor movement, which has a broad organizational base in the social democratic parties and through these in the reformist trade unions, in its entire policy and theoretical outlook stands out as a force directed against the proletarian revolution.

In the sphere of foreign politics, the social democratic parties actively supported the imperialist war on the pretext of 'defending the fatherland'. Imperialist expansion and 'colonial policy' received their whole-hearted support. Orientation toward the counter-revolutionary 'holy alliance' of imperialist powers ('the league of nations'), advocacy of 'ultra-imperialism', mobilization of the masses under pseudo-pacifist slogans, and at the same time, active support of imperialism in its attacks upon the USSR and in the impending war against the USSR—are the main features of reformist foreign policy.

In the sphere of home politics, Social Democracy has set itself the task of directly coöperating with and supporting the capitalist régime. Complete support for capitalist rationalization and stabilization, class peace, 'peace in industry'; the policy of converting the labor organizations into organizations of the employers and of the predatory imperialist state. . . .

In the sphere of theory, social democracy has utterly and completely betrayed Marxism, having traversed the road from revisionism to complete liberal bourgeois reformism and avowed social-imperialism: it has substituted in place of the Marxian theory of the contradictions of capitalism, the bourgeois theory of its harmonious development; it has pigeonholed the theory of crisis and of the pauperization of the proletariat; it has turned the flaming and menacing theory of class struggle into prosaic advocacy of class peace; it has exchanged the theory of growing class antagonisms for the petty-bourgeois fairy-tale about the 'democratization' of capital; in place of the theory of the inevitability of war under capitalism it has substituted the bourgeois deceit of pacifism and the lying propaganda of 'ultra-imperialism'; it has exchanged the theory of the revolutionary downfall of capitalism for the counterfeit coinage of 'sound'

capitalism, transforming itself peacefully into socialism; it has replaced revolution by evolution, the destruction of the bourgeois state by its active upbuilding, the theory of proletarian dictatorship by the theory of coalition with the bourgeoisie, the doctrine of international proletarian solidarity—by preaching defence of the imperialist fatherland; for Marxian dialectical materialism it has substituted the idealist philosophy and is now engaged in picking up the crumbs of religion that fall from the table of the bourgeoisie.

Within social democratic reformism a number of tendencies stand out that are characteristic of the bourgeois degeneracy of the social democracy.

Constructive Socialism (MacDonald & Co.), which, by its very name suggests the struggle against the revolutionary proletariat and a favorable attitude toward the capitalist system, continues the liberal philanthropic, anti-revolutionary and bourgeois traditions of Fabianism (Beatrice and Sydney Webb, Bernard Shaw, Lord Oliver, etc.). . . .

A special variety of 'constructive Socialism' is 'coöperativism', or 'Coöperative Socialism' (Charles Gide, Totomyanz & Co.), which also strongly repudiates the class struggle and advocates the coöperative organization of consumers as a means of overcoming capitalism, but which in fact does all it can to help the stabilization of capitalism. . . .

So-called 'Guild Socialism' (Penty, Orage, Hobson and others) is an eclectic attempt to unite 'revolutionary' syndicalism with bourgeois liberal Fabianism, anarchist decentralization ('national industrial guilds') with state capitalist centralization and mediaeval guild and craft narrowness with modern capitalism. . . .

Lastly, Austro-Marxism represents a special variety of social democratic reformism. Being a part of the 'left-wing' of social democracy, Austro-Marxism represents a most subtle deception of the masses of the toilers. Prostituting the terminology of Marxism, while divorcing themselves entirely from the principles of revolutionary Marxism (the Kantiam, Machism, etc., of the Austro-Marxists in the domain of philosophy), toying with religion, borrowing the theory of 'functional democracy' from the British reformists, agreeing with the principle of 'building up the republic', i.e. building up the bourgeois state, Austro-Marxism recommends 'class coöperation' in periods of so-called 'equilibrium of class forces', i.e. precisely at the time when the revolutionary crisis is maturing. This theory is a justification of coalition with

the bourgeoisie for the overthrow of the proletarian revolution under the guise of defending 'democracy' against the attacks of reaction. . . .

2. *The Fundamental Tasks of Communist Strategy and Tactics*

The successful struggle of the communist international for the dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes the existence in every country of a compact communist party, hardened in the struggle, disciplined, centralized, and closely linked up with the masses.

The party is the vanguard of the working class and consists of the best, most class-conscious, most active, and most courageous members of that class. It incorporates the whole body of experience of the proletarian struggle. Basing itself upon the revolutionary theory of Marxism and representing the general and lasting interests of the whole of the working class, the party personifies the unity of proletarian principles, of proletarian will and of proletarian revolutionary action. It is a revolutionary organization, bound by iron discipline and strict revolutionary rules of democratic centralism, which can be carried out thanks to the class-consciousness of the proletarian vanguard, to its loyalty to the revolution, its ability to maintain inseparable ties with the proletarian masses and to its correct political leadership, which is constantly verified and clarified by the experiences of the masses themselves.

In order that it may fulfil its historic mission of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat, the communist party must first of all set itself and accomplish the following fundamental strategic aims:

Extend its influence over the majority of the members of its own class, including working women and the working youth. To achieve this the communist party must secure predominant influence in the broad mass proletarian organizations (soviets, trade unions, factory soviets, coöperative societies, sport organizations, cultural organizations, etc.). It is particularly important for the purpose of winning over the majority of the proletariat, to capture the trade unions, which are genuine mass-working class organizations closely bound up with the every-day struggles of the working class. To work in reactionary trade unions and skilfully to capture them, to win the confidence of the broad masses of the industrially organized workers, to change and 'remove from their posts' the reformist leaders, represent important tasks in the preparatory period.

The achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes also that the proletariat acquires hegemony over wide sections of the toiling masses. To accomplish this the communist party must extend its influence over the masses of the urban and rural poor, over the lower strata of the intelligentsia and over the so-called "small man", i.e. the petty-bourgeois strata generally. It is particularly important that work be carried on for the purpose of extending the party's influence over the peasantry. The communist party must secure for itself the whole-hearted support of that stratum of the rural population that stands closest to the proletariat, i.e. the agricultural laborers and the rural poor. To this end, the agricultural laborers must be organized in separate organizations; all possible support must be given them in their struggles against the rural bourgeoisie, and strenuous work must be carried on among the small allotment farmers and small peasants. In regard to the middle strata of the peasantry in developed capitalist countries, the communist parties must conduct a policy to secure their neutrality. The fulfilment of all these tasks by the proletariat—the champion of the interests of the whole people and the leader of the broad masses in their struggle against the oppression of finance capital—is an essential condition precedent for the victorious communist revolution.

The tasks of the communist international connected with the revolutionary struggle in colonies, semi-colonies and dependencies are extremely important strategical tasks in the world proletarian struggle. The colonial struggle presupposes that the broad masses of the working class and of the peasantry in the colonies be rallied round the banner of the revolution; but this can not be achieved unless the closest coöperation is maintained between the proletariat in the oppressing countries and the toiling masses in the oppressed countries.

While organizing, under the banner of the proletarian dictatorship, the revolution against imperialism in the so-called civilized states, the communist international supports every movement against imperialist violence in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependencies themselves (for example Latin-America); it carries on propaganda against all forms of chauvinism and against the imperialist maltreatment of enslaved peoples and races, big and small (treatment of Negroes, 'yellow labor', anti-Semitism, etc.) and supports their struggles against the bourgeoisie of the oppressing nations. The communist international especially com-

bats the chauvinism that is preached in the empire-owning countries by the imperialist bourgeoisie as well as by its social-democratic agency, the second international, and constantly holds up in contrast to the practices of the imperialist bourgeoisie the practice of the Soviet Union, which has established relations of fraternity and equality among the nationalities inhabiting it.

The communist parties in the imperialist countries must render systematic aid to the colonial revolutionary liberation movement and to the movement of oppressed nationalities generally. The duty of rendering active support to these movements rests primarily upon the workers in the countries upon which the oppressed nations are economically, financially or politically dependent. The communist parties must openly recognize the right of the colonies to separation and their right to carry on propaganda for this separation, i.e. propaganda in favor of the independence of the colonies from the imperialist state; they must recognize their right of armed defence against imperialism (i.e. the right of rebellion and revolutionary war) and advocate and give active support to this defence by all the means in their power. The communist parties must adopt this line of policy in regard to all oppressed nations.

The communist parties in the colonial and semi-colonial countries must carry on a bold and consistent struggle against foreign imperialism and unfailingly conduct propaganda in favor of frendship and unity with the proletariat in the imperialist countries. They must openly advance, conduct propaganda for and carry out the slogan of agrarian revolution, rouse the broad masses of the peasantry for the overthrow of the landlords and combat the reactionary and mediæval influence of the clergy, of the missionaries and other, similar elements.

In these countries, the principal task is to organize the workers and the peasantry independently (to establish class communist parties of the proletariat, trade unions, peasant leagues and committees and, in a revolutionary situation, soviets, etc.) and to free them from the influence of the national bourgeoisie, with whom temporary agreements may be made only on the condition that they, the bourgeoisie, do not hamper the revolutionary organization of the workers and peasants, and that they carry on a genuine struggle against imperialism.

In determining its line of tactics, each communist party must take into account the concrete internal and external situation, the correlation of class forces, the degree of stability and strength

of the bourgeoisie, the degree of preparedness of the proletariat, the position taken up by the various intermediary strata in its country, etc. The party determines its slogans and methods of struggle in accordance with these circumstances, with the view to organizing and mobilizing the masses on the broadest possible scale and on the highest possible level of this struggle.

When a revolutionary situation is developing, the party advances certain transitional slogans and partial demands corresponding to the concrete situation; but these demands and slogans must be bent to the revolutionary aim of capturing power and of overthrowing bourgeois capitalist society. The party must neither stand aloof from the daily needs and struggles of the working class nor confine its activities exclusively to them. The task of the party is to utilize these minor every-day needs as a starting point from which to lead the working class to the revolutionary struggle for power.

When the revolutionary tide is rising, when the ruling classes are disorganized, the masses are in a state of revolutionary ferment, the intermediary strata are inclining toward the proletariat and the masses are ready for action and for sacrifice, the party of the proletariat is confronted with the task of leading the masses to a direct attack upon the bourgeois state. This it does by carrying on propaganda in favor of increasingly radical transitional slogans (for soviets, workers' control of industry, for peasant committees for the seizure of the big landed properties, for disarming the bourgeoisie and arming the proletariat, etc.) and by organizing mass action, upon which, all branches of party agitation and propaganda, including parliamentary activity, must be concentrated. This mass action includes: a combination of strikes and demonstrations; a combination of strikes and armed demonstrations; and, finally, the general strike conjointly with armed insurrection against the state power of the bourgeoisie. The latter form of struggle, which is the supreme form, must be conducted according to the rules of war; it presupposes a plan of campaign, offensive fighting operations and unbounded devotion and heroism on the part of the proletariat. An absolutely essential condition precedent for this form of action is the organization of the broad masses into militant units, which, by their very form, embrace and set into action the largest possible numbers of toilers (soviets of workers' deputies, soldiers' soviets, etc.), and intensified revolutionary work in the army and the navy.

In passing over to new and more radical slogans, the parties must be guided by the fundamental rôle of the political tactics of Leninism, which call for ability to lead the masses to revolutionary positions in such a manner that the masses may, by their own experience, convince themselves of the correctness of the party line. Failure to observe this rule must inevitably lead to isolation from the masses, to 'putchism', to the ideological degeneration of communism into 'leftist' dogmatism and to petty-bourgeois 'revolutionary' adventurism. Failure to take advantage of the culminating point in the development of the revolutionary situation, when the party of the proletariat is called upon to conduct a bold and determined attack upon the enemy, is not less dangerous. To allow that opportunity to slip by and to fail to start rebellion at that point, means to allow the initiative to pass to the enemy and to doom the revolution to defeat.

When the revolutionary tide is not rising, the communist parties must advance partial slogans and demands that correspond to the every-day needs of the toilers, and combine them with the fundamental tasks of the communist international. The communist parties must not, however, at such a time, advance transitional slogans that are applicable only to revolutionary situations (for example workers' control of industry, etc.). To advance such slogans when there is no revolutionary situation means to transform them into slogans that favor merging with the capitalist system of organization. Partial demands and slogans generally form an essential part of correct tactics; but certain transitional slogans go inseparably with a revolutionary situation. Repudiation of partial demands and transitional slogans 'on principle', however, is incompatible with the tactical principles of communism, for in effect, such repudiation condemns the party to inaction and isolates it from the masses. United front tactics also occupy an important place in the tactics of the communist parties throughout the whole pre-revolutionary period as a means toward achieving success in the struggle against capital, toward the class mobilization of the masses and the exposure and isolation of the reformist leaders.

The correct application of united front tactics and the fulfilment of the general task of winning over the masses presuppose in their turn systematic and persistent work in the trade unions and other mass proletarian organizations. It is the bounden

duty of every communist to belong to a trade union, even a most reactionary one, provided it is a mass organization. Only by constant and persistent work in the trade unions and in the factories for the steadfast and energetic defence of the interests of the workers, together with ruthless struggle against the reformist bureaucracy, will it be possible to win the leadership in the workers' struggle and to win the industrially organized workers over the side of the party.

Unlike the reformists, whose policy is to split the trade unions, the communists defend trade-union unity nationally and internationally on the basis of the class struggle, and render every support to and strengthen the work of the red international of labor unions.

In universally championing the current every-day needs of the masses of the workers and of the toilers generally, in utilizing the bourgeois parliament as a platform for revolutionary agitation and propaganda, and subordinating the partial tasks to the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the parties of the communist international advance partial demands and slogans in the following main spheres:

In the sphere of labor, in the narrow meaning of the term, i.e. questions concerned with the industrial struggle (the fight against the trustified capitalist offensive, wage questions, the working day, compulsory arbitration, unemployment), which grow into questions of the general political struggle (big industrial conflicts, fight for the right to organize, right to strike, etc.); in the sphere of politics proper (taxation, high cost of living, fascism, persecution of revolutionary parties, white terror and current politics generally); and finally the sphere of world politics, viz., attitude toward the USSR and colonial revolutions, struggle for the unity of the international trade union movement, struggle against imperialism and the war danger, and systematic preparation for the fight against imperialist war.

In the sphere of the peasant problem, the partial demands are those appertaining to taxation, peasant mortgage indebtedness, struggle against usurer's capital, the land hunger of the peasant small holders, rent, the metayer (crop-sharing) system. Starting out from these partial needs, the communist party must sharpen the respective slogans and broaden them out into the slogans: confiscation of large estates, and workers' and peasants' government (the synonym for proletarian dictatorship in developed capitalist countries and for democratic dictatorship of the

proletariat and peasantry in backward countries and in certain colonies).

Systematic work must also be carried on among the proletarian and peasant youth (mainly through the young communist international and its sections) and also among working women and peasant women. This work must concern itself with the special conditions of life and struggle of the working and peasant women, and their demands must be linked up with the general demands and fighting slogans of the proletariat.

In the struggle against colonial oppression, the communist parties in the colonies must advance partial demands that correspond to the special circumstances prevailing in each country such as: complete equality for all nations and races; abolition of all privileges for foreigners; the right of association for workers and peasants; reduction of the working day; prohibition of child labor; prohibition of usury and of all transactions entailing bondage; reduction and abolition of rent; reduction of taxation; refusal to pay taxes, etc. All these partial slogans must be subordinate to the fundamental demands of the communist parties such as: complete political national independence and the expulsion of the imperialists; workers' and peasants' government, the land to the whole people, eight-hour day, etc. The communist parties in imperialist countries, while supporting the struggle proceeding in the colonies, must carry on a campaign in their own respective countries for the withdrawal of imperialist troops, conduct propaganda in the army and navy in defence of the oppressed countries fighting for their liberation, mobilize the masses to refuse to transport troops and munitions and, in connection with this, to organize strikes and other forms of mass protest, etc.

The communist international must devote itself especially to systematic preparation for the struggle against the danger of imperialist wars. Ruthless exposure of social chauvinism, of social imperialism and of pacifist phrasemongering intended to camouflage the imperialist plans of the bourgeoisie; propaganda in favor of the principal slogans of the communist international; every-day organizational work in connection with this, in the course of which work legal methods must unfailingly be combined with illegal methods; organized work in the army and navy—such must be the activity of the communist parties in this connection. The fundamental slogans of the communist international in this connection must be the following: Convert

imperialist war into civil war; defeat the 'home' imperialist government; defend the USSR and the colonies by every possible means in the event of imperialist war against them. It is the bounden duty of all sections of the communist international, and of everyone of its members, to carry on propaganda for these slogans, to expose the 'socialistic' sophisms and the 'socialistic' camouflage of the league of nations and constantly to keep to the front the experiences of the war of 1914-1918.

In order that revolutionary work and revolutionary action may be coördinated and in order that these activities may be guided most successfully, the international proletariat must be bound by international class discipline, for which first of all, it is most important to have the strictest international discipline in the communist ranks.

This international communist discipline must find expression in the subordination of the partial and local interests of the movement to its general and lasting interests and in the strict fulfilment, by all members, of the decisions passed by the leading bodies of the communist international.

Unlike the social-democratic second international, each section of which submits to the discipline of 'its own', national bourgeoisie and of its own 'fatherland', the sections of the communist international submit to only one discipline, viz., international proletarian discipline, which guarantees victory in the struggle of the world's workers for world proletarian dictatorship. Unlike the second international, which splits the trade unions, fights against colonial peoples, and practices unity with the bourgeoisie, the communist international is an organization that guards proletarian unity in all countries and the unity of the toilers of all races and all peoples in their struggle against the yoke of imperialism.

Despite the bloody terror of the bourgeoisie, the communists fight with courage and devotion on all sectors of the international class front, in the firm conviction that the victory of the proletariat is inevitable and cannot be averted.

'The communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their aims can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all the existing social conditions. Let the ruling class tremble at a communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

'Workers of all ccuntries, unite!'

This long programme, of which the fundamental feature is its international character, has been given in detail, for it is important. It is not merely the platform of a political party or of the protagonists of a special type of social order. Instead, it has additional weight and significance because, adopted unanimously by the five hundred delegates at the congress, it necessarily has the approval of the leaders of Soviet Russia who took a leading part in the congress. Among those leaders were Rykov, Stalin, and Molotov.[48]

It is useless to go beyond this programme and set forth, in another form, the character, aims, or tendencies of the only 'proletarian' state. A study of soviet rule in Russia is singularly fortunate in appearing soon after this final statement of a type of social order. The connection between 'soviet rule' on the one hand and the communist party of the Soviet Union and the communist international on the other has inevitably come up in every chapter. The interrelationship needs no further elucidation after the formal attestation of the aims and methods of communism formally approved by the official delegates of Soviet Russia who took part in the sixth world congress.

DOCUMENT TO CHAPTER XIII

Manifesto of the VI. World Congress of the Communist International [1]

To the Workers of the World! To All Workers and Peasants! To All Oppressed Colonial Peoples! To the Soldiers and Sailors of the Capitalist Armies and Navies!

Comrades, Fellow workers!

The sixth congress of the communist international, the representative of the revolutionary workers all over the world, of all nations, peoples and races, appeals to you from Moscow, the red capital of the new world, to prepare yourselves for a struggle against the ever more insolent forces of capitalism.

The master of the world, capital, which exploits the labor power of the workers in the most brutal fashion, which sucks out their strength, which turns the proletarian into a unit of capitalist technique, which wears out its proletarian slaves in the process of production, which places the most wonderful discoveries of science in the service of the golden calf, which introduces ever more complicated and splendid machines, which introduces to an ever-increasing extent the conveyor and flings millions of workers on to the streets, which gives them stones instead of bread, capital is now marching into the struggle against the rights and freedom of the working class. It is pressing the standard of living of the workers down ever lower, raising the bloody sword of the white terror and preparing for a new world war under the cloak of lying and bombastic phrases of world peace.

Imperialism has once again placed the question of war upon the agenda. From day to day the competition between the great powers and their finance-capitalist cliques is sharpening. Their attacks upon the colonies are becoming ever more brutal, their attempts to encircle the tremendous body of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics ever more determined.

The United States of America, at whose gateway the great statue of liberty rears its head to the sky, is laying its hands more firmly on new countries and continents, including also lands belonging to its chief rival, Great Britain. American capitalism, firmly seated upon the treasuries bursting with gold

[1] 8 *International Press Correspondence* (Vienna), December 31, 1928.

recently minted from the blood and horror of the late imperialist war, is attempting to undermine the Republic of Mexico, is sending punitive expeditions to Nicaragua, and stations its warships in Chinese harbors. American capitalism has fettered a number of European and South American countries with the gold chains of credit, and does not hesitate to call these countries sharply to heel like dogs when they show any sign of resisting its sacred will.

Along the coasts of the Pacific Ocean and in the boundless territories of China, American capitalism collides with the predatory, insolent, cunning and deceitful imperialism of Japan, whose troops have occupied a considerable part of China. Japanese imperialism is carrying on a war of extermination against all the forces of the Chinese people which are not prepared to subordinate themselves to its barbaric régime of terror. Millions of Chinese workers, peasants and handworkers are bowed down under the iron yoke of Japanese imperialism, which is brutally crushing the Chinese people and preparing for a terrible duel with its American rival and at the same time purchasing itself a breathing space with provocative excesses against the Soviet Union.

These excesses form a link in the chain of the general hostility of the imperialist States to the State of the proletarian dictatorship, which is alive and developing, carrying out constructive work everywhere regardless of the venomous howls of rage and the threatening rattle of sabres in the camp of the enemies who would like to intimidate the land of the socialist dictatorship of the workers and force it to its knees.

Despite all the contradictions and antagonisms which exist between the capitalist powers, and despite their deep and growing mutual hatred, they are preparing, with Great Britain at their head, a war against the Soviet Union. They are systematically preparing for war. They are preparing for war with all the means at their disposal. Every hour is filled with war preparations. The attempts of a number of powers, from the powerful United States to pitiful Austria, the mutilated invalid in the ranks of the European nations, to blockade the Soviet Union financially, the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union by Great Britain, the conclusion of diplomatic and military alliances against the Soviet Union, the constant provocative threats of the republic of Marshal Pilsudski, this insolent militarist who has placed the so-called representation

of the people into the category of prostitution and who rattles with the sabre to the same degree as he licks the boots of the generals and ministers of Great Britain and France, the almost open work of the general staffs of the entente in the Baltic states and in Rumania, and finally the insolent provocations of Japanese imperialism—all these things must act as a warning to all honest workers, for all proletarians and for all the oppressed all over the world who see in the Soviet Union their fatherland wrung from the hands of the capitalists and rich landowners by the hot blood of the sons of the working class.

The 'civilized' robbers, the bloodhounds of the general staffs, the swindlers of secret diplomacy, the bank magnates and the trust kings who are carrying on a criminal war in China, bombarding Chinese towns, occupying Chinese territory, robbing the Chinese people of the means of its existence and destroying its most active sons, preparing attacks upon each other, organizing their forces for a common action against the Soviet Union, arming themselves to the teeth, on land, on the sea and in the air, who are using science to prepare the most barbarous, destructive and inhuman war which will stifle the workers with poison gas and slaughter them in great agony with artificially injected sicknesses, who conduct 'monkey trials' against the teachings of Darwin, the most prominent contributor to science in the nineteenth century, who issue laws against 'dangerous ideas', who murdered Sacco and Vanzetti in the electric chair, such a horrible atrocity that millions held their breath in anxiety only to groan for vengeance and curse the murderers, these civilized robbers, with their scholastic and non-scholastic lackeys, are raising a howl about the barbarism of the bolsheviks and about their own 'love of peace'.

The history of humanity has never known anything so hypocritical and sanctimonious, so lying and disgusting as the present ideology of modern 'pacifist' imperialism, whose foreign political tasks consist in the most criminal, most barbarous, most counter-revolutionary, most destructive form of warfare ever known. The more furious the armament race becomes, the more energetic become the official and unofficial agents of imperialism in their howls of 'peace' and in the production of 'peace pacts' and in the organization of conferences and discussions, in the elaboration of projects and proposals for 'peace'.

The 'League of Nations', the product of Versailles, the most shameless robber treaty of the last decade, cloaks the warlike

work of its members by working out projects for disarmament. The Soviet Union has exposed this game: the great friends of peace refused to disarm when their bluff was called. The diplomatic comedy turned into a vulgar farce. The mask of peace fell to the ground and the brutal features of imperialism were revealed to the whole world.

The 'League of Nations' is first of all a counter-revolutionary organization, but it is also directed against America. In consequence, Dollar imperialism has put its own 'pact' upon the agenda through the mouth of its agents. The hegemony of American capitalism, which possesses the most modern machinery, the greatest gold resources and the best military technique, must secure its juridical recognition. War is 'outlawed'. Japan is not carrying on war against China, but only 'protecting her interests'. The U. S. A. is not conducting war against Nicaragua, but only 'maintaining order'. All the capitalist countries are not arming for war, but only to maintain 'civilization'.

The business managers of imperialist policy who are attempting to conceal their imperialist desires and warlike intentions with a cloud of pacifist pacts and by the narcotic poison of pacifist phrases, are at the same time doing everything possible to cast the workers into chains and to break the backbone of the revolutionary movement in the colonies and to weaken the hinterland of the Soviet Republics. The signs of the times are terror and corruption, a ruthless exploitation of the workers, the corruption of their leaders, a united front against the mass-organizations of the workers when they threaten to become dangerous, the policy of disruption in the ranks of the workers, the increasing attacks of the police upon the communist parties, etc. A wave of repression in Great Britain, the United States, France, and Japan meets with a terrible wave of terror in Italy and in the Balkans and with mass executions in China. The bloody axe of bourgeois 'civilization' is at work unceasingly. The imperialist murderers survey their victims without moving an eyelid, although they feel inwardly that thousands of fighters crying for vengeance will arise in their stead.

In this period, when the whole air smells of powder and lead, when the antagonisms of capitalism are strained to their utmost, when the class-struggle of the proletariat is intensified, when the million masses of the colonial slaves are rising, when ever new columns of the toilers are mobilizing to defend the Soviet Union, the bulwark of the movement for freedom, in this period the

treacherous rôle of the second international, the social democracy and its Amsterdam department, the I. F. T. U., advances once again into the foreground.

From the standpoint of the class interests of the proletariat it is more than ever necessary to-day for the workers to realize their class independence and to realize that their interests are diametrically opposed to the interests of the capitalists and the capitalist states. A proletarian counter-attack is the only possible answer to the insolent attacks of capitalism, to the inhuman exploitation of labor power, to the unemployment, to the policy of dissolving the working class organizations and to the fascist terror. And in this period the high priests of the social democratic parties, who have shamelessly betrayed all the old traditions of the class struggle and who tread the elementary pride of the proletariat into the dust, in this period they preach the collaboration of the classes, 'industrial peace' and 'economic democracy'. Peace and democracy under the iron-shod heel of trust capitalism! 'Industrial peace' in economy and coalition with the bourgeoisie in politics, that is the treacherous sum of social democratic wisdom.

From the standpoint of the class interests of the proletariat it is more than ever necessary at the present time to expose every warlike action of the bourgeoisie, to draw the attention of the masses to the danger of war and to sound the alarm. And in this period the social democratic politicians are building armored cruisers, acting as the initiators of brutal military laws, grovel before militarism, actively 'improve' the capitalist armies, praise the imperialist league of nations, slander the USSR, praise the deceptive and deceitful document of the hangmen of Sacco and Vanzetti, and are full of foul pacifist slime. Whilst they themselves are whitewashing as well as they can the military preparations of the imperialists, they at the same time accuse the Soviet Union of imperialism. The social democrats, the heroes of 1914, are already grovelling before the imperialist general staffs. Already their hands are outstretched to receive the reward for their work on the day when they join the ranks of the bourgeoisie in a war against the soldiers of the proletarian revolution.

From the standpoint of the class-interests of the proletariat the unity of the industrial proletariat with the working masses in the colonies is more necessary than ever before. In this question, however, the social democrats are on the side of the exploiters, on the side of the imperialists, on the side of the

imperialist robber states and their agents. The French socialists supported their government when the French troops razed the villages of the Riffi and laid Syrian towns in ruins with heavy artillery fire. The government of MacDonald appeared openly as the oppressor of India and Egypt. Members of the labor party now in India are fulfilling the direct instructions of the British bourgeoisie. All social democratic parties are supporting their own governments in the Chinese question and only allow themselves a polite and respectful criticism when the pressure of the masses forces their hands. The Brussels congress of the second international, which failed to support the Kuomintang in the period of its revolutionary struggles, openly sided with the Kuomintang after it had become the bloodhound of imperialism and the hangman of the Chinese working class. In the colonial question the Brussels congress made decisions which were practically copied from the documents of the league of nations.

The social democracy has thus become the chief force which makes for separating the workers in the industrial countries from the toiling masses in the colonies.

Finally, from the standpoint of the interests of the proletariat as a class, the unity of the working class is more than ever necessary. The struggle against the powerful organized enemy, against the gigantic trusts, against the state power of capitalism, which protects the interests of the finance-capitalist obligarchy, the maximum of unity in the ranks of the workers is necessary. But just at this present moment the social democratic agency of the imperialist bourgeoisie is at work to carry out its instructions and disrupt the ranks of the workers! The leaders of the social democratic parties and of the reformist trade unions, the heralds of unity with the bourgeoisie and its trusts, the apostles of industrial peace and political coalition with the representatives of the banks and the stock exchange, are doing everything possible to expel the communists and all revolutionary proletarians from the mass organizations of the working class. They are splitting the trade unions, they are splitting the sport organizations, they are smashing up the ranks of the proletarian free-thinkers. The more they fight for unity with the bourgeoisie, the more brutal becomes their struggle against the unity of the working class.

The communist international appeals to all workers and to all toilers to close their ranks still more firmly, to fight for the unity of the whole working class, to fight for the unity of the workers with the peasants and to fight for the alliance of the workers

with the oppressed colonial peoples in the struggle against the exploitation and oppression of the class enemy.

The sixth world congress of the communist international adopted an international programme which is binding equally for all sections. For the first time since the existence of the revolutionary working class movement, the working class will have a document in its hand whose passages are law for the millions of organized workers in all countries and amongst all races and nations of the globe. This document is not one of peaceful grovelling before the bourgeoisie; it is not a document making for dishonorable peace with the bourgeoisie. It is not a declaration of pharisaical degenerate and treacherous unity with the bourgeoisie, a unity which means nothing but the desertion of the ranks of the proletariat for the camp of the enemy, desertion, treachery and renegacy. This programme is the guiding star of millions of exploited and oppressed toilers in the struggle against the oppressors, in the struggle of the proletarian masses, in the struggle of the white, black and yellow toilers in the tropics, in the farthest corners of the earth, in the plantations, in the factories, in the mines and on the railways, in the woods and in the desert, in the large towns and in the country, everywhere where the class-struggle is being carried on. It is the programme of the unity of the working class and of a life and death fight with the bourgeoisie. It is the programme of the inevitable world dictatorship of the proletariat.

The communist international appeals to all toilers to rally closely around the banner of the class struggle, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the working class. With the exertion of all its energy the capital world has again reared itself up upon the backs of the workers exploited by the gigantic slave machine of capitalism. Under the crack of slave whips capitalism has emerged from the ruins of the first imperialist world war. But capitalism is beginning to suffocate under the weight of its own contradictions. Its historical fate drives it once again with tremendous elemental force into the vortex of tremendous catastrophes, the deadly breath of which will scorch the whole world. The imperialist cliques, which are afraid of their own historical fate, but are nevertheless its instruments, the capitalist cliques who cannot decide to let loose the dogs of war, but who are nevertheless doing everything possible to break the chains and let loose the carnage, the imperialist cliques who are trying to deceive everyone with murmurs of peace and pacifism,

but whose fingers are at the same time feeling for the trigger, are driving the world steadily to the brink of a new and terrible catastrophe.

The communist international appeals to all toilers to arise in their own defence. Now at once, day for day, the ranks of the fighters must be set up, the masses of the toilers must be mobilized, loyal messengers of the working class sent into the armies and the fleets of capitalism to prepare the soldiers and sailors to turn their guns in the hour when imperialism calls upon them to slaughter each other, against the imperialists themselves, the best target during the imperialist war.

The imperialist beast with its dull eyes can only see the historical past and is unable to penetrate the curtain which hides the future. It is consoling itself with the comparative state of peace which prevails in Europe, which from time to time is given an injection of life-giving gold elixir from the transatlantic vampire, the United States. But the sober glance of the proletariat, which has felt all the glories of capitalist rationalization and all the burdens of "industrial peace" upon its own skin, can see clearly the gigantic accumulation of capitalist contradictions and the steady and rapid intensification of the class struggle everywhere. The general strike in Great Britain, the insurrection in Vienna, the strikes in Germany, the electoral results in France and Germany, the reaction of the German workers to the new treachery of the social democrats in the armored cruiser question, the violent resistance put up by the Chinese workers and peasants, the growing thunder of the revolutionary volcano in India, which is already sending up preliminary smoke signals, the steadily growing dissatisfaction in South America, the growth of self-confidence amongst the Negroes and thousands of other signs, do they not show that the mole of history is burrowing?

The communist international appeals to all toilers, and in particular to the industrial workers, to take up the struggle for every inch of ground that has been won, to fight against the offensive of capitalism, to fight against the ruthless exploitation of capitalism, to fight against the enslavement of the proletariat, to fight against the policy of the imperialists and against imperialist war. The communist international appeals to all workers and to all oppressed peoples devotedly to defend the Chinese revolution, whose heroes and martyrs have fallen under the axe of the executioner. The communist international appeals to all honest proletarians to form a wall of iron around the Soviet

Union against which imperialism is raising the sword of war. The communist international appeals for increased watchfulness and for a direct fight against the pacifist lies and pacifist deception. The communist international appeals for a complete break with the bourgeoisie and for the unity of the ranks of the workers in a ruthless struggle against the class enemies of the proletariat.

Against the social democratic unity with the bourgeoisie—for the class unity of the proletarians!

Against social imperialism—for the heroic support of our brothers in the colonies!

Against the pacifist lies—for the devoted fight against imperialist war!

Against reformism and fascism—for the proletarian revolution!

Long live the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union!

Long live the proletarian world revolution!

Moscow, September 1, 1928.

Sixth World Congress of the Communist International.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

General Note

Official sources form the basis of the book. There are various secondary publications dealing with the problems treated, but, almost without exception, they are of little value. Such works published in Russia since the revolution follow the same line of approach to the subject, are uniformly lacking in analysis, and certainly in anything which might be construed as higher or adverse criticisms. Even explanation of the documentary sources is apparently regarded as dangerous. In view of the evident lack of freedom of the soviet writers, it is hardly to be regretted that the November revolution, unlike most subversive movements of its nature, failed, because of the shortage of paper, to produce mass press production. There is nothing to compare to the forty volumes of Buchez and Roux on the *Histoire parlementaire de la révolution française* or the *Bibliographie de l'histoire de Paris* of M. Tourneux, listing some five hundred newspapers which appeared in Paris during the revolutionary days. It may be hoped that such publications will have no counterpart until there is at least a partial abolition of the present control over publication.

Two publications serve to keep one abreast of press production in Russia. First, there is the *Knizhnaia letopis'* [Book chronicle], which was likewise issued before the war. Published since 1904, this weekly publication is sold for twenty dollars a year. Second, there is the *Zhurnal'naia letopis'* [Periodical index]. Issued four times a year since 1926 at a cost of five dollars, this publication lists articles in all serial publications which appear in the RSFSR. Both publications are to be obtained from the *Izdanie gosudarstvennoi tsentral'noi knizhoi palaty,* 36 Novinskii bul'var, Moscow.

The *gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo* (state printing office), usually called the gosizdat, is the principal publishing house in the RSFSR. It has numerous book stores throughout Russia, the principal ones, however, being in Moscow and Leningrad.

A monthly catalogue, together with special catalogues on various questions, is issued, as well as a half-yearly and yearly list of all publications of the gosizdat. The counterpart of the gosizdat is to be found in the capitals of the union republics, for example, the gosizdat Ukrainy for the Ukraine.

Of particular use in keeping abreast of material on the system of administration are the catalogues issued by the people's commissariat for justice and the people's commissariat for interior, both commissariats of the RSFSR. The same bodies in the union republics other than the RSFSR likewise have their own publications. In connection with such material a useful bibliography has been published by the people's commissariat for justice of the RSFSR: V. V. Sokolov, *Sistematicheskii ukazatel' iuridicheskoi literatury* [Systematic guide to legal literature, January 1923-March 1926, second edition]. Orders for the publications of this commissariat should be addressed thus: Iuridicheskoe Izdatel'stvo, NKIu RSFSR, Kuznetskii Most, 13, Moscow.

The most important single source for any one or all phases of soviet development is the Moscow *Izvestiia*, a daily paper published since the very outbreak of the November revolution. Published by the all-Russian central executive committee at first and since the formation of the USSR both by that committee and the central executive committee of the USSR, in this paper appears the legislation of both the USSR and of the RSFSR. In the text reference has been made to a variety of sources other than the *Izvestiia* for the simple reason that complete files of this paper are available in few libraries and back numbers can not be obtained for the years prior to 1924. In addition to the *Izvestiia*, the Moscow *Pravda*, the official organ of the Russian [all-Union] communist party, gives much of the basic material on soviet structure, not to mention the interlocking party structure.

A number of periodical publications give useful guides to current problems and at times have semi-historical or legal studies of some value. The most important of these is the *Vlast' sovetov* [Soviet power]. The first number appeared in December 1917 under the title *Vestnik otdela mestnogo upravleniia KVD* [Messenger of the department of local affairs of the commissariat for interior]. In 1918 the name was changed twice: first, to *Vestnik komissariata vnutrennikh del* and then to the name which which has since remained: *Vlast' sovetov*. Up to 1923 sixty-

eight numbers had been published. Started as a weekly, the publication was later issued twice a week up to 1922. Beginning on January 4, 1925, the eighth year of its existence, the format was changed, and the journal was published for the all-Russian central executive committee by the communist academy in Moscow. Beginning with the issue of March 7, 1926, No. 10, a special publishing office for the journal took over the publication. The present address is: Moscow, Tverskaia, 11.

When published by the people's commissariat for interior of the RSFSR, the *Vlast' sovetov* was of special value because of the nature of the material published. Dealing with four principal categories of questions: (1) decrees of the all-Russian central executive committee and soviet of people's commissars, the decisions of the soviet of labor and defence, and the circulars of the issuing commissariat; (2) reports on the activity of the commissariat for interior, as well as of all-Russian congresses and conferences on local structure; (3) special materials on local soviet structure, including correspondence from the various areas; and (4) a section on the theory and practice of soviet structure, the publication gives much of the background of the soviet constitutional structure. In particular this is true of the circulars issued prior to the constitution of the RSFSR in July 1918, for it was the work of the commissariat for interior which furnished much of the basis of that document.

Since it has been published by the all-Russian central executive committee the *Vlast' sovetov* has become more a propaganda instrument for use in the local areas, giving such illuminating photographs as a peasant and his camel-drawn cart to illustrate an industrialization programme! [1]

Covering a wide field and useful both for its articles and bibliographical information is the *Sovetskoe stroitel'stvo* (soviet structure). The first number was published in 1925 by the Communist Academy. Numbers 2-3 were published as a single issue in the same year, and 4-5 as a single issue in 1926. Then, beginning with number 1, August 1926, the publication has been issued monthly—at times there are double numbers—under the same title but published by the central executive committee of the USSR.

After the *Vlast' sovetov* and the *Sovetskoe stroitel'stvo* may be mentioned a publication issued every two months since 1922 and entitled *Sovetskoe pravo* [Soviet law]. Some of the best

[1] December 25, 1927, No. 52, 10.

articles on soviet structure have appeared in this publication of the Institute of Soviet Law.

Other periodical publications of varying degrees of importance are: *Ezhenedel'nik sovetskoi iustitsii* [Weekly of soviet justice], published since 1921 by the people's commissariat for justice of the RSFSR; the *Administrativniy vestnik* [Administrative messenger], *Raboche-Krest'ianskaia militsiia* [Worker's-Peasants' militia], and *Sovetskaia volost'* [Soviet rural district]. Publications comparable to the *Vlast' sovetov* are issued in the different autonomous republics and, in certain cases, by other territorial formations, *e.g.*, the *Izvestiia* published monthly since 1924 at Rostov-on-Don by the central executive committee of the North-Caucasian region. To illustrate the publications of the union republics: in the capital of the Ukraine, Kharkov, are issued the *Vestnik sovetskoi iustitsii* [Messenger of soviet justice] and a *Biulleten' NKIu UkSSR* [Bulletin of the people's commissariat for justice of the Ukraine]. Then, just as the *Izvestiia* as already mentioned is the official daily organ of the central executive committee of the RSFSR and of the USSR, so does each of the union republics and usually the inferior territorial divisions have their own official paper in which all decrees, etc. are published.

So much for a general description of the materials which exist. The difficulty of securing the official publications varies with the locality. In the case of the RSFSR, the official publications issued at Moscow can usually be obtained through the bookstores. Except in rare cases it is not so in the other union republics or lesser formations. In such cases it is usually necessary to apply to the relevant people's commissariat or to the secretariat of the soviet of people's commissars or of the central executive committee. Any one requesting official publications is still regarded with no little suspicion.

CHAPTER I.—*From Tsarism to Bolshevisw*

No attempt is made to outline the legal literature on the tsarist government. The principal primary source is the collection of legislation (*Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*), of which there are several editions. A description of the various volumes is given in an eighty page book entitled *Ob izdaniiakh zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*, 1830-1899, published by the state printing office in St. Petersburg in 1900. The published minutes of the duma (*gosudarstvennaia duma*) which run from 1906 to

1916 is usually bound in some 125 volumes. These minutes are somewhat different from the actual stenographic report of the duma, for before publication the report was liberally censored. However, the published account as it was issued was about as near to the original as is the American *Congressional Record.* Like the duma, the state soviet (*gosudarstvennoe soviet*) likewise published a report of its proceedings.

In 1910 a jubilee edition containing relevant historical and other data was issued by the various ministries (for example: *Ministerstvo finansov 1810-1910,* 2 vols.), as well as by the state chancellery (*gosudarstvennaia kantseliaria 1810-1910,* 2 vols.).

There are numerous excellent secondary sources. The standard work of reference is the two volumes by N. I. Lazarevskii, *Lektsii po Russkomu gosudarstvennomu pravo* (St. Petersburg 1910), dealing respectively with constitutional law and administrative law. Another general account of value is by Professor V. M. Gessen, *Russkoie gosudarstvennoie pravo* [Russian state law] (St. Petersburg 1909). Finally, mention should be made of the excellent *Bolshaia entsiklopediia* [Large encyclopedia], as well as of the *Politicheskaia entsiklopedia* [Political encyclopedia], the latter edited by L. Z. Slonimskii (St. Petersburg 1907). G. G. Savich, *Novyi gosudarstvennyi stroi Rossii. Spravochnaia Kniga* (St. Petersburg 1907), gives a valuable collection of documents for the period 1902-1907 on the state structure.

After the beginning of the revolution the narrative is limited strictly to institutional development. Thus the wide range of memoirs by the various civil war leaders and such general works as that by John Reed in his *Ten days that shook the world* (New York 1919)—an account such as can be written only by a sympathetic and enthusiastic observer on the spot when events are occurring—are automatically of no great value.

For a statement of the events or the state of affairs which brought about the downfall of tsarism, little more is necessary than the remarkable account by Rodzianko in *The reign of Rasputin* (London 1927). This telling indictment of the old régime by a conscientious leader who apparently did his best to prevent the final catastrophe does not require revelations such as those given in the letters of the Tsarina to the Tsar to support the portrayal given of the rotten system which brought Russia to revolutionary chaos.

The Russian press for the period treated is fairly well covered

in the *Bulletin périodique de la presse russe,* published by the French ministry of foreign affairs. Though of little value during the hectic revolutionary days, after 1922 this publication again becomes one of the best indicators of events in Russia. Unfortunately it has not been made available to unofficial channels outside of France except in a very few instances. As should be evident, this source can not be used to take the place of the Russian sources in the case of translations into English. A translation of a translation is often far from the original, though its use may be necessary when the original is unobtainable.

The outstanding source at present for the period covered in this chapter is F. A. Golder, *Documents of Russian history 1914-1917* (New York 1928). The translations appear to be unusually well done, and the selection of material leaves little to be desired. Mention may be made here—and it will apply to the following chapters—of the two volumes published in Paris in 1927 by P. Miliukov' and entitled *Rossiia na perelome* [Russia at the crossroads].[2] Three standard references, one French and one German, are:

1. Lydia Bach, *Le droit et les institutions de la russie sovietique* (Paris 1923). It is the best single reference for the period it covers.

2. N. Timaschew, *Grundzüge des soviet russischen staatsrecht* (Berlin, etc., 1925).

3. Anton Karlgren, *Bolshevist Russia* (New York 1927).

Then, for all chapters the collected works of Lenin are essential. An English translation of these, of which volume XIII, the first to appear, was issued in 1927, is expected to run to some thirty volumes. First in the communist manifesto mentioned in chapter II and then in the writings of Lenin are to be found the essence of bolshevist philosophy and the cult of Lenin which has permeated Russia particularly since his death in 1924. Finally, there are Russian editions of the collected works of Zinov'ev, Trotskii, and other Jewish revolutionaries who took a prominent part in the overthrow of the tsarist régime.

CHAPTER III.—*Origins of Soviet Constitutional Structure*

The bibliography is limited strictly to the literature on the bolshevik revolutions of 1905 and 1917 on the one hand and the early legal and constitutional literature on the other. In con-

[2] On sale at Libraire "La Source", 106, rue de la Tour, Paris (XVI).

nection with the latter certain general works covering also the later chapters have been listed.

Already of formidable proportions, the literature on the 1905 revolution, "the first Russian revolution" in the eyes of the bolsheviks, is rapidly increasing. The recent works are given in an 80 page catalogue (*Revoliutsiia 1905 goda*) published by the Gosizdat in 1927. Then special mention may be made of a bibliography, giving references to books and papers, entitled *Bibliograficheskii putevoditel' po revoliutsii 1905 goda. Sistematicheskii obzor knig i zhurnal'nykh statei o pervoi russkoi revoliutsii.* A special commission attached to the TsIK of the USSR is responsible for most of the publications issued on the revolution since 1923. Among these, all published by the Gosizdat, may be mentioned:

1. *1905, Materialy i dokumenty* [Materials and documents]. Edited by M. N. Pokrovskii.

2. M. Prenin, *Pervyi* [first] *sovet rabochikh reputatov. Kratkii ocherk* [First soviet of workers' deputies. Brief outline].

3. *"Izvestiia soveta rabochikh deputatov."* S.-Petersburg *17 oktiabria-14 dekabria 1905 goda* [News of the soviet of workers' deputies published in St. Petersburg from October 17-December 14, 1905].

4. *Tretii* [third] *ocherednoi s'ezd Rossiiskoi sotsial-demokraticheskoi rabochei partii 1905 goda.* The book gives the full text of the protocols of the third congress of the Russian social democratic labor party.

5. *"Vpered" i "Proletarii".* This six volume series, edited by M. Ol'minskii, gives the contents of the "first Bolshevik papers", which were published in 1905.

Very little has been published concerning the origins of the soviet constitution. The principal source is G. C. Gurvich, *Istoriia sovetskoi konstitutsii* (Gosizdat 1923), which is a history of the soviet constitution giving some of the early drafts which influenced the final form of the fundamental law of the RSFSR.

From the outbreak of the revolution—the constitution did not enter into force until eight months later—the regular publication of legislation began. It has remained substantially the same ever since. Beginning with October 28 (November 7) 1917, the *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporiazhenii rabochego i krest'ianskogo pravitel'stva* [Collection of instructions and orders of the workers' and peasants' government] was issued regularly. Separate bound volumes of this series were published with the special title

Sbornik dekretov [collection of decrees] *1917-1918 gg* (Gosizdat 1920); *Sbornik dekretov 1919 goda* (Petrograd 1920); and *Sistematicheskii sbornik vazhneishikh dekretov, 1917-1920* (Moscow 1920), the latter being a systematic collection of the most important decrees issued on the occasion of the meeting of the communist international "when many comrades from other lands asked to be furnished with the legislative materials of the Soviet Republic" [from the preface].

Since 1920 the *Sobranie uzakonenii . . .* has been published by the people's commissariat for justice of the RSFSR and is apparently no longer supplemented by a *Sbornik dekretov* for a given year. An alphabetical and subject index (*Alfavitno-predmetnyi ukazatel' k sobraniiu uzakonenii i rasporiazhenii*) is issued every six months.

The minutes of the congresses of soviets as mentioned in the text of this chapter are discussed in the bibliography to chapter VII.

Finally, mention is made of a few secondary works which contain some material on this and later chapters. Lacking in analysis, dealing with all questions only in general terms, and strictly eschewing facts touching the real nature and practice of soviet authority, nearly all such books have only a limited value.

1. G. C. Gurvich, *Osnovy sovetskoi konstitutsii* [Basis of the soviet constitution] (Gosizdat 1926, fifth ed.).

2. E. A. Engel', *Osnovy sovetskoi konstitutsii* (Goszidat 1923).

3. S. N. Dranitsyn, *Konstitutsiia RSFSR v voprosakh i otvetakh* [Constitution of the RSFSR in questions and answers] (Gosizdat 1922).

4. ————————, *Konstitutsiia SSSR i RSFSR v otvetakh na voprosy* [Constitution of the USSR and RSFSR in answers to questions] (Leningrad, "Priboi", 1924. Third ed.).

5. Al. Malitskii, *Sovetskaia konstitutsiia* [The soviet constitution] (Kharkov, NKIu UkSSR, 1925. Second ed.).

6. D. A. Magerovskii, *Soiuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik* (obzor i materialy) [USSR. Review and materials] (Moscow 1923).

7. M. O. Reikhel', *SSSR. Ocherki konstitutsionnykh vzaimootnoshenii sovetskikh respublik* [USSR. Outline of constitutional relations of the soviet republics] (Kharkov, NKIu UkSSR, 1925).

8. N. I. Palienko, *Konfederatsii, federatsii i Soiuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik* [Confederation, federation, and

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics] (Kharkov, Gosizdat Ukrainy, 1923).

9. I. N. Ananov, *Ocherki federal'nogo upravleniia SSSR* [Outline of federal administration of the USSR] (Gosizdat 1925).

10. *Entsiklopediia gosudarstva i prava pod redaktsiei P. Stuchka* [Encyclopedia of law and the state] (Moscow, Kommunisticheskoi Akademii, 1925-27). The special articles in this encyclopedia, three volumes of which had appeared by the latter part of 1927, are informative but entirely lacking in interpretation.

CHAPTERS IV-VII, and X.—*Nationalities and Federal Problems*

The literature on the nationalities may be divided into two parts: that concerning the problem as a whole and the publications issued in the various native languages or published in the local areas.

Several works dealing with the question have been cited in the footnotes. Until its liquidation in 1923 the people's commissariat for nationalities of the RSFSR issued a periodical publication entitled *Zhizn' natsional'nostei* [Life of the nationalities], in which the principal publications were reviewed as issued.

Special works worthy of mention are:

1. N. A. Gredeskul, *Rossiia i ee narody* [Russia and her peoples] (Petersburg 1916).

2. *Natsional'nyi vopros i Sovetskaia Rossia* [National question in Soviet Russia] (Gosizdat 1921).

3. N. Rozhnov, *Uniia, federatsiia i avtonomiia* [Union, federation, and autonomies] (Moscow 1917).

4. N. N. Popov, *Natsional'naia politika sovetskoi vlasti* [National policy of soviet authority] (Moscow, "Krasnaya nov' ", 1924).

5. M. Nemchenko, *Natsional'noe razmezhevanie Srednei Azii* [National division of Central Asia] (Moscow, Litizdat, 1925).

6. P. Miliukov, *Natsionalnyi vopros* [The national question] (Prague, Svobodnaiia Rossiia, 1925).

7. *Marksizm i natsional'naia problema* [Marxism and the national problem] Otto Bauer, K. Kautsky, I. Stalin, S. Semkovskii (Gosizdat Ukrainy 1924).

Lenin's concept of the national problem is covered in volume xix of his collected works (*Sobranie sochinenii*). Special pamphlets giving extracts from his speeches, etc. are:

1. N. M. Popov, *Lenin o natsional'nom voprose* [Lenin on the national question] (Gosizdat 1925).

2. *Lenin o natsional'nom voprose* (Moscow, Krasnaia Nov', 1924).

3. N. Lenin, *Izbrannye stat'i po natsional'nomu voprosu* [Selected speeches of Lenin on the national question] (Gosizdat 1925).

In addition to the foregoing publications, much material has appeared concerning the several autonomous republics and regions and concerning the new division of the country on the basis of economic characteristics.

A general guide to the latter category is a series published by the state planning commission, which has its own publishing office known as *"Planovoe khoziaistvo"* [Planned economy]—a monthly review is also issued under this name—under the general title *Ekonomiko-geograficheskie ocherki SSSR* [Economic-geographical review of the USSR].

A similar series has appeared under the title *Ekonomicheskaia geografiya SSSR po raionam* [Economic geography of the USSR by districts], edited by M. B. Vol'f and G. A. Mebusa. Published by the Gosizdat, volumes have appeared for the Ural region, the North-Eastern region, the Leningrad region, the Far Eastern region, the Central Industrial region, Siberia, the Middle Volga, Transcaucasia, Central Asia, and Kazakstan.

Quite different from studies which treat of a given territory as an economic unit are those which discuss the local culture, customs, etc. There are publications which take various national republics together, such as Umar Aliev, *Natsional'nyi vopros i natsional'naia kul'tura v Severo-Kavkazskom krae* [National question and national culture in the North-Caucasian territory] (Rostov n-d, "Sevkavkniga" i "Krainatsizdat", 1926). This is only one of various publications issued by the official publishing house for this territory, the Kabardino-Cherkessk, Ingushsk, Karachaevo-Balkarsk, and Osetinsk languages being used as well as Russian.

In 1924 the central executive committee of the USSR formed a "central publishing agency for the nationalities" in order to encourage the social, cultural, and political development of the many different peoples in the Union. Books are printed in the languages of the principal nationalities. Special publishing houses issue material for the peoples of the East: in the Turkish, Persian, Urdu, Arabic, Mongol, Korean, Chinese, and Japanese

languages. The activity in this direction, motivated by propaganda purposes with one aim or another, like most such endeavors in Russia, however, is more theoretical than real. At the central office in Moscow it is possible to obtain almost none off the publications issued by local printing presses; in the local areas the publications sent out from Moscow for local use are generally placed in a heap in some official office where they could not be obtained even if there were a demand.

Of greater importance are the materials issued by the more important nationalities. No attempt is made to cite other than the general categories of publications in the local areas. The case of the Tatar republic is taken for an example. Any one reading this list and at the same time familiar with the list given of union republics and autonomous republics will have an idea about where similar materials exist and by what administrative department they are published.

Before the war the Kazan provincial statistical committee published considerable data, one of its most important publications being a year book for the area entitled *Adres-kalendar' i spravochnaia knizhka Kazanskoi gubernii na* [year]. In it was given the list of officials in the central government at Petrograd, this being followed by a detailed account of the administrative departments, etc. of the gubernia.

Illustrative of how slowly old traditions pass is the year book published in 1920 by the soviets: *Spravochnik po gor. Kazani i Kazanskoi gubernii na 1920 god. Izdanie Kazanskogo Gubispolkoma, po Gubstatbiuro.* Beginning with information about the central administration in Moscow, it next treats of the local area as did the year book published by the old régime.

The leading official publications, usually printed both in Russian and in Tatar, are listed below.

1. The stenographic report of the various Tatar congresses of soviets, e.g. *Piatyi* [fifth] *S'ezd sovetov Tatarskoi Sovetskoi Sotsialisticheskikh Respubliki. Stenograficheskii otchet s 5-go 9-e ianvaria 1925 g* (Kazan, Izdanie TsIK'a TSSR, 1925).

2. Reports of the various sessions of the Tatar central executive committee, e.g. *TSSR. Tret'ia* [*third*] *Sessiia tsentral'nogo ispolnitel'nogo komiteta, 3-go sozyva 21-24 iulia 1923 goda. Stenograficheskii otchet* (Kazan, Izdanie Tsentr. ispoln. komit. TSSR, 1923).

3. Various reports of the Tatar central executive committee and soviet of people's commissars on their activity between

congresses of soviets, e.g., *Otchet TsIK i SNK Tatarskoi SSR. Za vremia s 3-go po 4-i s'ezd sovetov* (Kazan, 1923). Also, *Otchet TsIK i SNK Tatarskoi SSR. K V-mu s'ezdu sovetov* (Kazan, Izdanie TsIK i SNK, 1925).

4. Special publications by the Tatar soviet of people's commissars are:

(*a*) *Biulleten' SNK* [Bulletin of the sovnarkom], giving various reports, protocols, and other information of general interest of an economic-cultural-political character.

(*b*) *Otchet ekonomicheskogo soveta ATSSR* [Report of the economic soviet of the Tatar republic for the period January 1-October 1922].

(*c*) *Alfavitno-predmetnyi ukazatel dekretov i rasporiazhenii po ATSSR i RSFSR za* [year] (Alphabetical-subject collection of decrees and instructions of the Tatar republic and the RSFSR for the year. . . .]

In addition to the foregoing there are numerous miscellaneous editions which exist for all the autonomous formations.

CHAPTERS VIII-X.—*Central Organs of Soviet Authority*

Corresponding in a general way to the *Congressional Record* in the various states are, in the Soviet Union, the minutes of the various congresses of soviets. The first all-Russian congress of workers', soldiers', and peasants' deputies was held in July 1917. The stenographic report of it and the second congress are not obtainable in book form. For this period reference may be made to the protocols and resolutions of the Petrograd soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies, which are available in a publication by the central archives: Tsentralni arkhiv, *Petrogradskii sovet rabochikh i soldatskikh deputatov, Protokoly zasedanii* (Gosizdat 1925).

To the present there have been thirteen all-Russian congresses of soviets, the last one to date being held in April 1927. The stenographic report is often issued in two parts: the report itself in one part and the resolutions or protocols in another. The title in Russian runs thus, the eleventh congress being taken as a model: *XI Vserossiiskii s'ezd sovetov* (Izdanie VTsIK, Moscow. Kremlin, 1924).

The last day of December 1922 the first congress of soviets of the USSR was held. Since then there have been four such congresses, which are to be kept separate from the preceding and subsequent all-Russian congresses which relate only to the

RSFSR. The title of the official report of the former in Russian runs thus, the third congress being used as an illustration: *Tretii* [third] *S'ezd sovetov Soiuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik. Stenograficheskii otchet* (Izdanie TsIK SSSR, Moscow, Kremlin, 1925). The resolutions, printed separately, are entitled *Tretii* [third] *S'ezd sovetov Soiuza SSR. Postanovleniia* (Izdanie TsIK SSSR, Moscow, Kremlin, 1925).

The central executive committee of the RSFSR likewise published its stenographic report and resolutions. The same is true of the central executive committee of the USSR, which has functioned since the formation of the Union. Here, as in the case of the congresses of soviets, the distinction between the publications of the central executive committee of the RSFSR (VTsIK) a body with jurisdiction only in the RSFSR, and the central executive committee (TsIK), which applies to the entire Union, should be kept in mind.

The list given of the publications of the central executive committee of the RSFSR is still obtainable with a few exceptions:

1. *Protokoly zasedanii Vserossiiskago tsentral'nago ispoln, komiteta sovetov R..S..Kr. i Kaz. deputatov II sozyva* (Izdatel'stvo VTsIK, Moscow, 1918). This appears to be the first time the protocols of the central executive committee of the RSFSR were issued in book form. The volume begins with the first day of the revolution: October 27 (November 7), 1917, and runs to December 29 (January 9), 1918.

2. *Protokoly zasedanii Veserossiiskago tsentral'nago ispolnitel'nago komiteta 4-go sozyva. Stenograficheskii otchet* (Gosizdat 1920). The volume begins with March 20, 1918, old style. The minutes for the preceding meeting, the third, appear to be unobtainable.

3. *Piatyi* [fifth] *sozyv Vserossiiskogo tsentral'nago ispolnitel'nogo komiteta sovetov rabochikh, krest'ianskikh, kazach'ikh i krasnoarm, deputatov. Stenograficheskii otchet* (Izdatel'stvo VTsIK, Moscow, 1919). Begins with the meeting on July 15, 1918, old style.

4. *I-IV sessii Vserossiiskogo tsentral'nago ispolnitel'nogo komiteta VIII sozyva. Stenograficheskii otchet* (Gosizdat 1922). Carries the dates, in Russian: December 31, 1920, March 19-20, 1921, May 30-31, 1921, October 5-7, 1921.

Other editions of the committee, given without the repetition of the foregoing bibliographical detail, are:

5. *Sbornik vazhneishikh postanovlenii i rasporiazhenii VTsIK VIII sozyva* [Collection of principal decisions and instructions of the eighth meeting of the VTsIK].

6. *Sbornik postanovlenii i rasporiazheni VTsIK IX sozyva i ego presidiuma.* Twelve volumes of a collection of the decisions and instructions of the ninth meeting of the VTsIK and its presidium.

7. *Materialy k III sessii VTsIK* [Material on the third session of the VTsIK].

8. *Sbornik postanovlenii i rasporiazhenii VTsIK X sozyva i ego presidium.*

The other publications include the stenographic report and resolutions for each session and each meeting of the central executive committee of the RSFSR.

The minutes of the central executive committee of the USSR are likewise issued for each session and meeting of that body. The report of the first session, first meeting, is bound with that of the first congress of soviets. The full title runs thus: *1-ia* [first] *Sessiia tsentral-nogo ispolnitel-nogo komiteta Soiuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik* (Izdanie TsIK SSSR, Moscow-1923-Kremlin).

The laws of the USSR are published in pamphlet form under the general title *Sobraniia zakonov.* At the end of the year they are collected and issued under one cover. The collected laws now in force exist in six volumes with the following general title: *Izdaetsia pod nabliudeniem komissii zakonodatel'nykh predpolozhenii pri sovete narodnykh komissarov SSSR upravleniem delami soveta narodnykh komissarov SSSR. Sistematicheskoe sobranie deistvuiushchikh zakonov Soiuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublic.* The first volume, issued in 1926, deals with the "political structure" of the USSR. Volume ii covers the "economic structure", volume iii the "finance-budget structure", volume iv-v under one cover the "cultural" and "judicial structure", and volume vi gives new laws and amendments to those printed in the other volumes.

A particularly valuable two-volume publication covering in detail the political structure of the USSR is: *Deistvuiushchee zakonodatel'stvo po sovetskomu upravleniiu,* published in Moscow in 1926 by the Voprosy Truda.

Finally, three official publications of a general nature deserve special mention:

1. *Piat'let vlasti sovetov* [Five years of soviet power] (Moscow, Izdanie VTsIK, 1922). A similar edition was prepared on

the occasion of the tenth anniversary but had not been published by the end of the year.

2. *SSR god raboty pravitel'stva* (1925-26) [A year of work of the government of the USSR] (Moscow, Informatsionnoe Biuro SNK SSSR i STO, 1927). This is the second year of this detailed official account of the work of the soviet authorities at home and in the field of relations with foreign powers.

3. *Svodnye materialy o deiatel'nosti SNK i STO* [Collection of material on the activity of the soviet of people's commissars and soviet of labor and defence] (Moscow, Informationnoe Biuro SNK SSSR i STO, 1926). Third year.

Corresponding to the general assemblies of the state legislatures and lesser governmental divisions in the United States, there exist in Russia published accounts of the various areas corresponding to such documents as published by the central organs of authority in the USSR. In this respect the publications of the Tatar republic have been mentioned already. Here mention may be made of one of the union republics other than the RSFSR, the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic serving as an illustration.

There is a yearly congress of soviets which meets at Tiflis and publishes a report of its proceedings. Such reports are often voluminous. The central executive committee of this republic publishes the report of its meetings, *e.g., Zakavkazskii tsentral'nyi ispolnitel'nyi komitet. Obzor raboty v period mezhdu III i IV Zak. s'ezdami sovetov (14 aprelia 1925 g-5 aprelia 1927 g)* (Tiflis, Izdanie ZakTsIK, 1927).

The official daily of the Transcaucasian Republic is the *Zaria Vostoka* [Dawn of the East]. In it appears an account of all public acts of the government, as well as a full reprint of all laws. In addition, there is a regular collection of laws issued fortnightly in pamphlet form. The title, in Russian, is: *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporiazhenii raboche-krest'ianskogo pravitel'stva Zakavkazskoi Sotsialisticheskoi Federativnoi Sovetskoi Respubliki.* It may be mentioned here that in the case of the Ukraine, as an example of another union republic, the title of this collection of laws is, in Ukrainian: *Zbirnik uzakonen' ta rozporiadzhen' robitnicho-selian'skogo uriadu ukraini za* [year]. Printed both in Russian and Ukrainian, this collection, like that for the Transcaucasian federation, is published by the local commissariat for justice.

Then in the Transcaucasian federation there are the corresponding publications of the central organs of each of the three republics: Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. In these instances the native language alone is often used.[3] Thus at Tiflis as the capital of the federation the publications are all in Russian, but at Tiflis as the capital of Georgia the Georgian language is usually used.

In the latter case, the central executive committee of the republic publishes the minutes of the congress of soviets. It and/or the soviet of people's commissars publishes the "Report of the government of Georgia for the year [ ]", the report for 1925-1926, published in 1927, running to 406 pages. Finally the people's commissariat for justice of the Georgian republic publishes, in Russian and Georgian, the collection of laws of the republic, of which the Russian title runs thus: *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporiazhenii raboche-krest. pravit. gruzii.*

Chapter XI.—*Local Administration*

The sources covering the central organs of authority deal, in most cases, with the local organs as well. A few special publications which may be noted are:

1. *Polozhenie o volostnykh s'ezdakh sovetov i volostnykh ispolnitel'nykh komitetakh s ob'iasneniiami* [Regulations concerning rural district congresses of soviets and executive committees] (Moscow, Izdatel'stvo Kommunisticheskoi Akademii, 1925). A similar publication was issued in 1927 on village soviets. Other collections are to be published on the other divisions of local government.

2. O. Leikin i E. Shneider, *Spravochnik po administrativnomu upravleniiu. Posobie dlia uispolkoma, volispolkoma i sel'soveta* [Handbook for the county and rural district executive committees and village soviets] (Novaia Moskva 1927).

3. *Presidium TsIK Soiuza SSR. Soveschanie po voprosam sovetskogo stroitel'stva 1925 g. Ianvar'* [Conference on the question of soviet structure in 1925; January] (Moscow, Izdanie

[3] Azerbaijan now uses a Latinized Turkish alphabet. The minutes of the last congress of this republic have been printed both in Turkish, new form, and in Russian (e.g.; *Obzor deiatel'nosti pravitel'stva za 1925 i 1926 g.g. Otchet Vseazerbaidzhanskomu s'ezdu sovetov* (Baku, Izdanie upravleniia delami sovnarkoma i VZC'a, 1927, 404 pp.). The new alphabet presents many peculiarities which may do much to prevent its popular use.

TsIK Soiuza SSR, 1925). A similar volume was issued for a conference held in April 1925.

4. S. I. Chugunov, *Voprosy organizatsii i deiatel'nosti nizovogo sovetskogo apparata. Gorodskie sovety* [Organization and activity of the soviet apparatus. City soviets] (Gosizdat 1927). Under the same general title but with the special title *Sel'sovety* [Village soviets] is another book by the same author, published by the Gosizdat in 1925.

5. M. Boldyrev, *Novaia volost'* [New volosts] (Moscow, Krasnaia Nov', 1924).

5. V. I. Ignat'ev, *Sovetskaia volost' i stoiashchie pered nei zadachi* [Soviet rural districts and problems confronting them] (Gosizdat 1925).

The people's commissariat for interior of the RSFSR has published or furnished detailed statistics relating to elections to the soviets. In this connection special mention is made of four publications:

1. M. Vladimirskii, *Sovety, ispolkomy i s'ezdy sovetov. Vypusk l. Ispolkomy* [Soviets, executive committees, and congresses of soviets. Volume 1, executive committees] (Gosizdat 1920).

2. ————————, *Vypusk 2. S'ezdy sovetov v 1917-1921 g. Ispolkomy v 1920-1921 g. Gorodskie sovety v. 1920-1921 g.* [Congresses of soviets, executive committees, and city soviets] (Gosizdat 1921).

3. RSFSR, Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del. *Vybory v sovety RSFSR v 1925-1926 g. Chast' 1-ia: gorsovety, sel'sovety, vols'ezdy, volispolkomy i reviz, komissii* [Elections to soviets in the RSFSR. Vol. i: city, village soviets, rural district congresses and executive committees, and revision commission] (Moscow, Izdatel'stvo NKVD, 1926).

4. ————————, *Chast' 2-ia: S'ezdy sovetov i ispolnitel'nie komitety* [Congresses of soviets and executive committees] (Moscow, Izdatel'stvo NKVD, 1926).

The central executive committee of the RSFSR likewise published in 1927 a diagrammatic analysis of elections to soviets: *Vybory v sovety v diagrammakh.*

Finally, mention is made of a book on the local organization of soviet power written by the assistant people's commissar for interior, Vladimirskii, and entitled *Organizatsiia sovetskoi vlasti na mestakh.*

CHAPTERS XII-XIII.—*The Communist Party and the Communist International*

The bibliography to these chapters falls into two parts: that on the communist international and that on the Russian [all-Union] communist party. The principal source in both cases is, of course, the stenographic reports of the meetings of the two bodies.

The title of the stenographic report of the communist international may be shown by that of the second congress, which runs thus: *2-oi Kongress Kommunisticheskogo internatsionala. Stenograficheskii otchet* (Petrograd, Kommunisticheskogo Internatsionala, 1921). The minutes of the congress held from June 17-July 8, 1924, are published in two volumes of 1007 and 312 pages respectively.

Under the world congress is the enlarged plenum of the communist international, the sixth of which serves to indicate the title: *Shestoi* [sixth] *Rasshyrennyi plenum ispolkoma kominterna 17 fevralia-15 marta 1926 g. Stenograficheskii otchet* (Gosizdat 1927). Then the executive committee of the communist international publishes the *Kommunisticheskii Internatsional,* a periodical which gives the resolutions, etc. of the party organs. An English edition, entitled *The Communist International,* is published at 16 King Street, London, WC2.

The principal document on the Russian communist party are given in two volumes:

1. *Vsesoiuznaia kommunisticheskaia partiia (b) v rezoliutsiakh ee s'ezdov i konferentsii (1898-1926)* [The all-Union communist party resolutions at its congresses and conferences] (Gosizdat 1927. Third revised and supplemented edition).

2. *V pomoshch' partrabotniku sistematicheskii sbornik rezoliutsii s'ezdov i konferentsii VKP (b)* [Systematic collection of resolutions of congresses and conferences of the all-Union communist party (Gosizdat 1927. Second edition).

The general title of a congress and conference respectively of the party may be illustrated as follows:

1. *XIV s'ezd Vsesoiuznoi* [prior to this congress the word *Rossiiskoi* (Russian) was used instead of *Vsesoiuznoi* (all-Union)] *kommunisticheskoi partii (b) 18-31 dekabria 1925 g. Stenograficheskii otchet* (Gosizdat 1926).

2. *XV konferentsiia Vsesoiuznoi* [see insert under 1] *kommunisticheskoi partii (b) 26 oktiabria-3 noiabria 1926 g. Stenograficheskii otchet* (Gosizdat 1927).

The minutes of the fifteenth congress, the last held to date, published in 1928 by the Gosizdat, run to 1416 pages and cost around $2.50.

A weekly publication issued by the central committee of the all-Union communist party is entitled *Izvestiia tsentral'nogo komiteta Vsesoiuznoi kommunisticheskoi partii (b)*. The leading historical studies on the party, as well as a guide to all literature, are given in *Proletarskaia Revoliutsiia* [Proletarian Revolution], published monthly since 1917 by the Istpart TsK VKP (b) and to be obtained through the Gosizdat.

Among the secondary works, not including certain citations made in the footnotes to the chapter, are:

1. G. E. Zinov'ev, *Istoriia Rossiiskoi kommunisticheskoi partii (bolshevikov)* [History of the Russian communist party] (Gosizdat 1924).

2. N. N. Popov, *Ocherk istorii Vsesoiuznoi kommunisticheskoi partii (bol'shevikov)* (Gosizdat 1927. Third revised and supplemented edition).

4. *Istoriia partii v siezdakh* [History of the party by congresses] (Moscow, Proletarii, 1925. 5 vols.).

DIAGRAMMATIC ILLUSTRATIONS

ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE USSR

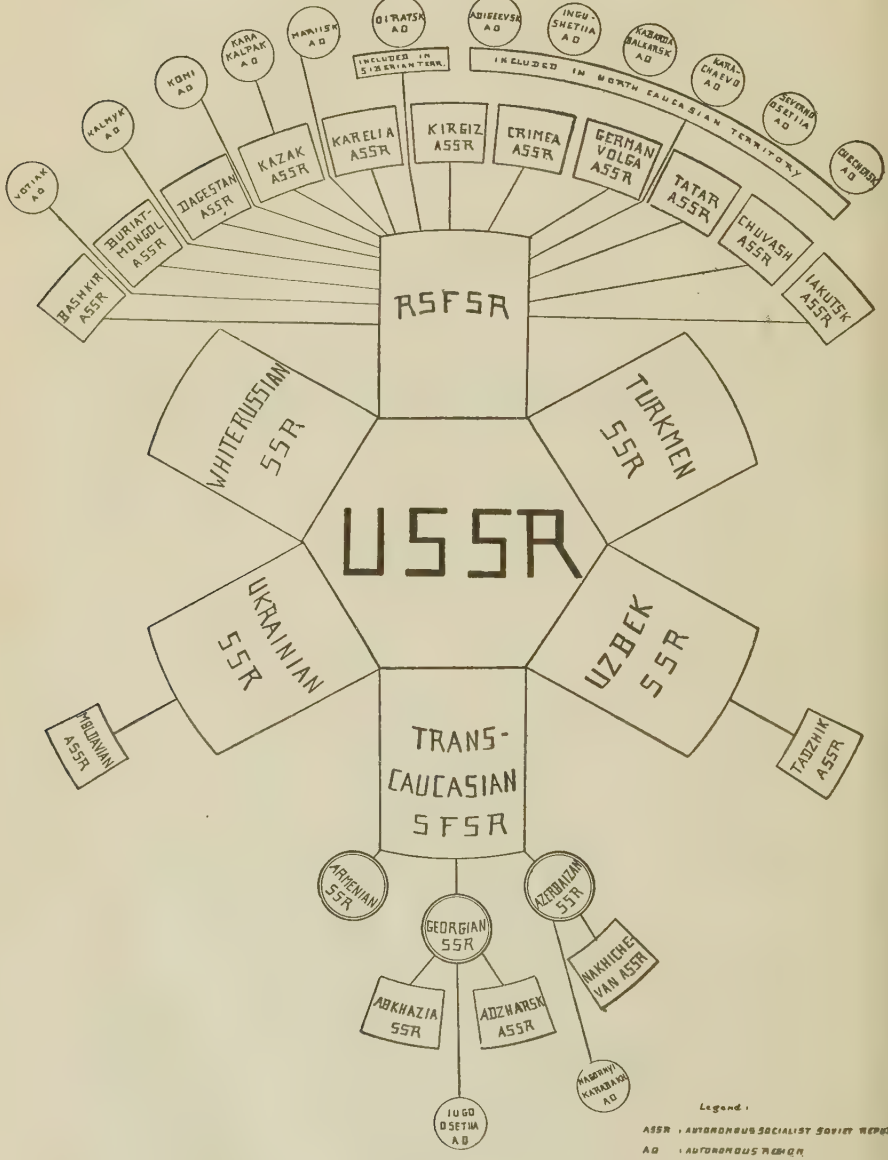

CHART I

I

Administrative and Political Structure of the USSR [1]

This chart shows the general political and administrative structure of Soviet Russia. The heart of the Union is, of course, the six republics which form it in the same way that the forty-eight states make up the United States. Within each of those republics, except White Russia, there are theoretically autonomous formations.

According to the constitution, the union republics are equal. In the diagram, therefore, they have been given the same prominence. As a matter of fact, the RSFSR, being twice as large as all the other republics combined and having over seventy per cent. of the population of the Union, is dominant. It may be said that the RSFSR is the USSR or that the USSR is a revised edition of the RSFSR.

There are eleven autonomous socialist soviet republics included within the RSFSR. There is only one example of an autonomous republic having in turn an autonomous formation within it. That is the Kara Kalpak autonomous region which forms a part of the Kazak ASSR.

In other instances the autonomous regions connect directly with the RSFSR by two methods: either directly or through the territory of which they form a part. The latter occurs in the instance of autonomous regions which are included in those areas divided according to economic characteristics. In these instances the autonomous region is doubly subordinate: first, to the territory in which it is included and, second, to the RSFSR. Both under this type of subordination and under the direct relation to the RSFSR the word "autonomy" is deceptive. There is in reality no difference between an autonomous region and a province.

In the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic a unique structure is to be found. This republic represents a federation of three republics just as the USSR is a federation of six republics, of which Transcaucasia is one. The three republics forming the Transcaucasian republic are in turn divided into autonomous formations: republics and regions, just as is the case with the RSFSR.

[1] See *Territorial'noe i administrativnoe delenie SSSR,* published by the people's commissariat for interior of the RSFSR.

CONSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATION OF THE RSFSR

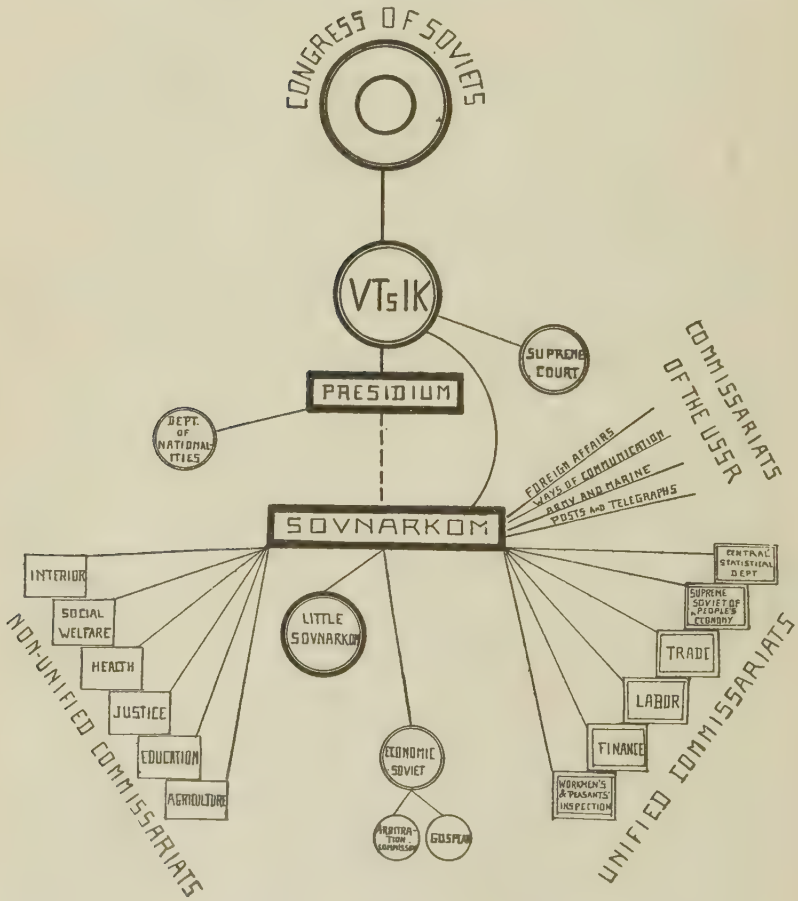

CHART II

II

Constitutional Organization of the RSFSR [1]

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic was the first soviet republic. Its constitution, adopted in June 1918, furnished the model for the other soviet constitutions and even for that of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics formed in 1923.

The rise of a system of authority in the RSFSR was traced at length in the text. Special treatment was given each central organ: the congress of soviets, the all-Russian central executive committee [VTsIK], and the soviet of people's commissars [sovnarkom]. It was pointed out that in actual practice the center of constitutional authority lay in the presidium of the all-Russian central executive committee, this body being legally supreme all but a few weeks out of the year.

The system of people's commissariats was changed in 1925 in order to make it conform to the constitution of the Union. Thus arose the three groups of commissariats: all-Union, unified, and non-unified.

Special organs such as the small soviet of people's commissars, the economic conference, the state planning commission, and the arbitration commission are to be found mentioned in the text, as well as in the documents

[1] See *Sovetskoe stroitel'stvo v diagrammakh i tsifrakh* (Moscow, Izdatel'stvo Kommunistich. Universiteta, 1927).

FEDERAL ORGANS OF THE USSR

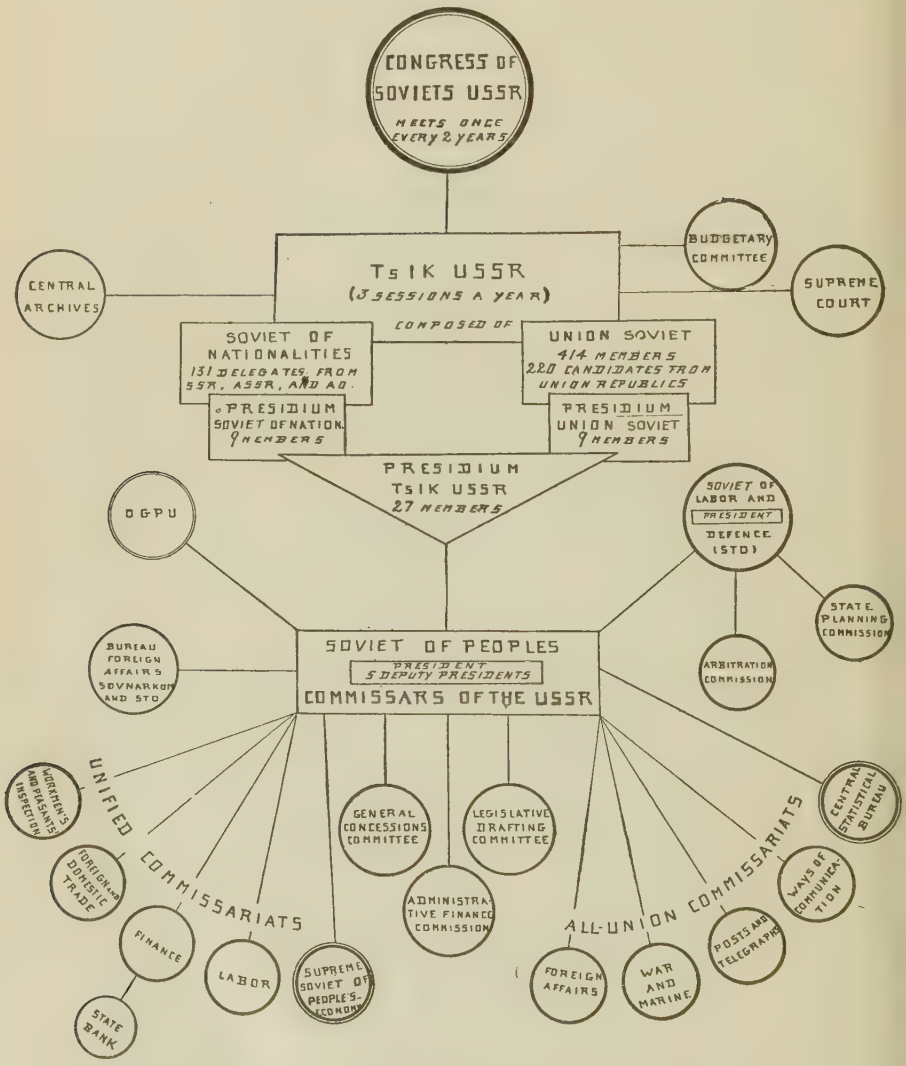

CHART III

III

Federal Organs of the USSR

The general structure of the federal organs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has been given in detail in the various chapters. In regard to the diagrammatic presentation, it need be recalled that the presidium of the central executive committee is the real source of authority of the soviet structure. The OGPU (unified state political administration) may be said to stand in a class by itself.

CONSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATION OF THE AUTONOMOUS REPUBLICS

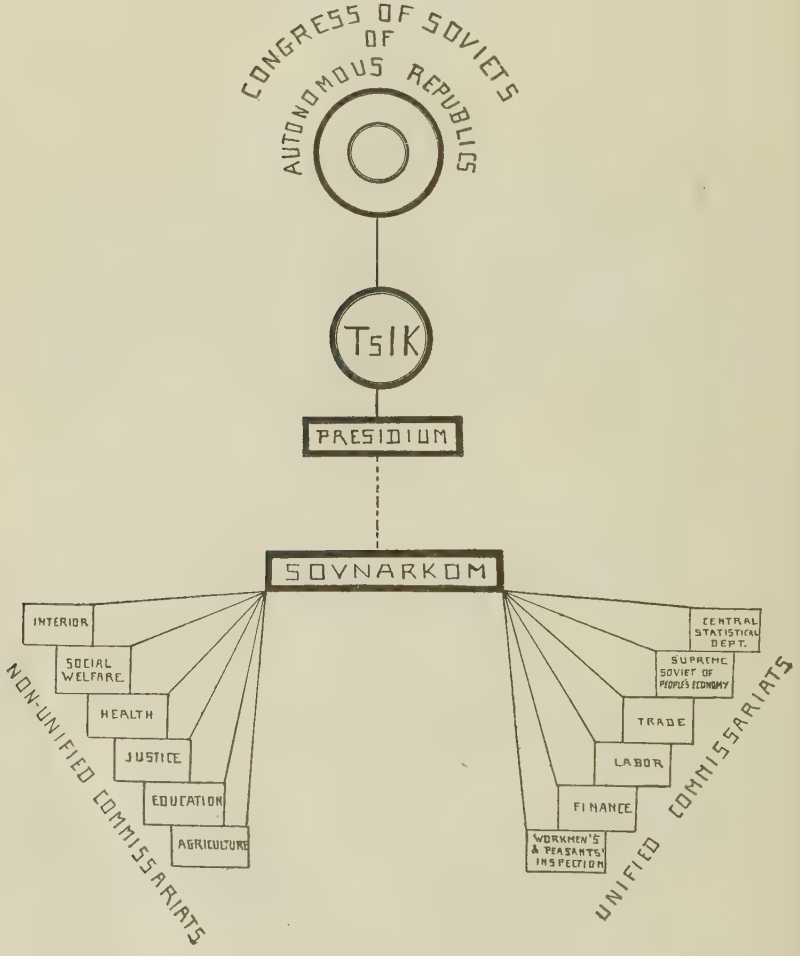

Chart IV

IV

Constitutional Organization of the Autonomous Republics

There is at present no legal basis for a detailed illustration of the system of authority in the autonomous republics. The decrees on the formation of these units vary. In a few instances, as mentioned in the text, constitutions have been drawn up by an autonomous republic, but the Moscow authorities have refused to accept any document which sought to define the exact nature of autonomy.

The autonomous republics have the same non-unified commissariats as does the RSFSR. These commissariats appear to have as their principal object the carrying out of the orders of the corresponding organs at Moscow. This is fully the case with the unified commissariats.

CONSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATION OF THE TRANSCAUCASIAN SFSR

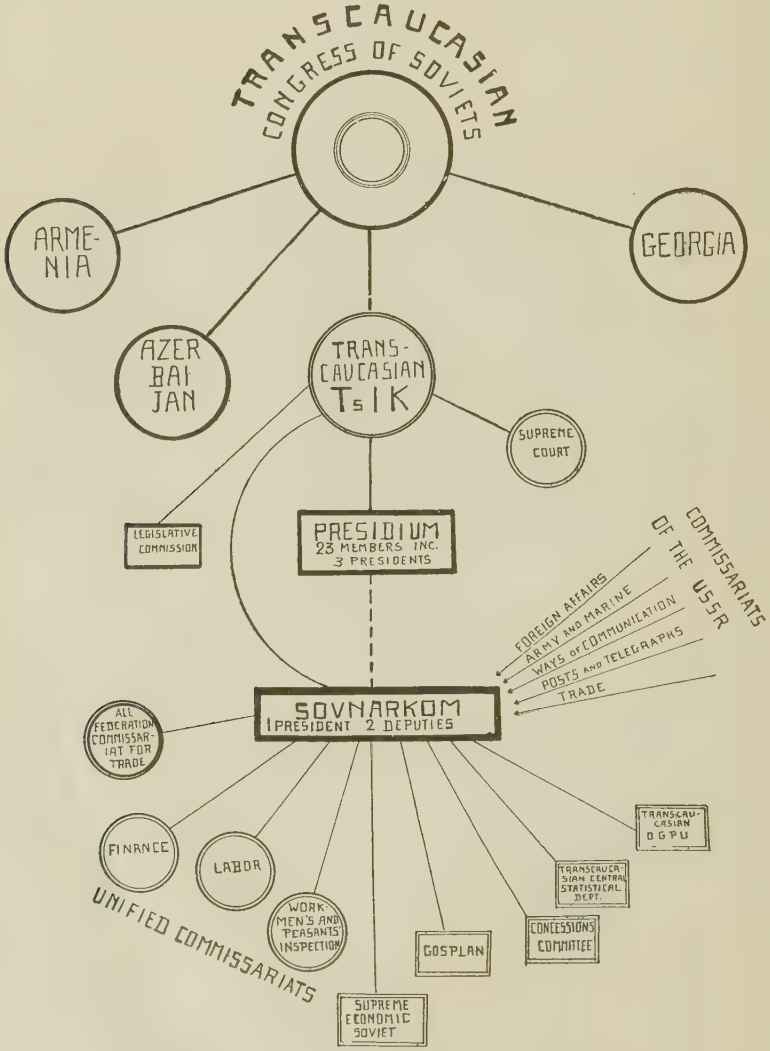

CHART V

V

Constitutional Organization of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic [1]

Only one point in this illustration requires an explanation. That is the absence of non-unified commissariats. Since the Transcaucasian republic is a part of the USSR on the same basis as the other five union republics, and since the Union constitution provides for non-unified commissariats for agriculture, education, social welfare, agriculture, justice, and interior, it is to be expected, upon first thought, that these bodies would be found in the illustration. The reason it is not so is that Transcaucasia is in turn a federation, and these non-unified commissariats are declared to belong, not to the federation as a whole, but separately to each of the three federal parts, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia.

[1] See *Sovetskoe stroitel'stvo,* as cited.

CONSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATION OF THE GEORGIAN SSR

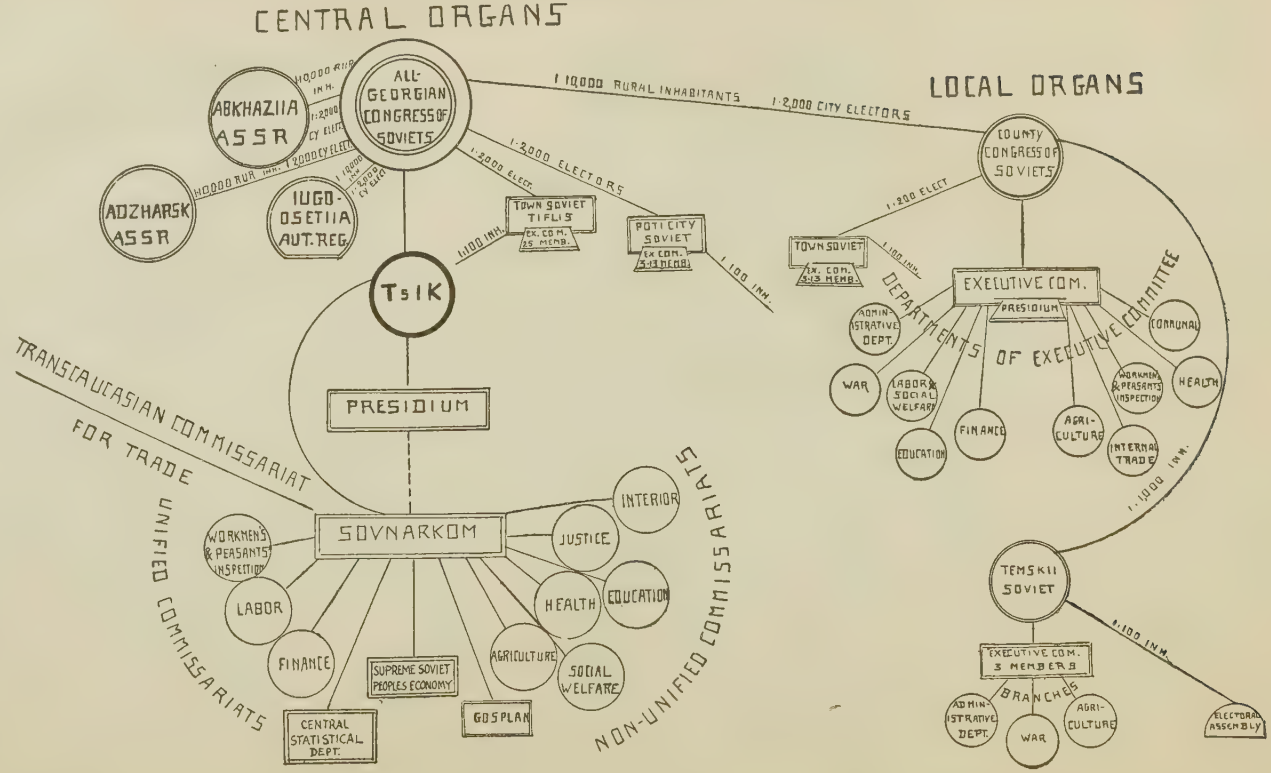

CHART VI

VI

Constitutional Organization of the Georgian Socialist Soviet Republic [1]

This illustration has been inserted to show the organization of one of the federal parts of the Transcaucasian republic. So far as the central organs of authority are concerned, the similarity to the corresponding organs in the RSFSR is to be noted. The non-unified commissariats are identical. The unified commissariats, however, present several differences. Instead of a separate unified commissariat for trade, for example, there is attached to the Georgian soviet of people's commissars a plenipotentiary of the commissariat for trade of the Transcaucasian federation as a whole. Other differences are to be found in the position of the central statistical department, the supreme soviet of people's economy, and the state planning commission.

In the case of Georgia, as in the RSFSR, the local organs of authority are merely the agencies for carrying out the instructions of the central organs. Georgia is divided into 36 counties and 507 *temi*, the latter being a territorial unit inferior to the county and corresponding possibly to the village soviet of the RSFSR.

[1] See *Sovetskoe stroitel'stvo,* as cited.

PROVINCIAL SOVIET ORGANS OF THE RSFSR

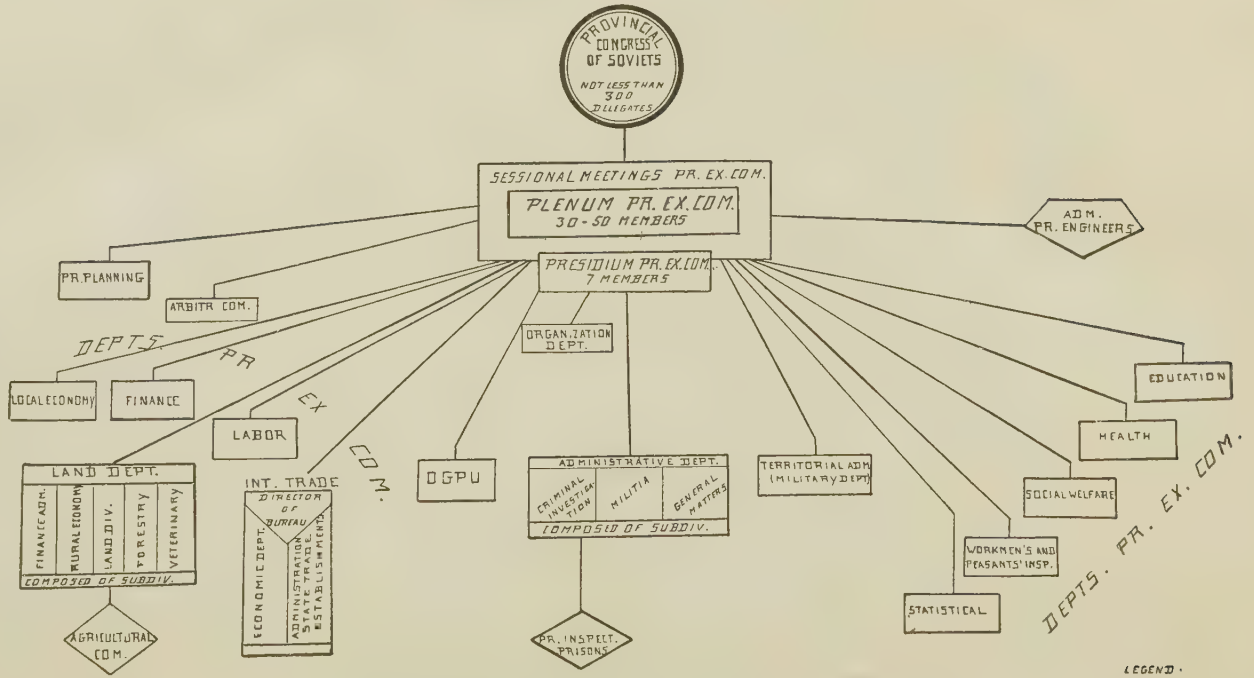

CHART VII

VII

Provincial Soviet Organs of the RSFSR [1]

Tsarist Russia was divided into 101 provinces, 812 counties, and 16,760 rural districts. In Soviet Russia there are only thirty-three provinces, all in the RSFSR. The province as an administrative unit has decreased in importance since the partial division of the country according to economic characteristics. Under the new division the territory [*krai* or *oblast'*] is usually larger than the old province, while the circuit [*okrug*] is smaller.

The provincial organs, like all other local organs of authority, are the instrument of the central authorities for enforcing their decrees. The provincial congress of soviets, central executive committee, and the presidium of that committee have constitutionally the same prerogatives locally as do the corresponding organs of the RSFSR for the republic as a whole. Instead of a soviet of people's commissars in the province, there are thirteen departments included under the executive committee.

[1] See *Sovetskoe stroitel'stvo,* as cited.

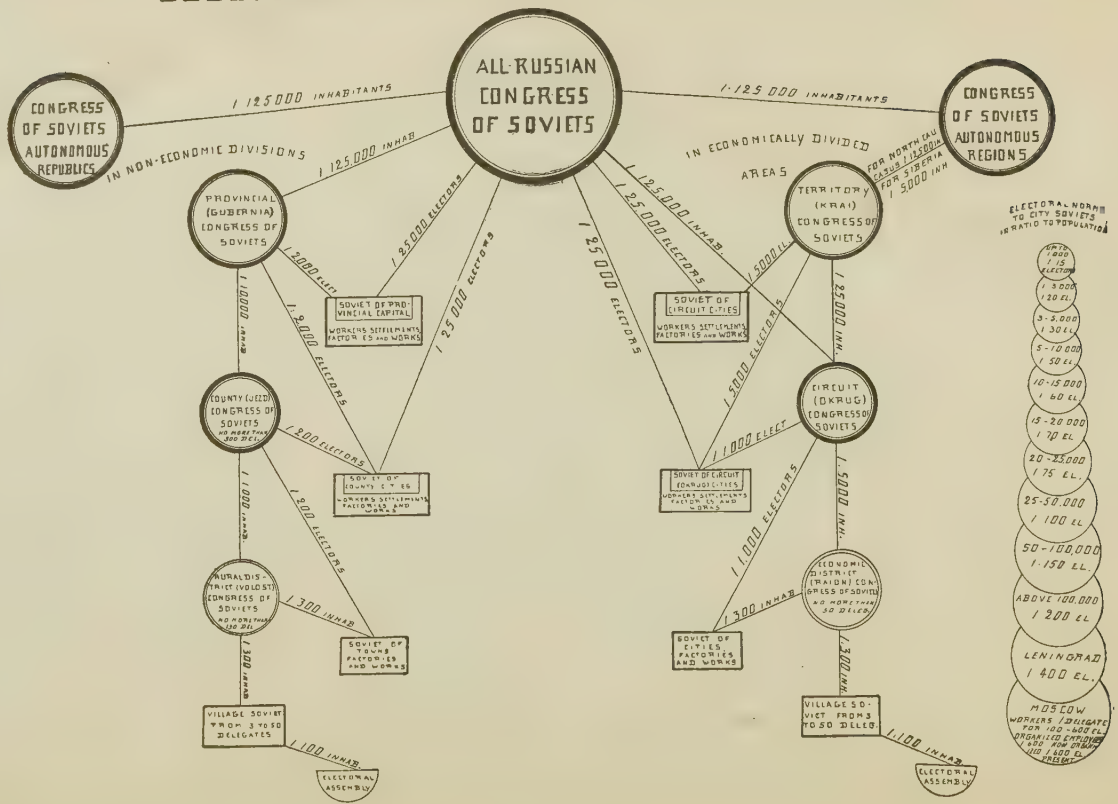
ELECTORAL SYSTEM OF THE RSFSR
ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS
CONGRESS OF SOVIETS AUTONOMOUS REPUBLICS
1 125000 INHABITANTS
IN NON-ECONOMIC DIVISIONS
1 125 000 INHABITANTS
CONGRESS OF SOVIETS AUTONOMOUS REGIONS
IN ECONOMICALLY DIVIDED AREAS
FOR NORTH AS CAUSE 1 / 25000 FOR SIBERIA 1 / 5000 INH
PROVINCIAL (GUBERNIA) CONGRESS OF SOVIETS
TERRITORY (KRAI) CONGRESS OF SOVIETS
1 / 25000 ELECTORS
1 / 5000 EL.
1 / 2000 ELECT.
1 / 25000 INHAB.
SOVIET OF PROVINCIAL CAPITAL
WORKERS SETTLEMENTS FACTORIES AND WORKS
SOVIET OF CIRCUIT CITIES
WORKERS SETTLEMENTS FACTORIES AND WORKS
1 / 1000 ELECTORS
1 / 5000 INH.
COUNTY (UEZD) CONGRESS OF SOVIETS
NO MORE THAN 300 DEL.
CIRCUIT (OKRUG) CONGRESS OF SOVIETS
1 / 200 ELECTORS
1 / 1000 ELECT.
SOVIET OF COUNTY CITIES
WORKERS SETTLEMENTS FACTORIES AND WORKS
SOVIET OF CIRCUIT CITIES
WORKERS SETTLEMENTS FACTORIES AND WORKS
1 / 1000 INHAB.
1 / 200 ELECTORS
1 / 1000 ELECTORS
1 / 5000 INH.
RURAL DISTRICT (VOLOST) CONGRESS OF SOVIETS
NO MORE THAN 100 DEL.
ECONOMIC DISTRICT (RAION) CONGRESS OF SOVIETS
NO MORE THAN 50 DELEG.
1 / 300 INHAB.
1 / 300 INHAB.
SOVIET OF TOWN FACTORIES AND WORKS
SOVIET OF CITIES FACTORIES AND WORKS
1 / 300 INHAB.
VILLAGE SOVIET FROM 3 TO 50 DELEGATES
VILLAGE SOVIET FROM 3 TO 50 DELEG.
1 / 100 INHAB.
1 / 100 INHAB.
ELECTORAL ASSEMBLY
ELECTORAL ASSEMBLY
ELECTORAL NORMS TO CITY SOVIETS IN RATIO TO POPULATION
NORM 1 000 / 15 ELECTORS
1 - 3 000 / 20 EL.
3 - 5 000 / 30 EL.
5 - 10 000 / 50 EL.
10 - 15 000 / 60 EL.
15 - 20 000 / 70 EL.
20 - 25 000 / 75 EL.
25 - 50 000 / 100 EL.
50 - 100 000 / 150 EL.
ABOVE 100 000 / 200 EL.
LENINGRAD / 400 EL.
MOSCOW WORKERS / DELEGATE FOR 100 - 400 EL. ORGANIZED EMPLOYEES 400 FOR GROUP 100 / 400 EL. PRESENT

CHART VIII

VIII

Electoral System of the RSFSR [1]

The illustration shows the electoral system provided in the present constitution of the RSFSR or in the decrees of the all-Russian central executive committee. It gives, therefore, what should be the electoral procedure, though, as mentioned in the text, this may not conform to actual practice.

Two separate electoral systems must be considered side by side. This results from the maintenance of the old territorial divisions in a part of the RSFSR and the introduction of the new economic divisions in other parts. On the left hand side of the diagram the electoral system of the old divisions is given. It is to be noted that the new system of administrative units provides for larger divisions; hence the number of delegates on the basis of the population is inferior to that of the part of Russia which has not been divided according to economic characteristics.

The autonomous republics and regions are represented in the all-Russian congress of soviets on exactly the same basis as are the provinces. The uniformity of representation is in keeping with the practical similarity of these formations to the provinces, this being the more noticeable, of course, in the regions than in the republics.

[1] See *Sovetskoe stroitel'stvo,* as cited.

ORGANIZATION OF THE THIRD (COMMUNIST) INTERNATIONAL (KOMINTERN)

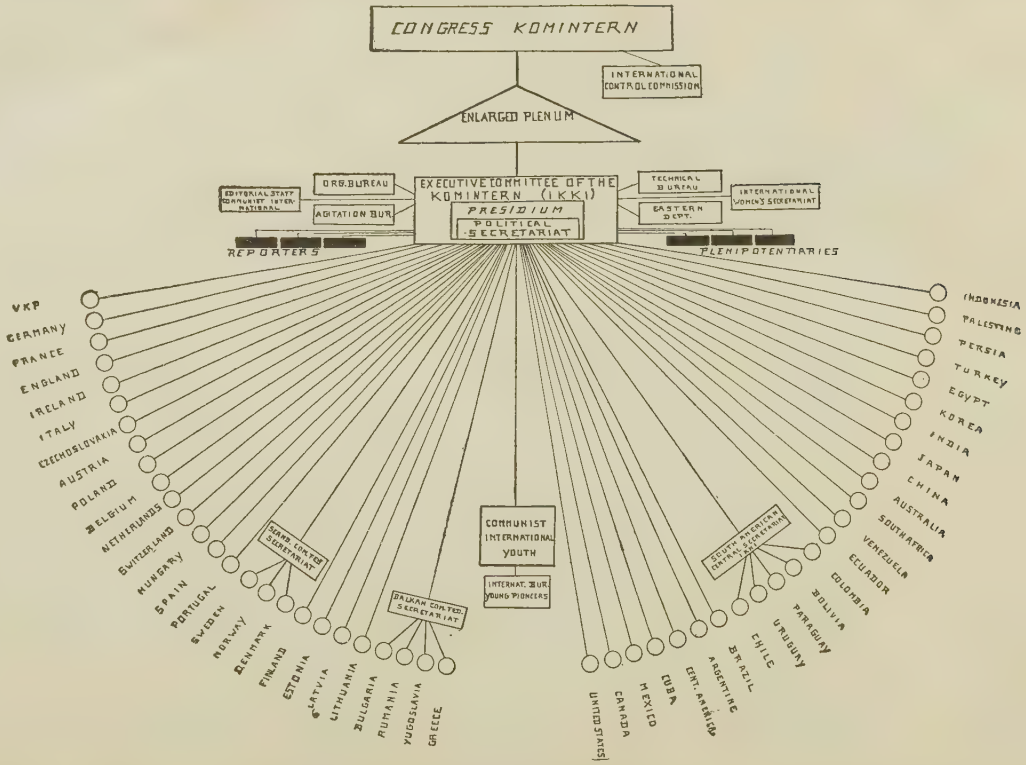

CHART IX

IX

Organization of the Third (Communist) International [1]

In this chart the VKP [all-Union or Russian communist party] is placed on an equality with the communist parties in other countries. When its predominating influence is considered, however, it is evident that it stands above all other parties.

The organization of the communist international is given in a statute adopted provisionally at the fifth world congress [2] and finally ratified by the sixth congress in 1928. Essential articles from this statute are given:

1. The communist international—the international workers' association—is a union of communist parties in various countries; it is a world communist party. As the leader and organizer of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the bearer of the principles and aims of communism, the communist international strives to win over the majority of the working class and the broad strata of the propertyless peasantry, fights for the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a world union of socialist soviet republics, for the complete abolition of classes, and for the achievement of socialism—the first stage of communist society.

2. The various parties affiliated to the communist international are called the communist party of [name of country, section of the communist party of]. . . .

5. The communist international and its sections are built up on the basis of democratic centralism, the fundamental principles of which are: election of all leading committees of the party, subordinate and superior . . . strict party discipline and prompt execution of the decisions of the communist international, of its leading committees, and of the leading party organs.

7 (note 2). The organizational structure of the communist factions and the supervision of their work are determined by special instructions from the execution committee of the communist international (IKKI) and from the central committee of the given sections of the communist international.

8. The supreme body of the communist international is the world congress of representatives of all parties (sections) and organizations affiliated to the communist international.

The world congress discusses and decides questions of the programme, tactics, and organization related to activities of the communist international and of its various sections. Power to alter the programme and

[1] Usually called the k or c omintern. This illustration is that given in *VKP stroitel'stvo,* as cited.

[2] See *The Communist International* (London), No. 7, 1924.

rules of the communist international lies exclusively with the world congress of the communist international.

The world congress shall be convened once every two years. . . .

10. The world congress elects IKKI and the international control commission.

12. The leading body of the communist international in the interval between the congresses is IKKI, which gives instructions to all the sections of the communist international and controls their activity.

13. The decisions of IKKI are obligatory for all the sections of the communist international and must be carried out. . . .

16. The programmes of the various sections must be endorsed by IKKI.

19. IKKI elects a presidium responsible to it. This presidium acts as the permanent body carrying out all the business of IKKI in the interval between the meetings of IKKI.

20. IKKI and its presidium have the right to establish permanent bureaus (western European, South American, eastern, and others) for the purpose of establishing closer contact with the various sections of the communist international and in order to be better able to guide their work.

23. Meetings of IKKI must take place not less than once every six months. A quorum must consist of not less than one-half of the membership of IKKI.

24. Meetings of the presidium of IKKI must take place not less than once a fortnight. A quorum must consist of not less than one-half of the membership of the presidium.

25. The presidium elects the political secretariat which is empowered to take decisions and which also prepares the agenda for the meetings of IKKI and of its presidium, and acts as their executive body.

28. The international control commission investigates matters concerning the unity of the sections affiliated to the communist international and also matters connected with the communist conduct of individual members of the various sections.

The international control commission must not intervene in political differences or in organizational and administrative conflicts in the communist party.

35. The young communist international is a section of the communist international with full rights and is subordinate to IKKI.

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